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Class No 320.954

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF THE

## **CONFERENCE OF RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS**

**Held at Delhi on the 30th October 1916,  
5th November 1917, 20th January 1919  
and 3rd November 1919.**



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\* Did not attend the Conference.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CONFERENCE OF RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS

*Held at Delhi on the 30th October 1916 and following days.*



■

The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council Chamber, and the proceedings were subsequently conducted by the Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood, C.S.I., C.I.E., Political Secretary to the Government of India.

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The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

**Baroda.**

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda.

**Kashmir.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

**Madras.**

His Highness the Raja of Cochin.

**Bombay.**

His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhore.  
His Highness the Rao of Cutch.  
His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Idar.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Morvi.  
His Highness the Jam of Navanagar.  
His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.  
His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla.

**Bengal.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

**United Provinces.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

**Punjab.**

His Highness the Raja of Faridkot.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.  
His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.  
His Highness the Raja of Sirmur.

**Central India.**

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.  
 His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior  
 Branch).  
 His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior  
 Branch).  
 His Highness the Raja of Dhar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.  
 His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.  
 His Highness the Raja of Rajgarh.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.  
 His Highness the Raja of Sailana.  
 His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

**Rajputana.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.  
 His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.  
 His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.

His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawa  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Kishanga  
 His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.  
 Maharaj Kunwar of Sirohi.

# AGENDA.

- I.—To consider questions relating to the ceremonial observed at Installation and Investiture Durbars in Native States.
- II.—To discuss difficulties experienced by Insolvency Courts in British India and in Native States respectively in realising the assets of insolvent debtors which are situated beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts.
- III.—To consider certain designs and plans prepared in connection with the proposal for the institution of a Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi.
- IV.—To consider the question of the most suitable form of administration to be adopted in a Native State during the minority of its Ruler.
- V.—To consider questions relating to the education and administrative and moral training of minor Princes and Chiefs.
- VI.—To consider questions relating to the control and regulation of motor vehicles brought temporarily from Native States into British India or from British India into Native States and there used and driven.
- VII.—To consider a suggestion that Clause 6 of the orders of the Government of India, dated October 4th, 1913, regarding the payment of compensation for land required in British India and in Native States for railway purposes should be amended so as to explain more clearly the rights and obligations of both parties respectively in the matter of the quarrying and excavation of stone and other material for railway purposes.
- VIII.—To consider the possibility of arranging for some examination of industrial questions by the Indian Industrial Commission in any Native State that may wish to have advice on such matters.
- IX.—To receive and consider the Report of the Committee appointed under Resolution III of the Higher Chiefs' College Conference of 1914 on the subject of the admission to the college of young men from leading aristocratic families in British India.

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## Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. I.

### *Ceremonial to be observed at the Installation and Investiture Durbars in Native States.*

It was recently brought to the notice of the Government of India that uncertainty existed as to the correct procedure to be observed on the occasion of the Installation and Investiture of Ruling Princes and Chiefs. An examination of precedents relating to many States has revealed considerable diversity of custom, but it is, nevertheless, clear that the important features of the ceremonies are based upon certain main principles and these have been embodied, with brief instructions as to procedure, in a draft memorandum which has been prepared for the guidance of Political Officers. The remarks or criticism of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs are invited on the subject.

Attached.

### ENCLOSURE OF NO. I.

(Draft.)

### MEMORANDUM REGARDING THE CEREMONIES TO BE OBSERVED ON THE OCCASION OF INSTALLATION AND INVESTITURE DUR- BARS IN NATIVE STATES.

\* In some cases the power to sanction successions is delegated to the Local Administration. 1. Every succession requires the approval and sanction of Government.\*

2. It is essential that such approval and sanction should be announced in a formal, installation Durbar by a representative of the British Government.

3. When His Excellency the Viceroy or the Head of a Local Government is present at an installation ceremony, the Durbar is held by him throughout, the *gadi* (or *masnad*) of the Prince or Chief being placed on the right of the seat occupied by the Viceroy, Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, as the case may be. When the Head of a Local Administration is present at an installation ceremony, the question whether the Durbar is held by him, or not is decided in each case with reference to local custom.

When the Political Officer accredited to the State represents the British Government at the installation, the Durbar is not held by him and his seat is placed to the right of the *gadi* (or *masnad*).

4. Owing to the diversity of local custom no definite instructions can be formulated regarding the procedure to be followed at the installation Durbar but the main outlines are as follows :—

- (a) The representative of the British Government conducts the Prince or Chief to the *gadi* (or *masnad*) when the moment arrives, if this is in accordance with the custom of the State or is desired by local feeling.

- (b) In cases where it is customary the representative of the British Government fastens on the *sarpech* or sword or both and places a necklace round the neck of the Prince or Chief. Sometimes he also attires the Prince or Chief in a robe.
- (c) After the ceremony of installation is complete, the British representative formally announces Government's approval and confirmation of the succession, and presents the *Kharita*, if there be one, from His Excellency the Viceroy or from the Head of the Local Government or Administration, as the case may be. A *khilat* is also presented in cases where it is customary and *peshkash* is received in return.

5. If a newly-installed Prince or Chief is of full age, the installation carries with it *proprio vigore* the investiture with ruling powers\* unless Government see fit to restrict by special order the exercise of powers by the Prince or Chief.

6. If a Prince or Chief is a minor at the time of his installation, another ceremony is required later to mark his investiture with ruling powers and in that case the ceremonies described in paragraph 4(b) or some portion of them are often appropriately postponed till such investiture.

7. The ceremony of investiture should be arranged in such manner as may seem fit and suitable to the object of proclaiming the termination of the minority of the Prince or Chief and his assumption of the rulership.

8. When His Excellency the Viceroy or the Head of a Local Government performs the ceremony of investiture, the Durbar is held by him throughout the *gadi* (or *masnad*) of the Prince or Chief being placed on the right of the seat occupied by the Viceroy, Governor or the Lieutenant-Governor, as the case may be. When the ceremony is performed by the Head of a Local Administration or by the Political Officer accredited to the State, the question whether the Durbar is held by him or by the Prince or Chief is decided with reference to local custom.

9. After the Durbar is opened, the *Kharita*, if there be one, from the Viceroy, is read, and the original is presented to the Prince or Chief. After presentation the Viceroy's salute is sometimes fired by the State Artillery.

10. In cases where it is customary, the Prince or Chief is conducted to the *gadi* (or *masnad*) in token of his investiture with ruling powers. The ceremonies described in paragraph 4(b) or some portion of them, are then performed when they have been omitted from the installation and if this is in accordance with local custom.

11. An investiture ceremony is sometimes held to mark the withdrawal of temporary restrictions which the Government of India may have thought fit to impose on the exercise of ruling powers by a Prince or Chief who is not a minor.

12. Details of procedure must be settled in each case, whether of installation or investiture, with reference to precedent and local custom and feeling, reference being made to the Government of India in regard to any doubtful point.

\* The nature and extent of the powers vary according to the circumstances and importance of the State.

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. II.***Realisation from Insolvent Debtors of Assets in State Territory.*

It has been brought to the notice of the Government of India that difficulties have been experienced by Insolvency Courts in British India in realising the assets of insolvent debtors which are situated in Native States. The Adjudication Orders under which the estates and effects of insolvent debtors are vested in the Official Assignee, under the Presidency Towns Insolvency Act, 1909 (III of 1909), are naturally not recognised by the authorities in Native States, and the result is that creditors who are residents of Native States file suits, obtain decrees, and attach and realise the assets, which are thus realised by individual creditors for their own benefit, although properly distributable among all the creditors rateably. In some cases, immediately after the Adjudication Order is made a creditor who may have a title to be declared the subject of a particular State, though residing and carrying on business in British India, institutes insolvency proceedings in that State, and the property situated in that State as also the books of account are accordingly lost to the creditors residing in British India. Again, there have been cases of insolvents absconding to State territory with their books and available cash and thus placing themselves outside the jurisdiction of the British Insolvency Court. Sometimes it is impossible for the Official Assignee to declare a final dividend until it is known what the creditors have realised from insolvents' property in Native States by means of civil suits which they have filed on their own responsibility. In some cases they recover their dues either in whole or in part in a State and at the same time prove their claims for a further dividend in the British Insolvency Court.

2. It has been suggested—

(1) that in the case of any States which have or are prepared to adopt any form of insolvency law it should be agreed—

- (a) that on production in any court in a Native State, having insolvency jurisdiction, of an Adjudication Order made by a British Indian Court, the State Court should itself, if the insolvent is alleged to be or to have property, in such State, make a like order, and (subject to proper safeguards) *vice versa* ;
- (b) that no Adjudication Order so made on the application of either party should be annulled except upon annulment of the original adjudication, by the court of the applying party ;
- (c) that after the making of such orders the court of each party should proceed with all despatch to realise all assets of the insolvent within their respective jurisdictions and to admit proof of debts from their respective subjects ; and
- (d) that equal distributions should be made simultaneously from the realisations by each court to creditors proving before it, any surplus held by one being handed over for this purpose to the other as occasion may require : and

(2) that in the case of a State which may not desire to adopt any form of insolvency law, it should agree to treat an Adjudication Order of a British Indian Court as a ground for attachment before judgment of all property of the insolvent within its jurisdiction, and the same order when supplemented by a sworn certificate, from the Official Assignee or the Receiver appointed by the

British Indian Court, of the amount of debts, as a decree in his favour, and to execute the same and to hand over the proceeds of execution to him. In consideration of such arrangement Government would agree to admit all subjects of the Native State proving as creditors in the insolvency to equal rights with other creditors in the distribution of the assets.

3. A similar arrangement with other States might equally be made by any State which adopted for itself some form of insolvency procedure.

4. The Darbars of the larger States may have experienced similar difficulties in connection with the realisation from insolvent debtors of assets in British India, and if so, they would perhaps be glad to co-operate in devising a scheme which may afford reciprocal protection in this matter.

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### **Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. III.**

#### *Design for the Higher Chiefs' College.*

At a Conference held at Delhi in March 1913 the Ruling Princes and Chiefs decided that it was desirable to establish an institution for the higher education of boys from the Chiefs' Colleges and to found a separate College for the purpose. At the Conference held in March 1914 it was further decided that the proposed College, if established, should be located at Delhi.

Some designs and plans were prepared and these will be available for inspection by Ruling Princes and Chiefs during the Conference.

It appears probable, however, that the design adopted does not permit of sufficient accommodation for individual students and the opinions of Ruling Princes and Chiefs are invited on this point and on the designs generally.

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### **Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. IV.**

#### *Form of Minority Administrations in Native States.*

This question has previously been under consideration of the Government of India and various suggestions have been made, e.g.,—

- (1) that the administration should be conducted by a Regent, where a suitable one is available, either alone or assisted by a Council ;
- (2) that the administration should be that of a Council presided over by the Political Officer in political charge of the State.

In view of the diversity of opinion expressed by those consulted and the difficulty of formulating any general rule applicable to all States, the Government of India have hitherto abstained from defining their policy on the subject. They will, however, be glad if Ruling Princes and Chiefs attending the Conference will discuss the matter among themselves, so that their views may be known to the Government of India.

**Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. V.***Question of the Education and Administrative training of the Minor Princes and Chiefs.*

The opinion of Ruling Princes and Chiefs are invited on the subject of the education and moral training of minor Rulers with special reference to the question whether it is advisable that any portion of the period of training should be spent in Europe, and if so, in what circumstances.

**Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. VI.***Control and regulation of motor vehicles brought temporarily from Native States into British India or from British India into Native States.*

Under instructions from the Government of India Political Officers have recently addressed Darbars on the subject of the control and regulation of motor vehicles brought temporarily into British India or from British India into Native States and there used and driven. Darbars have been furnished

with copies of the Home Department Notification\* No. 627, dated 6th July 1916, prescribing the conditions subject to which motor vehicles from Native States may be brought temporarily into British India, and the views† of the Government of India in regard to the further action to be taken in pursuance of the object of the rules have been communicated to Darbars.

The remarks of Ruling Princes and Chiefs are invited on the subject generally with special reference to the following points :—

- (a) the best method of facilitating recognition by British officials of motor vehicles brought into British India by Ruling Princes, and
- (b) the grant of reciprocity by Darbars in the matter of licensing and registration of all motor vehicles from British India entering into or passing through Darbar territory.

**ENCLOSURE I OF No. VI.***Notification by the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 627 (Judicial), dated the 6th July 1916.*

Whereas it is expedient to prescribe conditions subject to which motor vehicles from Native States may be brought temporarily into British India and there used and driven :

Now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by section 14 of the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1914 (VIII of 1914), the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following rules :—

1. These rules may be called the Motor Vehicles (Native States) Rules, 1916.

2. In these "Magistrate" means the District Magistrate or in a Presidency Town, or Rangoon, the Commissioner of Police.

3. No motor vehicle owned by a person ordinarily resident in a Native State, which is not duly registered under the said Act, shall be used or driven by any person in British India unless such motor vehicle bears such mark of identification as may be prescribed by the Political Officer for the territory in which the owner thereof ordinarily resides.

4. (1) Where any such motor vehicle is kept in British India for a period exceeding 10 days at any one time, no person shall use or drive the same unless authorised to do so under a permit issued in this behalf by the Magistrate.

(2) The owner or person in charge may apply to the Magistrate for a permit under these rules and shall furnish him with a description of the motor vehicle and such other particulars as may be required by the said Magistrate.

(3) The Magistrate may thereupon issue to the applicant, in such form and for such period as the said Magistrate may deem expedient, a permit to use the said vehicle in British India.

(4) Any Magistrate empowered under these rules may, from time to time, extend the period of any such permit, or, for reasons to be recorded, cancel the same.

5. Nothing in these rules shall affect any of the provisions of the Motor Vehicles International Circulation Rules, 1915, or apply to any motor vehicle covered by an International Travelling Pass.

6. Nothing in these rules shall apply to Rulers of Natives States or to motor vehicles owned by them.

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ENCLOSURE II OF No. VI.

*Instructions to Political Officers in regard to the further action to be taken in Native States for the control and regulation of motor vehicles brought temporarily from Native States into British India or from British India into Native States.*

(a) Under Rule 6 the Rulers of Native States, and motor vehicles owned by them, are exempted altogether from the operation of the Rules. Ruling Princes and Chiefs should, however, be advised to have some crest or emblem affixed to the Darbar motor vehicles when entering British India so as to facilitate their recognition by British officials.

(b) If and when a Native State adopts the provisions of the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1914, as a State law, the fact should be notified to the various Local Governments and Administrations in which case the rules framed under the Indian Motor Vehicles Act will not be enforced, and reciprocity in matters of licensing and registration will be granted on the same terms as subsist between the different provinces of British India.

Where the Act is not adopted by a Darbar the rules will apply.

(c) To save inconvenience to private owner of motor vehicles duly registered in States whose Darbars adopt the provisions of the Act, it is desirable that the authorities of the neighbouring British districts should be advised through the Political Officer of the marks of identification or emblems that may be prescribed by the State. These should not conflict with the marks or emblems prescribed by other States or British Provinces.

(d) Any Darbars which have not adopted as a State law the provisions of the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1914, and do not contemplate doing so, should be requested to give due publicity to the provisions of the rules under discussion, and to warn private owners of motor vehicles before entering British territory to obtain the necessary mark of identification from the Political Officers accredited to the State.

(e) In prescribing the marks of identification for any States within his political charge, the Political Officer will take into consideration any suggestions that may be made to him by the Darbar or Darbars concerned. He should transmit to the authorities of the neighbouring British districts a description of the mark of identification prescribed by him. No fee should be charged for the grant of the mark of identification.

(f) If any Darbars have framed or contemplate framing Motor Vehicles Acts of their own they should be asked to grant reciprocity in the matter of licensing and registration to all motor vehicles from British India entering into or passing through Darbar territory.

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### Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. VII.

*Question of the Amendment of Clause 6 of the Orders of the Government of India, dated 4th October 1913, regarding the payment of compensation for land required in British India and in Native States for railway purposes so as to explain more clearly the rights and obligations of both parties in the matter of quarrying and excavation of stone and other material for railway purposes.*

It has been brought to notice that the orders contained in paragraph 2(6)\*

\* Copy attached. of the Government of India orders of 4th October 1913, regarding the right to quarry stone and excavate material for railway purposes without payment of royalty require amendment, since in many cases it is not practicable to assess the compensation for land acquired, so as to cover the royalty leviable on stone and other materials quarried and excavated for railway purposes.

It is accordingly proposed that the following paragraph should be substituted for paragraph 2(6) :—

“(6) When a railway is constructed by a Darbar in British territory, the Darbar will have precisely the same rights as any other railway administration in the matter of quarrying stone or excavating material required for railway purposes.

“When a State railway or a railway worked by a Company is constructed in Native State territory, the general principle to be observed is that the State or Company railway shall enjoy the same rights as regards quarrying or excavating as a Darbar enjoys in British territory, the rates of royalty payable being determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in paragraph (4) above for the assessment of compensation for land acquired.

“Where land is required especially for quarrying or excavating for railway purposes the conditions as regards period of occupation and method of working such quarries or excavations will be settled by mutual consent or, in case of dispute, by arbitration as in the case of assessment of compensation.”

ENCLOSURE OF No. VII.

*Principles which are observed at present in the payment of compensation for land required in British India and in Native States for railway purposes.*

1. When land in British territory is required for the purposes of a railway constructed or to be constructed at the expense of a Native State, such land as is in private ownership will be acquired by the British revenue authorities, as for a public purpose, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. The Darbar will be required to pay, as compensation for the land made over to them, the actual amount of the awards paid in the case of private land, and in the case of Government land, the full market value, *plus* such incidental items of expenditure as the cost of establishment, demarcation, stationery. The Darbar will also be required to pay compensation for the value of extinguished land revenue, the amount to be settled by negotiation in individual cases, due regard being had to the indirect advantages accruing to the British Government from the railway. Where differences of opinion between the Darbar and the revenue authorities occur as to the compensation payable on account of extinguished land revenue, an arbiter shall be appointed by the Local Government concerned or, in the case of Darbars in direct political relations with the Government of India, by the Government of India, and his decision shall be final.

2. Before making an award in the case of private land to be acquired for a Darbar the responsible officer will give sufficient notice to the officer of the Darbar concerned, and will take into consideration any representation which such officer may make, whether it is made orally or by letter. More especially he will, before making the award, allow such officer an opportunity of appearing in person or by agent and of producing evidence as to the value of the land.

3. When land is required in Native State territory for the purposes of State railways proper, or State railways worked by Companies, or Companies' railways, the general principle to be observed is that, so far as possible, the same degree of compensation shall be paid to the Darbar as is payable by Darbars under the provisions of the preceding clauses. Where the terms of a Railway Company's contract provide that the Secretary of State will use his good offices to secure the provision of land in Native State territory free of cost, the question whether compensation will be paid or not will be left for negotiation between the Political authorities and the Darbar.

4. In order to give effect to these general principles, the following procedure should be adopted :—

In all cases in which it is proposed to acquire land for railway purposes and the Darbar are entitled to compensation, estimates of the amount payable will be framed as expeditiously as possible by the Darbar, and forwarded to the railway administration concerned, who should be given all necessary facilities for checking the estimates. If such estimates are accepted by the latter, they will be treated as a settlement. Where, however, differences of opinion between the Darbar and the railway administration concerned occur as to the compensation payable, or where the amount of an award is raised by action in a Court of Law and the railway administration is not prepared to pay to the Darbar the increased sum demanded, arbitration will take place. If both parties signify in writing their consent to such a course, the arbiter shall be the Political



Officer concerned, and his decision will be final. In other cases the compensation payable will be assessed by an arbiter appointed by the Government of India, or in the case of a Darbar which has not direct political relations with the Government of India by the Local Government concerned. With this arbiter will be associated a representative of the Darbar and a railway official, and the award will be final. In these latter cases the arbitrator will decide the incidence of the cost of the arbitration.

5. In determining the amount of the compensation payable, Political Officers and other arbiters will be guided by the general principle that the amount shall be equivalent to what would have been payable by the Darbar had acquisition taken place in British territory and had compensation been assessed in the manner laid down in clause (1), *ante*.

6. Where land is acquired either for a Darbar's railway in British territory or for a State railway or railway worked by a Company in Native State territory, the compensation paid under the provisions of the foregoing clauses will be held to cover the right to quarry stone and to excavate sand, clay, earth or other material for the purposes of the railway on the land so acquired, without payment of royalty.

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### Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. VIII.

#### *Development of Industries in Native States.*

Sir T. Holland, President, Indian Industrial Commission, has kindly agreed to be present at the Conference, if circumstances permit, with a view to discussing the question with any Ruling Princes or Chiefs who are likely to be interested in the work of the Commission.

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### Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. IX.

*Resolutions passed by the Second Conference held at Delhi on the 3rd March 1914, to discuss the Proposal to establish a College for the Higher Education of Chiefs and Nobles.*

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III. That this Conference is in favour of the admission to the proposed College of young men from leading aristocratic families in British India, and consider that the support of such families should be invited.

As a preliminary to such invitation, it is considered that a Committee should be appointed to select families to whom invitations might suitably be addressed.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.***30th October 1916.***HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.****YOUR HIGHNESSES,—**

I welcome Your Highnesses very heartily to this Chamber, which is to be the scene of your deliberations for the next few days. Princes and Chiefs have gathered at Delhi many a time in pomp and circumstance to celebrate some splendid moment in the history of the Empire, but it is only of late years that Delhi has witnessed such an assemblage as this of Rulers from all parts of India, met without formality or ceremonial to deliberate upon matters affecting the interests of their order and to assist the Government of India in the solution of important problems of administration.

I am aware that to many of Your Highnesses the moment which we have been compelled to choose for holding this Conference is not entirely suitable, that your presence here to-day has involved the laying aside of pressing duties and that, apart from the inconvenience of the long train journey to Delhi, your residence in such cramped quarters as are available here is attended with much discomfort. All this involves considerable self-denial, but I am convinced that you have rightly counted the cost and I look forward to the time when Your Highnesses will be received on future visits with the ceremonial befitting the occasion ; while in the mansions which many of Your Highnesses are proposing to build upon the plains of new Delhi and in the Guest-House which we are planning, you will find accommodation suitable to your dignity.

The great war in which the Empire is engaged is still proceeding, and though the ultimate issue is certain, there is still much to be done before a settlement can be secured which will meet the just demands of Great Britain and her Allies and ensure for the world a firm and lasting peace. In this war Your Highnesses have stood forth as true "pillars of the Empire" and both by personal service in the field and lavish contributions in men, money and material you have earned for yourselves a place in the hearts of the British people which will remain for all time. I am glad to say that the value of the work rendered in the field by the Imperial Service Troops has been recognised by the declaration, recently communicated to me, of their eligibility for the Victoria Cross. I know that I may count on you not to relax your efforts until the struggle is ended and final victory is won. But even in the midst of this great upheaval of nations and with the din of battle still ringing in our ears, the ordinary business of life cannot be entirely left undone. While, therefore, our main aim must still be to put forth our whole strength in supporting our brave armies in the field, Your Highnesses may well turn aside for a moment to discuss your own affairs and to seek every means for adding to the well-being of your States and of your people.

Before, however, I embark on an explanation of the agenda to be placed before Your Highnesses, I think it may be convenient for me to define more precisely the scope of this Conference and its meaning. His Highness of Gwalior, in replying to Lord Hardinge's opening address in 1913, spoke of an identity of interest between the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and the Government

of His Imperial Majesty and expressed a hope that such Conferences as that on the question of the Higher College might be frequently repeated. The Maharaja of Bikaner, on a similar occasion in 1914, spoke in plainer terms of the organic connection between the Ruling Princes and the Government of India which partnership involves. His Highness prognosticated that the deliberations of the Conference would not only be of great advantage to yourselves, your States and your people, but also of value to the Imperial Government. Finally, His Highness suggested that the Conference should be convened at stated intervals, and that its business should be placed on a regular and proper basis. Lord Hardinge, in reply, assured the Conference that the ideas expressed by the Maharaja of Bikaner had his warm sympathy, and with that assurance I desire to associate myself without reservation.

With regard to this Conference, then let me say, Your Highnesses have been invited to meet together to-day to advise the Government of India on certain matters concerning yourselves, your States and your people. There have been so many rumours with regard to the scope and meaning of this Conference that I think it well to define them in clear and unmistakable terms. There are questions constantly arising in respect of your States, your people and yourselves on which the Government of India would like your free and frank advice. I have asked you therefore to meet together and give us that advice, and I hope that Your Highnesses will consider it worth your while at the cost of some inconvenience to help us in this way.

As to the meaning of this Conference, if Your Highnesses, after your experience of this meeting, regard it as of value of come together again and discuss such matters as I have indicated, for my part I shall be delighted to renew my invitation. It may be that in time to come, some constitutional assemblage may grow out of these Conferences which will take its place in the Government of this great Empire, but for the moment I would ask you to content yourselves with the prosaic but useful task of advising the Government of India on certain specific matters. I believe I am not far wrong in thinking that this course will commend itself to the majority of Your Highnesses. You are jealous, and rightly jealous, of your position as Ruling Chiefs and Princes owing allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and there is, I hope, no need for me to assure you that I have no desire to impinge on that position or to interfere in your domestic concerns: conversely Your Highnesses will, I am sure, not be desirous of intervening in the domestic affairs of British India.

With this agreement in essentials between Your Highnesses and the Government of India, we may, I think leave the future to decide for itself the question of constitutional development as it arises.

The existence of harmonious relations between Your Highnesses and the Government of India is a matter of supreme importance and it behoves us to seek every means by which such harmony may be preserved.

With this object in view, then, I have invited you to be present to-day, but I shall be only too glad to receive from Your Highnesses any suggestions which you may offer to make these Conferences both practical and fruitful in good results.

At the two previous Conferences, which were held in 1913 and 1914, Your Highnesses discussed a scheme for founding at Delhi an institution at which the sons of Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Nobles should be enabled to obtain a course of education comparable with, although in some respects

different to, that provided at the Universities of this country. The Resolutions which were passed indicated that the majority of opinion was strongly in favour of the undertaking, but a serious difficulty presented itself in regard to the provision of funds for the building and endowment of the College. Subscriptions and donations promised and anticipated represented approximately a capital sum of 28 lakhs, and means had to be devised for the collection of at least 36 lakhs more if the College were to be adequately equipped and maintained. A small Committee was accordingly appointed to consider means by which the field of subscription might be enlarged. Owing to the war, Lord Hardinge reluctantly decided not to call Your Highnesses to Conference last cold weather, and the question has therefore been held temporarily in abeyance. The Committee will shortly present to Your Highnesses the result of the enquiries which have been made and it will rest with you to decide what action should be taken on their recommendations.

Apart from the question of the Higher College, there are no less than eight other matters in regard to which I have decided to consult Your Highnesses on this occasion. The second, third, sixth and seventh items on the agenda require but little comment from me, as the points at issue are adequately explained in the Memoranda. I would only say, with regard to the second item, that many of Your Highnesses will have realised, as vividly as we do in British India, the importance of devising some arrangement whereby the assets of insolvents in British India and in your States respectively may be realised and made available for equitable distribution to creditors. The matter is one of considerable difficulty, but I hope that the solution may be found on the line suggested.

Item No. 1 relates to a matter which is, I know, regarded by Your Highnesses as of the highest importance. Every detail of the ceremonial observed on the solemn occasions of the Installation and Investiture of a Ruling Prince has of necessity a special significance, and Darbars are rightly concerned to establish beyond the possibility of doubt the practice and procedure which the traditions of the State demand. Mistakes have been committed in the past and misunderstandings have arisen in consequence of the doubt and uncertainty which has prevailed, but I have every hope that with your assistance we shall be enabled to remove the subject altogether from the field of controversy for the future. Diversity of custom renders it impossible to formulate definite programmes of ceremonial for common observance, nor would any good object be served by attempting to do so. The draft Memorandum for the guidance of Political Officers has accordingly been prepared so as to afford full scope to varying custom, special stress being laid upon those features only which appear to the Government of India to mark and symbolise the relations existing between the States and the Paramount Power.

In regard to items 4 and 5 of the agenda, it is known to Your Highnesses that Lord Minto, while Viceroy, took steps to ascertain the opinions of the leading Darbars regarding the principles to be observed during minority administrations. The information then elicited was of great value, but it was necessarily incomplete. Lord Hardinge, in order to elucidate important points which were still in doubt, convened a Committee consisting of Their Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Begum of Bhopal, the Political Secretary and two other officers of the Political Department. The Committee met at Delhi in February last and, as the result of their recommendations, Lord Hardinge's Government directed the observance of certain principles during minorities in the larger States of Central India and

Rajputana. During the Committee's deliberations, however, it appeared that considerable divergence of opinion existed as to the most suitable form of constitution to be adopted during a minority and as to the appropriate methods of educating and training minor Princes and Chiefs. I have, therefore, included these two points in the agenda for the present Conference in the hope that further light may be shed upon them in a more general discussion.

In regard to item No. 8, I am glad to inform you that Sir Thomas Holland has expressed himself as deeply interested in the economical and industrial possibilities of your States, and any Darbars that decide to invite the expert assistance of him and his Commission will certainly receive sympathetic and helpful advice. The war is changing the channels in which the commerce of the world has flowed for many years. India must manufacture more in order to supply not only her own markets, but the markets of other countries beyond the seas, and everywhere throughout the Empire it is of paramount urgency that we should replace by production the terrible losses caused by this war. In India labour, skill, materials and capital are available and only knowledge, application and co-ordination are needed to enable rich harvests to be reaped. The more important and most highly-organised industries are naturally located as a rule in the large towns of British India, but several of the greater States have wisely and successfully exploited their mineral resources; have fostered and developed their local industries, and have encouraged and financed commercial undertakings. There is no reason why your States should not share in the enterprises that we earnestly hope may be set on foot when the war is over and in the material rewards that may be gained therefrom, and I therefore recommend this eighth item of the agenda to Your Highnesses' very serious consideration.

In conclusion, may I add a personal note to what I have said? Nothing struck me more on my arrival in India than the clear manifestations of the good-will which had existed between my predecessor and many of Your Highnesses during his Viceroyalty. I would wish to maintain and, if possible, improve that tradition of good-will.

Your Highnesses would be the first to acknowledge that the questions of business which have to be transacted between yourselves and the Government of India must be carried on through the medium of that distinguished body of men which forms the Political Department of the Government of India, and I feel sure that you would also acknowledge that no body of men had done more faithful service, not only on behalf of their own Government, but in the real interests of Your Highnesses and your States. But rare cases do sometimes arise where there is a difference of opinion, and as to these I should like to inform Your Highnesses that I hold myself bound to investigate personally the issues at stake, and endeavour to act as an impartial judge. There are for the most part Treaties between the British Crown and your States. These Treaties are sacred, and I can assure you that it will be my earnest desire to maintain them not only in the letter, but in the spirit in which they were framed.

With this brief personal reference, which I have allowed myself on this the first occasion of my meeting the majority of Your Highnesses, I invite you to commence your deliberations. I shall await the result with keen interest and am confident that the Government of India will have reason to be grateful for your advice, which will not only redound to the interests of your States, but give one more proof—not that that is necessary—of your abiding loyalty to the King-Emperor and his Crown.

SPEECH BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF  
BARODA.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

At the request of the Ruling Princes present at the Conference, I rise to offer to Your Excellency on our united behalf our grateful thanks for the kind welcome which you have given us and for the courteous and gratifying terms in which you have alluded to us ; and to the principles and policy guiding the relations of Your Excellency and the Government of India in matters affecting the Ruling Princes and the Indian States.

2. In regard to the generous terms in which Your Excellency has spoken of the share which, we feel proud to think, it has been our privilege to have taken in the great War, we need only say that, as in the past so in the future, it shall be our effort to do everything that lies in our power for His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and the great British Empire with which our destinies are indissolubly linked. The announcement which Your Excellency has just made regarding the eligibility for the Victoria Cross of our troops which we maintain for the defence of the Empire will be hailed with great satisfaction.

3. We are indeed happy to hear all that Your Excellency has said in regard to these Conferences and specially with reference to Your Excellency's staunch sympathy with our aspirations as to the future outcome of such Assemblies.

4. With the identity of interests which undoubtedly exists between the British Government and the Ruling Princes and the position which we enjoy, it will, at all times, not only be of advantage to us, but also a course of pleasure and satisfaction, to be of what assistance we can in the way of advising and perhaps assisting Your Excellency and your Government in important problems concerning the affairs of ourselves, our States and our people. Apart from all Imperial conceptions, duties and obligations, it is no less in our own interests that we welcome such Conferences and cherish the hope of their future development on constitutional lines. For with the march of the times—and no man can put back the hand of the clock—it is in our opinion of the utmost importance to ourselves, our States and our people that we should have a regularly assigned and definite place in the Constitution of the Empire ; and indeed that there should at an early date come into existence an institution, which we have consistently advocated, such as a Council or Assembly of Princes formed on proper lines, where important questions concerning ourselves can be discussed and settled. The great importance which we attach to meetings of this kind is fully demonstrated—if further proofs were needed—by the fact that such a large and representative number of Ruling Princes have assembled here from each and every Province in India including far-away Madras and Bengal.

5. We have no desire to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want any body outside our States to interfere with the affairs of our own States and ourselves ; and all that we aspire to is that apart from our having recognised and constitutional means of bringing before the distinguished Representative in India of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor questions affecting our States, ourselves, and our people, we should also, representing as we do in area one-third of the Indian Empire and one-fourth of its entire population, have a voice in the settlement thereof.

6. Your Excellency has yourself been pleased to lay stress on the supreme importance of the existence of harmonious relations between the Government of India and ourselves and of seeking every means by which to preserve and improve them and we should venture to express the opinion that nothing will be more productive of such results than the establishment of a Council of Princes which will meet at regular intervals.

7. We do not wish to take up any more time of Your Excellency and of this Conference by lengthening our reply, and therefore it only remains for us to offer our warmest and most grateful thanks to Your Excellency for your emphatic assurances on three important points ; your desire to maintain, and if possible to improve, the very cordial relations which existed between the Ruling Princes and that great Viceroy and statesman, Lord Hardinge ; of your determination to investigate personally and impartially to judge, in cases where differences of opinion may arise ; and of your earnest desire to maintain, and to treat as sacred, the Treaties between the British Crown and our States ; and to interpret them not only in the letter but also in the spirit in which they were framed.

8. In conclusion, we feel we cannot allow an unique occasion like the present to pass without once more giving expression to our sense of unflinching loyalty and deep attachment to the Person and Throne of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor ; and we beg Your Excellency to convey to His Imperial Majesty the respectful assurances of our readiness to make all possible sacrifices to further the cause of the great Empire to which we have the pride and privilege to belong.

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His Excellency the Viceroy acknowledged His Highness's speech and then retired and the Hon'ble Mr. Wood took the Chair.

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#### Item No. IX of the Agenda.

The Chairman suggested that items Nos. III and IX on the Agenda should first be discussed, and stated that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner would present the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of the selection of the families who might be invited to interest themselves in the Higher Chiefs' College.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner presented the Report of the Select Committee consisting of Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, His Highness the Rao of Cutch, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, the Hon'ble Mr. Wood and himself. It was in accordance with the third Resolution of the Chiefs' Colleges Conference of 1913 that this Committee met to suggest to whom invitations should be sent amongst the aristocracy of India. The Committee's Report was now before Their Highnesses and he (the Maharaja of Bikaner) did not think he need explain anything further. The recommendations of the Committee were on the first page.

The Chairman proposed that, if Their Highnesses wished to discuss the Report of this Committee, it might be more convenient to postpone the discussion till to-morrow, unless any one had any remarks to make on the present occasion.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar enquired whether any definite principles had been laid down in selecting the families.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** stated that they had been guided by the principles enumerated in the Report.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** said he understood the families selected were to be the leading aristocratic families and those possessed of an income of not less than Rs. 50,000 a year, and title-holders.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** pointed out that they did not take every man in British India who had an income of over Rs. 50,000, but they included the aristocratic families, hereditary Chiefs and Nawabs and Rajas, and Baronets who had had the hereditary honour of Baronet conferred on them by the King. They had proceeded on these principles and on the conditions enumerated in the Report. He understood they had a list of all such who were available, either those qualified by incomes of Rs. 50,000 or who answered the tests of hereditary title-holders, etc. It however rested with Their Highnesses to consider the Report of the Committee. Any other case arising on its merits would be considered by the Governing Body.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** asked if it would not be possible to postpone the discussion till to-morrow.

**The Chairman** thought this would be the best plan. It needed a little study before they discussed it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** said there was one other point which he might bring forward. It dealt with classes of people who perhaps at present were not admitted into the existing colleges such as the Mayo College, the Daly College, and the Aitchison College at Lahore. Of course the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, and Nobles from other States and other people in British India who already had admission into our existing Chiefs' Colleges would be admitted on that test into the Higher Chiefs' College.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** suggested that they might discuss the whole question of the Higher Chiefs' College.

**The Chairman** said if they wished to raise the whole question that might be taken afterwards.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** thought they might put off discussion of the Report for the present.

**The Chairman** said it would not be advisable to put it off; some of the people mentioned in the Report might die, or anything might happen.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** said that in his opinion it ought to be postponed for a year.

**The Chairman** said he took it that Their Highnesses' general opinion was that the discussion of this Report should be postponed till to-morrow. Did any one object to that?

It was generally agreed that the discussion of the Report should be postponed till to-morrow.

### Item No. III of the Agenda.

**The Chairman** said that the next question for consideration was the question of plans for the College. He thought most of Their Highnesses had seen the plans.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** thought it was premature to discuss the question of the plans before they had obtained funds and knew the number of students who could be accommodated in the College.



**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** wished to know whether they could not go into the point of individual accommodation and settle that. If they got 200 students they would have to provide for 200 ; if they got less they would have to provide for the lesser number.

**The Chairman** :—Do you mean the amount of accommodation for each unit ?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—Yes. His Highness thought they might go into the point as to the number of rooms required. If Their Highnesses approved of that, they might make a little progress.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Does that mean that there is not enough accommodation provided in the existing plans for each boy or not sufficient accommodation for the number of boys likely to come there ?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—What I gather is that there is not sufficient accommodation for each boy.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** said that it appeared to him premature to consider the plans before it was known what funds were available. Besides the present was an unsuitable time to take up this question as, owing to the great war, almost every Prince had his financial resources fairly taxed and could ill-afford to spare any funds for any work of general public interest. The matters that naturally deserved careful consideration before the scheme was actually embarked on were the following, *viz.*, who would be the Governing Body of this College, and who would constitute the Council.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** (interrupting) asked whether these were not questions for discussion to-morrow.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** thought that if Their Highnesses postponed the consideration of the Report of the Committee till to-morrow, they might well postpone the consideration of the whole question till then. If they first settled the question of funds and resources and other important points, then it would not be very difficult to see the plans and settle about them.

**The Chairman** enquired if he could take it that Their Highnesses' view was that the question of the plans should be shelved for the present until the main question was decided.

**RESOLVED** that the consideration of the question of the plans for the College should be postponed until the main question had been settled.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** thought it would be better to get through any business they could get through that day. If they went on postponing every question they would either prolong the duration of the Conference or rush the other questions.

**The Chairman** said that all that Their Highnesses had to do was to look at the plans and say whether they thought them suitable, or make any suggestions they wished.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** argued that unless it was settled that they were to collect subscriptions or that they should have a College, what was the use of seeing the plans.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** thought the best thing would be to put off the consideration of the plans till the whole question was settled.

**The Chairman** :—I put it to the meeting that the consideration of the plans should be postponed till the whole question has been decided. I think that is the general sense of the meeting.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—I think some of the Chiefs are for the disposal of the question of the plans to-day.

**The Chairman :**—Would Your Highnesses wish this question put to the vote whether it should be postponed or not ?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—I do not want to press the point.

**The Chairman :**—His Highness the Rao of Cutch would like the matter to be settled now. Is there any one else of that opinion ?

(To His Highness the Rao)—I think Your Highness may take it that the sense of the meeting is that the question should be postponed.

#### Item No. IV of the Agenda.

**The Chairman** said that the next two questions for consideration were items 4 and 5 in the Agenda. The first was the form of minority administrations in Native States. As His Excellency had said in his speech, this question was left out of consideration by the Committee which discussed the whole question of the principles to be adopted in minority administrations. The Committee came to no conclusion as to what the form of the administration should be and it was for Their Highnesses now to consider and advise the Government of India as to what the most suitable form should be, whether it should be, for instance by a Regent, either alone or assisted by a Council, or whether it should be a Council presided over by the Political Officer in charge of the State. He thought that was a matter for general discussion, and he asked Their Highnesses to say what they had to say on the subject, and eventually perhaps some general Resolution might be proposed. Although he thought that it was a matter on which there were likely to be many differences of opinion, yet if Their Highnesses did come to an agreement it would be of great assistance to the Government of India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—I want to suggest an improvement on the opinion I have already given. There should be two Councils, one an Executive Council and the other a Legislative or Advisory Council. That is the only thing I can suggest as an improvement on the opinion I have previously given.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :**—I agree with the opinion given by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir :**—The question of carrying on the administration during the minority of a Chief is one which should be solved with due regard to the local circumstances and customs. I am, however, of opinion that the more suitable form of administration is to conduct it by the agency of a Council.

The provision made in the Dastur-ul-Amal of the Jammu and Kashmir Ruling family shows :—

that in the event of the Chief being a minor of tender age, a number of State ministers constituting a Council will, up to the time of attaining his majority, conduct the administration on their own authority. That is, five officers, wise, able, experienced and well wishers of the State and who have not less than 15 years' service, but in fact more, should be appointed as Councillors.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal** gave her opinion as follows :—

I am disposed to agree with the view that the minority administration should be conducted by a Regent assisted by a Council ; the Legal Guardian of the minor should be the Regent. I also think that there should be an Executive and a Legislative Council.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch)** said that he would submit his opinion in writing.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala** :—It is impossible to evolve and lay down a uniform line of action in regard to minority administrations. The political and historical conditions and other local circumstances of the diverse States in India present such a vast dissimilarity that the adoption of one stereotyped standard would be simply impracticable. Perhaps the following broad principles may command general approval :—

A Regent, assisted by a Council (he may be called a Regent or President of the Council), should conduct the affairs of the State. Generally speaking, the senior male member of the ruling family, if he is otherwise fit to hold the position, should be selected. Administrative ability, amicable relations with the demised ruler in his life-time, interest in the welfare of the minor and good all-round reputation should be the criterion of the choice. Failing such a relative, the most capable official of the State should fill this position of trust and responsibility. The Council should consist of three or four of the most efficient and loyal state officials. If none of the officials answers to the necessary qualifications, an officer of the British Service would perhaps be the most suitable incumbent for the Regency. In the latter case, it should be clearly stipulated that in all important matters the advice of the Council must be sought.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Sir, any form of administration adopted for the period of minority should be based, if not already provided for as in the case of Phulkian States, on local feeling in consultation with the Sardars and Nobles and other representative inhabitants of the States.

The suggestion (1) may be accepted only if the arrangement is consistent with the traditions of the State and local customs. The best form of administration seems to be a small Council of local Sardars and officials of the State.

Suggestion (2) is open to objection as the duties of the Political Officer and of the President of the Council may demand inconsistent action. It is not possible to express any views on this thorny question without having the advantage of perusing the opinions that have been obtained on this point preparatory to their discussion in this Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar** :—I agree to a certain extent with His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala when he says that it is not convenient to lay down hard and fast rules because conditions may be different in different States at different times, but I think that conditions may also vary in the same State, and the same rule cannot possibly apply, or may not possibly apply, to two minors of the same State. I think certainly that the next-of-kin including the mother, if they show that they are capable of being Regents, should fill that post or position. But the capacity of the next-of-kin for administration is not always co-extensive with the general capacity for business or good education, and this may also be considered at the same time. Besides a Council of Regency is not always a simple procedure. Differences and conflicts of opinion are bound to arise, and even if there is a Regent, it is better to have a collective body who will act as a check on the individual despotism which might arise otherwise. Another important fact, we should remember, is the personal equation which must come in as the cases arise.

**His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla** :—(a) In my opinion the best and suitable administration for minors is a Council of Regency which should invariably administer the State during the minority of a Chief in preference to all other arrangements, such as the appointment of a Regent or a single superintendent, etc.

(b) The Council should consist of two members with the third member as the President.

(c) The appointment of the Members of the Council of Regency should be made with the greatest possible care and consideration, and the President and Members should be selected from the ablest, most loyal and honest officials of the State. The Political Agent should not preside over the Council of Regency.

(d) The will of the deceased Prince as to the constitution of the Council of Regency should always be respected.

(e) In the absence of any will, the Council of Regency should be appointed with the consultation of the neighbouring Chiefs and the friends of the deceased Prince.

(f) The Regent must be a relation of the minor Ruling Prince and on account of his relationship difficulties and complications arise and intrigues increase, so it is not at all desirable that a Regent should be appointed or that any relation should even be appointed on the Council of Regency.

(g) The Dowager-Maharani, Rani or Begum should also be consulted in all family matters and also in matters of administration if she is really interested in it.

(h) The Council should respect the traditions of the State and maintain its prestige and should not carry out reforms which may be prejudicial to the established rights of the State.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**The appointment of a Regent is not free from evil consequences. It is, on principle, objectionable that any near relative of the Ruler that is to be should have any hand in the administration, for by virtue of his position he naturally comes to wield a power and influence which often disturbs the harmony of the State and gives rise to dissensions and intrigue on account of divided interests. It is equally, if not more, objectionable to appoint the British Officer in political charge of the State as the President of a Regency Council. It amounts practically to the taking over of the State by the Government of India for the time being. Such a form of administration, however beneficial from a material point of view, is apt to impart to the State subjects a feeling of break in the continuity of the State rule and leads to disturb the feelings of tradition, allegiance and devotion on the part of the officials and subjects towards their Prince. It is also apt to upset or alter the old customs and usages. Under the zeal of the political officers to effect reforms they are generally overdone regardless of the fitness and readiness or otherwise of the State and the people to benefit by them, with the result that when such administration comes to end the reforms introduced become a dead letter, and the Prince is held responsible for the same. Besides, such a form is tantamount to interference by the Government of India in the internal affairs of a State, which it is their proclaimed intention to avoid.

The appointment of a Regency Council should; in case of States where no definite procedure has been laid down by the Ruler, be made in consultation with a provincial Council of the Ruling Princes which would also form a sort of an advisory body. In the administration of the State conducted tentatively by a Regency Council certain principles must be strictly observed and adhered to, the most important of which may be stated as follows :—

- (1) The Regency Council should be formed of the ablest administrators in the State, of proved loyalty and of high status. Where a Maharani-Dowager is present she should also be consulted in matters of administrative importance or relating to the customs and traditions of the House.

- (2) As far as possible the marriage of Ruling Princes should not be arranged during the minority by Regency Councils and should be deferred till the Prince or Chief grows to an age to express his own wishes or likings.
- (3) Except in cases of absolute necessity, residential buildings or palaces should not be constructed during the minority.
- (4) While measures of reform in the general administration by a Regency Council should be welcome, it must be strictly observed by the Council that they should introduce no such laws or regulations by which the general policy of the State or its established customs or traditions undergo a change.

**The Chairman** :—May I mention to Your Highness that we are discussing the particular point of the form of the minority administration, not of the principles by which the administration should be guided. On that the Committee has already sat. I apologise for the interruption.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** said that he had already given his views on that point.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said that he wished to suggest one point and that was the right of the Dowager-Maharani to be appointed as Regent. He said that he did not suggest that in every case.

**The Chairman** said that it would be better if such of Their Highnesses as had prepared speeches were heard first, and then particular points might be discussed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Although it is difficult in my estimation to lay down any hard-and-fast rules regarding the system on which the administration of a State should be carried on during the minority of a Prince, it is nevertheless not out of place perhaps to briefly recapitulate in passing the different systems which exist in places where minorities have happened. The first is by means of a Regent. The second is by means of a Diwan and third by means of a Council. As regards the first, it is very seldom that a responsible member of the Ruling family is available for supervising the administration, and where this is possible the system is not altogether without its drawbacks. In the first place it is necessary that his sympathies should be in harmony with those of the late Ruling Prince. Secondly, with the appointment of such a personage in this responsible post the position of the minor Prince when he comes of age may not always be a pleasant one, because influences are likely to form round the position of such a Regent that might possibly become the sources of intrigue, in case the views of the minor Prince are at all likely to be at variance with those of the Regent. As this personage generally has to find a place in the State on the assumption by the minor Prince of the reins of government, unless the former can exercise much tact and restraint it is not impossible that factions might arise which would work against the policy of the new Prince when he came of age.

As to the Diwan, his position is somewhat similar to that of a Regent, only in a lesser degree. Generally, it has been observed in the past that a nominal Council was appointed to assist the Diwan in his work, but the latter, in consideration of the high qualifications required for the post and generally being a person appointed from outside, very soon assumes a domineering attitude, placing the so-called Council in the back-ground completely, with the result that, others, being jealous of the influences and powers exercised by this official, have only too readily lent themselves to forming factions which eventually lead to intrigue. In my opinion, which is based not only on my

own experience but also on circumstances existing in other States, in the first place, the Princes should be encouraged to leave their own opinions on record as to how the administration should be carried on during the minority, because circumstances are bound to differ in various States and the ideas and wishes of Princes differ also. Views should be left on record to show whether the Prince preferred that the administration should be carried on by means of a Regent who is a member of his own family, or the Dowager-Maharani, or by means of a Diwan, or by means of a Council and so forth. When this is not done, in my opinion the system that seems least objectionable, and one eminently suited for minority administrations specially, is the system of a Council, provided each of the members are given their distinct portfolios for discharging their respective duties and are not allowed to interfere with each other. All questions of ordinary importance should be decided individually by the member concerned, while questions of supreme importance should be discussed in Council and decided by the majority, with one of such members holding the position of President.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur :**—I have observed that within the last two or three decades, the practice of entrusting the sole charge of administration of Native States during the minority of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, to Political Officers has grown up ; whereas, as far as my knowledge goes, formerly honest, loyal, capable and experienced Sardars and officers of the State—say five in number—were appointed to the Regency Council (this assembly being known in some of the States as Punch Pushahibat) to carry on the administration of the State in consultation with the Political Officer of the State concerned. I believe that with the spread of education, the tone of administration in most of the States has improved and abler and more conscientious officers can be found, and if the Government of India deem it advisable to adhere to the customs and traditions of the States, I would suggest that in every instance such a Council should be formed to carry on the administration of the State of a minor Ruling Prince or Chief and that if it proves unsuccessful after a full and fair trial being given to it, an experienced Political Officer may then be appointed as a Political Superintendent of the State, and that he should be assisted by a Council of, say, five able and experienced Native Officers of unquestionable loyalty and who are thoroughly conversant with the customs and traditions of the State.

In this connection, I have to make a suggestion which has been given effect to in some of the bigger Native States in recent years with great advantage to the States. I refer to the question of appointing the Dowager Rani as Regent during the minority of her son. I would advocate the appointment of a Rani, provided the Ruling Prince or Chief has expressly declared in his will that his Rani is to act as Regent, and in the event of the Ruling Prince or Chief's having omitted to mention this in his will it would be the duty of the Political Officer to ascertain from the Ruling Prince or Chief before his death, whether he wishes to associate one of his Ranis with the minority administration. But, in both cases, I think it necessary that the Government of India should allow the Rani so nominated by the Ruling Prince or Chief to act as Regent, if she is not one of his morganatic wives and is not married to him according to the religious rites sanctioned for his particular caste, and in conformity with the custom of his State. If the Ruling Chief's choice has fallen upon a morganatic wife, I would suggest her replacement by a Rani, who will be acknowledged as such by his own community and his subjects. This suggestion, if acted upon, will safeguard the interests of the State in many ways, as she is not only conversant with the views of the late Chief but with the traditions and customs of the State.

If after having taken all measures which are likely to ensure the good government of a State during minority, the administration of the State is not successful and if the Government finds that there is rank sedition, serious misgovernment and corruption, it will be advisable to nominate three or four experienced Ruling Chiefs of the same province where the State is located and request them to investigate the causes which have led to such misgovernment and corruption and award adequate punishment to those whose neglect of duty has brought about this state of things. In case of sedition and disloyalty having been proved in a duly constituted court, either to the Ruling Chief or to the Paramount Power, the Government of India should give condign punishment to all concerned.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** said he understood from the Maharaja of Patiala that a memorandum had been drawn up of the principles of minority administration. If that was so, those who had not the good fortune to come under the political charge of the Government of India did not know anything about it, and in order to facilitate the discussion of this question, he thought if they might be permitted to see the memorandum, it would help greatly in the discussion of the matter.

**The Chairman** promised to make a note of the point.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** asked if their Highnesses would like the memorandum read out, or would they prefer copies.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** said they would like to see copies ; they did not know the uniform principles introduced in regard to the large States of Rajputana and Central India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** asked if that would not necessitate putting off their discussion till to-morrow.

**The Chairman** said he did not think it would.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** said it was open to Their Highnesses to make proposals in regard to minority administration.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** said the Government had come to know the general dissatisfaction in regard to minority administration, and though this question had never been put to them (the Chiefs), in order to arrive at a proper solution, he would like to know how far the Government of India had gone in laying down certain general principles in regard to minority administrations so that they need not dwell on those points, and they might suggest certain forms of government for future procedure.

**The Chairman** said he would be very glad to show His Highness the Jam Sahib the memorandum afterwards on the understanding that it was for the purposes of this discussion and for his own personal information.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** suggested that the memorandum might be read out for general information.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** said perhaps he might be permitted to put before Their Highnesses his views as regards minority administration. It went without saying that the system most suited to a State depended on its own local circumstances and peculiarities, but he thought the system to which the people were accustomed was probably also the best form of Government during a minority. Subject to this general proviso, where there were suitable persons available for the post of Regent, though each State had its own rules and feelings, he thought it would be of advantage to have a near relation of the Ruling Prince as Regent, where some one suitable was available,

or where the *purdah* system did not act too severely and the education of the ladies was on a par, the mother or wife of the late Ruler were undoubtedly eminently suited to be Regents, and even where the Maji Sahibs or other male members of the late Ruling family were not available to perform the duties of Regent, it would be desirable to consult them in certain matters, and especially in matters of importance, and to pay due deference to their views. But whether there was a Regent or not, he certainly thought that no one should be permitted to become the absolute ruler of the State and enjoy the same powers as the late Ruler, and a Regent should therefore be assisted by a Council of Regency. Where there was no suitable Regent available, it would be a good thing in his opinion to have a President of the Council or a Diwan, just as there was at the present moment a President of the Council of Regency at Baha-walpur. The President should be assisted by a certain number, not too unwieldy a body, but a certain number of members who would be in charge of their respective portfolios.

He would not make the members of such a Council absolutely independent of each other ; but they should be delegated powers by which they ought to act, just as they had in some of the States now, and above such powers questions would be referred to the President or to the full Council presided over by the President or the Regent. The greatest care should be taken in selecting a suitable President or Diwan. It was impossible for a Ruler to conduct the entire administration of the State without the aid of a suitable Vice-President or Diwan or whatever designation he might be known by, and it would be impossible even for a Political Officer of the Government of India to see and attend to a minority administration without a capable Regent or to see that the administration was carried on on sound lines unless a capable Regent or a capable President of the Council were appointed, because so many matters of minor detail had to be considered that, if they all went to the Ruler or to whoever during a minority was responsible, whether it was a Regent or a Political Officer, such person would not be able adequately to attend to the affairs of the State. It was not fitting that, except for matters of real importance, questions of, say, secondary importance should take up a great deal of his time and leave him no time to attend to other big schemes for the development of the State. He suggested that where there was no capable Regent of the family available, and if there was a good man available for the Presidentship of the Council locally, then it was preferable that he should be appointed ; if not, they ought to get the very best man available from outside or from other States—from wherever they could get a man—who had had experience of administering States. He might mention in this connection that when they applied in minorities for suitable officers to be Diwans sometimes an officer was selected from a Province, whom the Province was only too eager to see go away from that Province ! After all a minority administration was an administration in trust, and that was the reason for the recent declaration by the Government of India of their policy in regard to certain things which should not be done in minorities and so on, and it was essential that the Resident or the Political Officer should be kept in touch with important matters so that he could watch the interests of the minor and see that the declared policy of the Government of India was not infringed or acted contrary to. There were certain things that the minority administrations would not have the power to settle, which would have to go up to the Government of India. His idea was that they should have a Regent or President of the Council assisted by a Council of Regency. Very often there were 4 or 5 States in one political group, and if there were minorities in, say, two or more States at one time, the Resident could not be held responsible for minor



details in each State. He believed that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala had a President during his minority.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala:**—We had a President in Council with full power.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** thought the suggestion made by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur and one or two other Princes about consulting other Ruling Princes in regard to minority administrations—whether these were relations or friends of the late Maharaja—was also a very good one. Beyond that he did not think he had any special proposals to make except that, wherever possible, members of the Regency Council should be local men who had a stake in the country.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—What place would Your Highness assign to the Political Agent ? Would his relative position towards the Council and the Regent be exactly the same as it was during the time of the late Chief ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—No. Some things in the minority administration should be left to his discretion. The Political Agent would probably, when the details about a minority administration in a State were worked out, be able himself to sanction, say, certain expenditure like what was done in my own minority. There would be certain things which it would probably be competent for the Political Officer, if he agrees with the Council of Regency, to do subject to the general policy of the Government of India. In my minority it was frequently necessary to refer matters which were not within the power of the Political Agent, either to the Agent to the Governor-General or to the Government of India for sanction or orders. I do not think it would do to have a Political Officer as President of the Council.

**The Chairman** asked whether His Highness would put it that the President of the Council or the Regent of the Council, or whatever form the administration should take, should be under the general obligation of consulting the Political Officer in all important matters.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Yes. I think His Highness<sup>s</sup> Maharaja Pratap Singh, when he was recently Regent of Jodhpur, had to get the concurrence of the Resident in certain important matters. As I have said, I do not think the President or the Regent should have the same powers as a Ruler. It is not his State to do with what he likes.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :**—Who is to decide, if the President is not a success, and whether an outside man should be got ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—The Government of India are ultimately responsible for the good Government of the State during a minority. I do not see who else can change him during the minority of the Ruler.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :**—That matter should be well-defined, otherwise there will be differences of opinion about it.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—Is it not proposed to define what things a minority administration should do and what things it should refrain from doing ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Yes.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—If these principles are adopted, I understand you curtail to some extent the powers of the Regent or Administrator. He will not have the same powers as a Ruling Chief. Is it then still necessary, in Your Highness' opinion, that the Political Officer of the State should have a sort of supervision over the affairs of the State ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I think matters of real importance should be referred to him. Some would be beyond his powers, which would go higher up.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar** :—Agreeing with the views of His Highness the Maharajas of Gwalior, Kapurthala and Bikaner, I venture to put down certain proposals.

At the outset I must say that it is a very difficult task to lay down any general rule applicable to all States regarding the form of minority administration, as customs, usages, traditions and local circumstances always differ and vary in themselves. I think, however, that any of the two forms suggested on page 9 of the memoranda explanatory of the agenda might well be adopted subject to local circumstances and conditions. But I would humbly submit that the minority administration should be conducted, as far as possible, by a Regent, where a suitable one is available, since most of the consorts or mothers of the Chiefs of the present times being educated could well discharge this sacred trust, though they may be advised by the Political Officer and assisted by a Council.

I would further venture to submit that, as far as possible, administration should not be allowed to be conducted by a Regent alone. In cases where the form mentioned above is 'not practicable we may have a recourse to the second form, *i.e.*, that the administration should be that of a Council presided over by the Political Officer in political charge of the State. But in whatever form or shape the administration of the Native States during the minority of a Chief is conducted it is essential that the Government should be very careful in making a selection of a Political Officer for so important a charge. As far as possible officers possessing special experience and abilities of Native States' administration should be selected, preferably those who have had experience of a Political Agent's duties for at least five years, and no junior or young officer straight from the Secretariat should be appointed to this onerous charge, as he is apt to make or rather, I should say, commit such mistakes as would be detrimental both to the interests of the State and the Government. In fact, such officers will generally get experience at the cost of Native States and I think once a selection is made with due care, no change except under special circumstances should be made, since it often happens that with the change of the officer the policy of the administrative machinery is also changed. In my opinion if a Political Officer, after hard work in a Native State, goes away on leave, it must be made clear before he proceeds, that his absence is but temporary and that he will rejoin his post at the expiry of the leave, so that his *locum tenens* might not introduce any sweeping reforms or changes in the administration but must carry it on on the lines chalked out by the permanent incumbent.

It happens sometimes that as soon as a State comes under minority an officer from outside, having no experience of Native State administration, is brought in to administer the State. This seems to me to be a faulty system. In cases where the existing Diwan be incapable or corrupt he should no doubt be removed but must be replaced either by an officer of tried qualifications, if one is available in the State itself, or one imported from any of the neighbouring States or from Government service, since a new man, having no experience of Native State administration, however able he may be, is not likely to prove a successful administrator, and will have to be trained by the Political Agent, often at the cost of efficiency of the State's administrations.

British Political Officers are generally men of tried abilities but it is possible that at times the Diwan or the Superintendent or the Council is led to

adopt reforms, which, if a free hand were given to them, they would not undertake or would gradually undertake with caution. I think the views of officers having long experience in the State itself must command respect until it is proved by experience that they are erroneous and opposed to the interests of the State. As regards abuses and corruptions and predominance of any one class of officials existing in the administrative machinery, if any are found prevailing, I think minority is the only period when these can be corrected and removed and the Political Officer in charge cannot do better than take in hand the correction and uprooting of these evils, taking care to see that the general tone of the prevailing administration is not in any way affected, and undoubtedly this would give a clear path to the young Chief to make a start in his administrative career.

I cannot close my humble views without expressing my gratitude to the Government for the steps they have taken in this important matter affecting the future well-being of the States and their Rulers, and feel sure that they will draw the already existing bonds of amity far closer, making our allegiance to the Government much firmer and stronger in every way.

It leaves me very little to add more than I have humbly tried to express, as the ground has already been covered by the memorandum on the question.

**The Chairman :—**His Highness the Maharaja of Benares wishes to say that he fully agrees with the views expressed by the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Idar :—**I agree with the views expressed by the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Sitamau :—**I also agree with the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**The Chairman :—**Does any other member wish to address the Conference on this question ?

I think we will now adjourn until half past three, that will give Your Highnesses an interval in which perhaps you would like to discuss the matter among yourselves and endeavour to arrive at some joint conclusion.

(The Conference then adjourned for lunch.)

*After re-assembling.*

**The Chairman :—**Has any member of the Conference any general remarks to make before we proceed with considering the form of resolution to be adopted ? I was going to suggest that it is rather difficult to draft anything expressing the general sense of the meeting within the walls of this Chamber with the many distractions round, and possibly it might be better to ascertain definitely what the general feeling is and then to appoint a small Committee who would draft a resolution to be submitted to the Conference at the next meeting. But if any member of the Conference has any new point to bring forward before we attempt to crystallise the views that have been expressed, this would be the time to do so.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said before he submitted his definite views as to the form the minority administration should take, it seemed to him necessary to suggest that the opinion of this assembly might be taken on two preliminary points. One was as to the right of the Dowager-Maharani to be appointed Regent. What did the meeting think as to the right of the Dowager-Maharani to be appointed Regent ? He did not say that necessarily in every

case it would be a successful form of administration, but he thought that they had to recognise the right of the Dowager-Maharani to be appointed Regent. He thought it would be advisable to take the general sense of the meeting on that point.

Then the next point was, whatever form of administration they decided upon, who was to make the appointment of the administrators? Was the appointment to emanate from the Chief before his death, or by what authority was the appointment to be made?

**The Chairman** stated as regards the second question, that he thought Their Highnesses recognised generally that during the minority the Government of India are the trustees for the State and they are responsible to make the arrangements during the minority. In doing so they would be guided by the wishes of the late Ruler and by the custom in the State itself, and by whatever other general principles Their Highnesses might now wish to be placed on record for observance in such cases. But the responsibility for the decision he (the Chairman) thought, Their Highnesses would all recognise, must rest with the Government of India during the minority.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said that what he meant was that if a Chief had expressed his definite opinion as to who should be the administrator during the minority of his son, would not the administration be in accordance with his wishes?

**The Chairman** :—I thought the question Your Highness asked was who was to decide.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I mean that if a Chief before his death, has expressed definite views as to who the administrators should be, either one or more, will his wishes not be accepted?

**The Chairman** said he was afraid he was not in a position to answer for Government on that point, but of course if Their Highnesses would like to express an opinion on that point he would place it on record. Generally speaking, it would seem to him that it must vary with the circumstances of each particular case. Government could hardly bind themselves beforehand to accept as binding the wishes of any particular Ruler as to the exact constitution of the minority administration which would follow his death.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—But supposing His Highness corresponded with the Government of India and gave his views and asked for your (the Political Secretary's) opinion as to whether you approved of it and you settled the matter beforehand, would not that meet the purpose?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** thought it would, but on occasions there might not be time for such correspondence.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** said that of course he was speaking of occasions when there was time.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said that that would be very satisfactory, but in the case of an emergency, if a Chief was unable to come to a definite settlement with the Government, still if he expressed his definite wishes, he thought those wishes should be regarded. He did not know whether Their Highnesses the members of this assembly wished to express their opinion on the point.

**The Chairman** said that he understood that when he (the Rao of Cutch) said the wishes expressed by the late Ruler should be regarded, he meant they should be definitely and in every case accepted by the Government of India as binding.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said he thought that if a Chief had made a definite arrangement for the administration being carried on during the minority of his son, it should not be disturbed unless it was found that the administration was going wrong.

**The Chairman** :—You would try the experiment and see how it worked.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said he thought the Chief would do his best to make the administration a successful one and to select administrators who ought to be successful.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** pointed out that, in the memorandum made use of to-day, in the general principles laid down by the Government of India, it was stated that the late Ruler's wishes would be respected. That to a very large extent coincided with the views expressed by His Highness the Rao of Cutch.

**The Chairman** :—I think, Your Highness, that the wording of the paragraph you mention is that particular attention should be paid to the views and wishes of the late Ruler regarding the future administration of the State. That does not mean that in every case where a Ruler has expressed certain wishes as to the future administration of his State they should necessarily be regarded as binding on the Government of India, who, as has been said in the preamble, are the trustees and custodians of the rights, interests and traditions of the State during the minority administration. I think one could easily imagine circumstances in which it would be a suicidal thing to regard such wishes as absolutely binding. But I think this is a matter that might well be put to the members of the Conference.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—The only genuine way in which attention could be paid is by carrying out the wishes of the Ruler ; otherwise it is merely on paper.

**The Chairman** :—It is really a question of degree. You can often pay attention, very considerable attention, to arguments which you do not eventually accept in full.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—May I have your permission to give my few notes to the assembled Princes. I agree with the great majority of my brothers that you cannot lay down a hard and fast rule for any particular State, but the great majority favour a regency of some kind, whether it be a lady in charge, whether it be a relation in charge or whether it be a high official in charge of the State, who would be called President, or a relation who would be called Regent with a Council to support him. I quite agree with the general principles, which most of us do not know, laid down in the splendid memorandum issued by the Government of India. With your permission I will make a few remarks on them, and they are these :—that the administration should be carried out as far as possible so that the loyalty of the people of that State should be directed towards the minor, traditions and customs to be observed and maintained as they were according to the customs of the State ; there shall be no cheese-paring in the allowances—if I may use that word to members of the ruling family ; the dignity of the minor shall be maintained ; religious ceremonies shall be observed as if the minor was actually in possession of his full powers ; the late Ruler's wishes shall be paid attention to ; wherever possible, local talent shall be employed in the offices and local officers shall act as high State officials ; treaty rights shall be preserved intact ; no *jagirs* shall be given by the administration or regency during that period ; no interference with the jagirs of the ruling family shall take place during the Regency, the privy purse of the minor shall remain untouched ; during his minority

there shall be no jewellery sold except under certain conditions and that with the sanction of the Government of India ; no territory shall be exchanged, no permanent rights or privileges shall be allowed to pass away from the Ruler, no commercial concessions or monopolies shall be granted except for certain limited periods ; no expenditure on palaces and other public buildings in the name of the minor and supposed to be for the use of the minor shall be executed without special sanction from the Government of India ; communications with the ladies of the palace shall be carried on according to the customs of that particular State ; the minor's education shall have proper attention, and shooting preserves, etc., shall be kept intact during the minority.

I think, myself, that with a Regency Council or with a President over a Council this would be the best form of administration for a State during a minority, and the Political Officer accredited to that State should advise and supply guidance just as he does if the ruler were actually in power. I cannot quote a better example than the case of the splendid administration of Jodhpur State, where His Highness Maharaja Pratap Singh is a splendid figure-head, and where no political officer could have been a better guide than the present Resident of Jodhpur. I think that would be a very satisfactory way of dealing with minority administrations.

**His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda :**—I should be inclined, if any States have a constitutional system of ruling for a minority administration, that that should not be deviated from without very strong reasons. The general tendency should be to treat them as much as you can so as not to interfere.

**The Chairman :**—Would it meet Your Highness' point, if it were stated that the wishes of the late Ruler as regards the form of minority administration should not be departed from except for the very strongest reasons.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—I would give the administration suggested a trial at any rate.

**His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda** said that he would be inclined to respect the wishes of the Ruler as much as possible, but he wanted time to consider the wording.

**The Chairman** asked His Highness the Rao of Cutch whether he wished that point referred specifically to the meeting or would he accept that as a compromise.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—What ?

**The Chairman :**—That the wishes of the late Ruler would be given very full weight to and would not be departed from except for very strong and special reasons. I mean to say there are circumstances in which it would obviously not be in the interests of the State to perpetuate the state of things that may have existed before the death of the late Ruler.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—You would not, in certain cases, even give the suggested administration a trial ?

**The Chairman :**—There may be, unfortunately in this world there very often are, cases where people do not do their duty and where Rulers, like ordinary mortals, do not look after the interests of their States, and where you may have a state of corruption and maladministration.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—Possibly some exceptions to the rule might be made.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** was understood to say that the wording might be put before the special committee who could work it out.

**The Chairman :**—This is an important point which His Highness has raised because it is one that is not merely a question of phraseology but of principle.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—The other point was the Dowager Maharani's right to be appointed Regent.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** did not think this was possible at present in Rajputana. How would the Maharani give her orders ; Ministers could not go and see Their Highnesses in the *zenānas*. In some States it would be possible, but not in Rajputana where verbal messages would have to be sent to the Maharani Regents through maid servants.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said that his proposition was not that in every case necessarily the Dowager Maharani should be appointed Regent, but merely the recognition of the right.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** thought that if they drafted " where available a lady of the reigning family or, failing that, a member of the reigning family should be appointed Regent," that would meet His Highness the Rao of Cutch's purpose.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—Coming to the form of administration, I agree with the general consensus of opinion expressed by Their Highnesses this morning, that no hard and fast rule or particular form is suitable for the administration of a State. The results of the administration, successful or otherwise, depend very much on the individual or persons selected to carry on the administration. If the State has the good fortune of good officers being selected for the purpose, it all goes well ; but if it has the misfortune of not getting good officers, the results cannot be expected to be favourable. Personally, I think that if a suitable Regent could be found to carry on the administration, the administration of one man would be more satisfactory. But we have to consider our present condition. There is a great dearth among Indians, of men whom one could recommend as suitable to carry on the administration of a large State single-handed. Therefore, I think I would give my opinion in favour of a Council of either three or five. As I said, I would prefer the administration of a single man, but looking to the dearth of suitable men, I think the opinion expressed this morning of having a Council is, on the whole, under present circumstances, the best to adopt.

Now, as to whether the Political Officer of the State should be associated with that Council or not, I am humbly of opinion that the Political Agent's position should not be altered owing to the minority administration. But I would not eliminate the chance of a State being able to borrow the services of a British Officer either to preside over the Council or to be a member of the Council. I think that there are distinct advantages to be gained by the selection of British Officers. Therefore I would leave open the question of a British Officer either presiding over the Council or being a member of the Council. I would not bar a British Officer from coming to the Council, but I would not alter the position of the Political Agent during a minority administration. I think that covers the point on which my opinion has been asked.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau :**—I am of opinion, as regards the form of minority administration in Native States, that the administration should as a rule be conducted, under the guidance of the Political Officer, by a member of the ruling family or other local gentlemen whose loyalty to the ruling family may be beyond question, so far as one capable of bearing the responsibility may be available. This Regent may or may not be assisted by a suitably constituted Council according as circumstances may require.

**His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar :**—I agree with many of the points which have been discussed in this Conference as regards this question, and with the opinions which the Ruling Princes have expressed, but there are just one or two points on which I would say a few words. I submit that :—

- (1) where available, a capable near relation should act as the Regent. He should not have the full powers of a Ruling Prince, but he should administer the State with the assistance of a Council which should be composed of responsible statesmen, nobles and officials.
- (2) In the absence of such a capable relation worthy of being a Regent, the Council may be presided over by a very capable and high class officer reputed for his loyalty to the late Prince and interests of the State, and such an officer should conduct the administration—the members shall have departmental portfolios.
- (3) The Political Officer of the State shall discharge the function of an Adviser as in the time of the late Prince who enjoyed full power, and he should see that no trespass is made on the few points which have been so ably dealt with by His Highness the Jam Sahib.

**The Chairman :**—I think, the general sense of the meeting, as far as I can gather, is this, that as suggested by His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and by several others, there should be no hard and fast rule in this matter. Subject to this reservation and subject also to the wishes of the late Ruler—which should as far as possible be placed on record and which would be given very full weight and acted on unless there were very special reasons to the contrary—the general view of the meeting is, I understand, that preferably the form of minority administration should be that of a Regent assisted by a Council which should consist of trusted officials of the State, and that the form of Government should be that to which the State was previously accustomed and that there should in fact be continuity of policy : that if a Regent is not available, then there should be a Council with a President, who should also if possible be a local man with knowledge of local conditions. As there appears to be a general agreement on the subject, the Conference is now in a position to place something definite on record. But it is very difficult to draft anything which will be suitable for permanent record at a moment's notice and I suggest, as the Maharaja of Bikaner and others have suggested, that a small committee might be appointed to draft a resolution which should embody the views of the Conference. If Your Highnesses approve, I would suggest that the Committee should, as far as possible, be representative of all provinces. I would suggest the following names :—

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia representing Central India,  
Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bikaner and Alwar, representing Rajputana.

His Highness the Rao of Cutch and His Highness the Jam Sahib, representing Bombay, and

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala representing the Punjab.

If any other names are suggested, they might be considered by the Conference, but as it is a matter of drafting a Resolution for the approval of the Conference, it will be recognised that it is desirable to keep the Committee within reasonable bounds.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—I entirely agree.



**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau :**—I would suggest that His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur should also be included in the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—His Highness has expressed that it will not be convenient for him to be included.

It was decided that a Committee be appointed as above with the addition of the Political Secretary.

### Item No. V of the Agenda.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—The next question is as to the best form of administrative training to be given to a minor Prince, and that is a subject which, I would venture to suggest, is eminently suited for discussion in the first place by a small committee who might formulate their proposals for Your Highnesses' consideration at this Conference. Personally, I anticipate that it will also be a very short matter for the committee to draft their proposals which will then form the basis of discussion. If Your Highnesses approve, I would suggest Mr. Wood and His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior, as members of the committee. I don't think in this committee it is necessary for a large number of Princes to be present because everything will be submitted to Your Highnesses here and it will always be subject to your opinion and approval and everybody will have an opportunity of discussing the question. I would suggest that one representative from each province should be selected. Amongst the Ruling Princes I would suggest, if it meets with Your Highnesses' approval—

His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior), representing Central India,

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, representing the Punjab,

His Highness the Rao of Cutch, representing Bombay,

His Highness the Raja of Cochin (I don't know if he is here to-day),

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, representing Bengal,

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala and His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar.

I would also suggest in addition to the Ruling Princes, the name of Sir Brian Egerton, who is here, and who as a tutor and trainer of Rulers might give us the benefit of his advice and experience, and Colonel Windham, who has also had a good deal of experience in the training of minors.

**The Chairman :**—Does the meeting approve that a Committee should be appointed to draft a resolution on the subject of the form of minority administration ? We had better take that question first.

The answer was in the affirmative.

**The Chairman :**—The other question is that a committee should be appointed to consider and frame suggestions regarding the training of minor rulers. The names suggested are His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala (withdrawn), His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, His Highness the Jam Sahib of Navanagar, His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior Branch), His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Highness the Rao Sahib of Cutch, His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar. Is the Conference in favour of the proposal ?

The answer was in the affirmative.

It was suggested that Mr. Waddington be added to the Committee. The Chairman said that he was not sure whether Mr. Waddington would be able to attend and that he was attending another committee.

The names of Sir Brian Egerton, Colonel Windham and Hon'ble Mr. Wood were added to the Committee.

**The Chairman** then informed the Conference that Sir Thomas Holland would be in the Committee room of the Council Chamber the next day during the afternoon and that any Ruling Princes who wished to have his advice on any industrial questions in their States might consult him on those subjects then. The time would be about 2 o'clock. There would be no objection to any Darbar's Diwan being present there to discuss questions with Sir Thomas Holland.

**The Chairman** said that if those who were on the drafting committee on the subject of Minority Administration which they had just been discussing would stay behind, they could proceed to draft at once while the subject was fresh in their minds. The other committee he suggested might meet tomorrow at 10 o'clock, and the Conference would re-assemble at 3 o'clock. Any Darbars who wished to consult Sir Thomas Holland would come earlier too. Possibly the reports of both committees would be ready for submission to the Conference when it re-assembled at 3.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

*31st October, 1916.*

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Item No. VI of the Agenda.

**The Chairman** read out the following opinion on the subject of the form of minority administration in Native States expressed by **Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal** :—

I have already expressed the opinion that a minority administration in an Indian State should ordinarily be conducted by a Regent assisted by a Council. As to who should be the Regent is a question in regard to which it is difficult to lay down a general rule applicable to all States. For my part I should, as I said yesterday, prefer a male member of the reigning family who, from the legal as well as the religious standpoint, can be regarded as the guardian of the minor Prince. It has been suggested that the widow of the late Ruler would, in certain cases, make a suitable Regent. I should like to associate myself with this suggestion, but would add that a lady should be made the Regent only in very exceptional cases. The difficulties attendant upon the *purda* system, and the lack amongst our women folk of a proper education and training for the sort of work which a Regent will be called upon to do, are reasons in view of which I should make it the exception rather than the rule that a minority administration, an administration, the importance of which cannot be overrated, should be conducted by a lady. There is another difficulty also. It may be that the widow of the late Prince does not belong to the reigning family, and if that is so, I should make that a bar to her selection for the Regency. For to my mind it is highly important that the reins of power in an Indian State should remain in the hands of the reigning family and if they are allowed to slip from their grasp, it would open the door to abuses and intrigues which can easily be imagined. The mother or aunt of the minor Prince, provided she is fitted by education or experience for the task, might be made the Regent, but such cases, I am disposed to think, will be few and far between. The Regent should usually be a male member of the reigning family, and if none possessing the necessary qualifications is available, I should make a trustworthy senior official of the State, one who has enjoyed the confidence of the late Ruler and has rendered long and meritorious services to the State, the President of the Council of Regency.

In this matter the views of the late Ruler should be entitled to special consideration, since in the light of his unrivalled experience of his State, his suggestions will always be of special value. If he leaves any views in writing, they should, in my opinion, always be respected.

**The Chairman** stated that the Committee appointed by Their Highnesses yesterday to draft a resolution on the subject of the form of Minority Administrations had framed their report, which had been circulated to Their Highnesses. The Committee did not suggest that they should form an opinion on this draft on the spur of the moment, and he (the Chairman) thought it would be best if the matter was taken up to-morrow, when they had had time to study the draft.

This was agreed to.

### Item No. II of the Agenda.

The Chairman said they had still got to discuss the report of the Committee on the subject of the selection of families from whom subscriptions might be invited for the Higher Chiefs' College. Before they came to that, he thought it would be as well, as a preliminary, to settle what was to be done about Agendum No. 2 which was to discuss the difficulties experienced by insolvency courts in British India and in Native States respectively in realising the assets of insolvent debtors which are situated beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. This was a rather difficult and technical matter, and to assist Their Highnesses in the discussion, the Hon'ble Mr. Muddiman, Secretary in the Legislative Department, had come down from Simla to give any advice that might be required. He (the Chairman) understood that Their Highnesses had had a preliminary discussion among themselves and thought that this was such a big question that it would require a large committee and a long time for deliberation. If this was so, he thought it would still be advisable for Their Highnesses to appoint a small committee of representatives to meet Mr. Muddiman to-morrow and ascertain the bearings of the case without committing themselves in any way. The committee would then be in a position to suggest either that the matter should be deferred for consideration by a larger committee, or, if they felt disposed to make any definite proposals, they would be in a position to do so. If Their Highnesses accepted this suggestion he would ask them to nominate a committee not exceeding 6 members to meet Mr. Muddiman to-morrow. He thought those most interested in legal questions would probably be the most suitable representatives.

The following Ruling Chiefs were then selected to serve on the Committee to discuss with the Hon'ble Mr. Muddiman the question of the realization from insolvency debtors of assets in State territory :—

- His Highness the Maharaja of Pikaner,
- His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Morvi,
- His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal,
- His Highness the Jam Sahib of Navanagar,
- His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar,
- His Highness the Raja of Sailana,
- His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa,
- His Highness the Raja of Cochin, and
- His Highness the Rao of Cutch.

The Chairman said that half past eleven had been suggested as a suitable hour for the Committee, if that would meet the wishes of Their Highnesses.

The hour suggested was agreed to.

### Item No. IX of the Agenda.

The Chairman :—If Your Highnesses agree, we will now take up the question of the consideration of the Report of the Committee appointed to select families in British India from whom subscriptions might be invited for the Higher Chiefs' College. You had the Report circulated yesterday, and I hope that Your Highnesses have had time to consider it and make up your minds. I think it would be as well to consider the question of this Report first, and then, if any member of the Council wishes to raise the whole question

of the desirability of the Higher Chiefs' College, that this should be considered afterwards. But the Report is simply to select from certain lists members who should be invited, supposing the scheme is proceeded with.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** asked whether the Talukdars had been consulted as to whether they wanted the Higher Chiefs' College or not ?

**The Chairman** :—The question before the Committee was whether these families should be invited to interest themselves or not. If Your Highnesses approve the proposals of the Committee, then invitations will be issued to these gentlemen asking them to subscribe.

**The Chairman** :—May I take it that the Conference approves the Report of this Committee ? I may mention that His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur has written as follows :—

“ To determine whether a family may come under the classification of “ a leading aristocratic family ” is rather a complicated and difficult problem. In my opinion it is safe to admit the sons and heirs of these landed proprietors in British India, who have received either the English title of a Baronet or the hereditary distinction of Maharajadhiraj, Maharaja, Raja or Nawab. Those whose ancestors have enjoyed the above Indian titles (*viz.*, Maharajadhirajas, Maharajas, Rajas or Nawabs) or similar title from the Moghul period and who are known and recognised as such, may also be included in the list.

**The Chairman** :—I think Your Highness may be assured that the Committee have acted on those principles.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda** :—May I say that I am against the principles. Admitting these aristocratic families is contrary to the real principle. I would insist on confining these institutions to the former members and not add to the number.

**The Chairman** :—Your Highness will perhaps allow us to consider this report ? This committee was appointed to consider what families should be invited. If you say that none should be invited at all, that is a separate question.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda** :—Then I do not say anything. My general principle will be not to admit them. If it is not pertinent, we will proceed ?

**The Chairman** :—Would Your Highness agree that if it is decided to adhere to the decision to invite subscriptions from British India the list proposed is suitable ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda** :—Yes. But I am against the principle of admitting outsiders.

**The Chairman** (in answer to His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar) :—We have included Baronets, not the Knights. Baronets are hereditary, and Knights are only ephemeral.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** read out the names of four Baronets :—Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit, Sir Cursetji Jeejeebhoy and Sir David Sassoon.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** was of opinion that Baronets should be omitted, and said that he agreed that only big title-holders and some of the remaining gentlemen whose titles are not hereditary should be admitted,

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** said that Sir Chinubhai Madhavlal was also a Baronet and that his name should be included in the list above.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur is in favour of the inclusion of Baronets as they are hereditary title-holders who hold their honour from the King-Emperor. We admit Moghul hereditary title-holders.

The Committee included them because it was difficult to see why hereditary Baronets should be excluded merely because they are Indians, while in England they come immediately after the Peers of the Realm and they have a high position there. The Committee included them for the above reason. The Committee thought there was no harm in doing so.

**His Highness the Raja of Kishangarh** :—I agree with the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** :—Why should old families who are not called Rajas be admitted while Thakurs are not proposed to be admitted ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** said that all Sardars who are admitted at present into the Chiefs' College from Native States are eligible for the Higher College. The present question was not with regard to Native States but with regard to British India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** :—My opinion is that if the money cannot be collected, how can the College be formed ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—My principal idea in making this suggestion was to admit the landed aristocracy of India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** said that he agreed with the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal** said that she also concurred.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—Would it not be better, before considering this report, if this was put before the Conference, whether the Higher Chiefs' College should be made or not ? And if the Princes like it, I do not think it would be difficult for 46 Princes to collect 75 or 80 lakhs of rupees.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Your Highness is going back on the proposal that you yourself recommended to the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—His Highness the Maharaja of Scindia also proposed yesterday that this scheme might be dropped.

**His Highness the Raja of Sailana** :—This was not put on the agenda.

**The Chairman** :—Your Highness will perhaps agree to this report being considered provisionally ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—If the scheme is dropped, our time now would be absolutely wasted.

**The Chairman** :—But we have already spent our time ; the members of the Committee have been for two years deliberating on this report and if it is now not to be considered we may have to do it all over again.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** was of opinion that the matter should be settled.

**The Chairman** :—The approval of this report of the Committee would not commit the Council in any way to supporting the Higher Chiefs' College and if, after further discussion, it is decided to modify the scheme in any way, that is a separate matter. The only point we have now to consider is, assuming that we are to try and raise funds from British India, whether the method the

Committee have suggested is suitable, and I think, if Your Highnesses would address yourselves to that point, we could finish this one item on the agenda without much trouble.

**The Chairman** suggested that the best way to settle the matter was to put it to the vote. He (the Chairman) understood that many members of the Conference had expressed approval of the recommendations of the Committee, and on the other hand His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, supported by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, had objected to the inclusion of certain names in the list of people who should be invited to subscribe, particularly the Bombay Baronets. He would ask Their Highnesses to vote whether they were in favour of the recommendations of the Committee being accepted provisionally. By 'provisionally' he meant that, if it was decided to drop the whole scheme, or to raise the money in some other way, the recommendations of the Committee would become null and void.

The question that the recommendations of the Committee be accepted provisionally being put to the vote, 16 signified their approval.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** proposed as an amendment that the Bombay Baronets should be omitted from the list of those asked to subscribe.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** said that they did not know the reasons why they were omitted. The Punjab aristocracy were not interested in the question.

On the amendment being put to the vote, 12 voted for and 16 against it. The amendment was therefore lost. The motion that the recommendations of the Committee are approved provisionally was therefore carried.

### Item No. III of the Agenda.

**The Chairman** :—We have now to discuss No. III of the Agenda, which was postponed yesterday, the question of the plans and designs for the Higher Chiefs' College. If Your Highnesses wish to take this opportunity to raise the whole question of the Higher Chiefs' College, it is open to any member, of course, to do so, because obviously if you are not going to have a College, you won't want designs or plans.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I propose that this scheme should be dropped.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** seconded the motion.

**The Chairman** :—Is Your Highness' motion that it should be dropped permanently ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—Yes, permanently.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Sailana** said he opposed this motion for the reason that, if they were to go back on what they had previously decided, there would be no finality to their decisions. The Maharaja Scindia was at the previous Conference when this matter was decided and it was unanimously agreed to, and it would be ridiculous to upset that decision now, particularly when they were going to associate the name of the Emperor with the scheme.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** said the Maharaja Scindia was always against this scheme.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal** explained that the Maharaja Scindia was against it before, but afterwards he agreed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** enquired what circumstances had arisen which should lead them to open this question again, which had been discussed at two Conferences and the conclusion arrived at at the last Conference had been recorded in the proceedings. He was afraid if this procedure continued of upsetting at every successive Conference the proceedings of previous Conferences, there would be no finality.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** said the only question to discuss was whether they would be able to raise sufficient money at the present time.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** said if they did not obtain sufficient money the scheme would fall through automatically. But if they did get the money, the question was whether it was desirable to go on with the scheme or not.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**May I request on what principle the remark 'omit' is put against the names of the first class Sardars of the Bombay Presidency and whether it means that they are non-eligible for admission in the Higher College.

**The Chairman :—**While dealing with the question as to who should be invited to subscribe for the Higher College from British India the Committee were mainly led by the principle of the income of persons concerned and I believe that it is on the record of their proceedings that mere omission in itself in the above-referred list does in no way affect the question of the eligibility for the admission in the Higher College of the persons concerned.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**Acts of Parliament are passed and very often rescinded.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Not before they are passed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa :—**There is no harm in asking for subscriptions. If we get sufficient money we can set to work ; if not, we can drop the matter. I am, however, in favour of the College.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh :—**I propose that a vote should be taken.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**May I know what further action is going to be taken, or are we to go round and collect votes ?

**The Chairman :—**Your Highness has made a suggestion, which is now before the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**Something might be done on it. Why should not votes be taken for and against the question ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**I second the proposal that votes be taken on the question.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Before the question is put to the vote, I should like to know what new matters have arisen and what new objections have arisen to upset the vote passed by a majority at the last Conference. Many of the reasons given against the formation of a College were of course presented to, and outvoted by, the majority at the last Conference, and, so far as I can see, some of the same Princes who were then in the minority are for the rejection of the scheme now. I would respectfully ask them if they have any new grounds which were not expressed at that time to put them forward, in order that this Conference may consider the question and vote upon it.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I quite agree with the view of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar as to the non-eligibility of this question being put to the vote a second time.



**The Chairman :—**May I take it that the general sense of the meeting is that this question should be put to the vote ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Or postponed, one of the two.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**The chief opponent of the scheme is His Highness the Maharaja Scindia. I have been a consistent opponent myself, but I do not want to do anything that would make the Council ridiculous. As you know, in the first and second Conferences I did my best to stop the College going ahead, but I do not want to do anything which would make my brother Princes, amongst whom I am one, look ridiculous. On the other hand, as there seems to be such a strong divergence of opinion, I think that something should be done to clear the air and a day should be set apart either for fresh discussion of the scheme or else for the progress of it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**If the majority of the Princes of Rajputana or other parts of India wish to have this College, there is nothing against it at all. But I know that I myself and I should think the majority of the Princes in the Punjab are not interested, because we think it would be of no use or advantage to us. The States in Rajputana, situated as they are, have a great many of their own Thakurs and hereditary noblemen in their States and they must have superior education of this kind. But, in the Punjab, conditions are totally different. There are no such requirements. In my own State we have a college up to the Arts degree, and after boys have finished their education there, they can go to Lahore or any other University. Therefore, personally, I do not think it will be of any advantage to my State, or, as far as I know, to other Punjab States, similarly situated.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Although I have not got the papers with me here, because I did not imagine that the whole question would arise again, I think that this was one of the views which was more or less expressed in the same terms at one of the last Conferences.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**Another point I should like to bring to notice is that the other Conference was an educational Conference and this, I take it, is a general Conference on all matters.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**Yet the question is on the Agenda.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**Therefore it is quite open to discuss the scheme which was allowed at a limited Conference.

**The Chairman** asked if His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala would be willing to modify his proposal by moving that this scheme should be held in abeyance during the war. He (the Chairman) made this suggestion because he thought that it was not a thing to be decided in a hurry. Two Conferences had affirmed the desirability of the scheme and he (the Chairman) thought that if Their Highnesses at this the first meeting of the Princes were to upset the decision which was arrived at by the two previous Conferences, it would rather detract from the good name which they hoped would attach to the proceedings of the Council.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**Yes, certainly, if it will be again considered whether to have it or not.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**May I say a few words on this question, *viz.*, on the question of postponement till after the war ? With regard to that, I see in the gallery the Honourable Mr. Sharp who advised us and helped us and also all the Educational Officers who assisted us ; all the Princes gave their support, even His Excellency the Viceroy encouraged us and he thought that it would come into being. They ever went so far as to suggest that the College should be named after His Majesty the King, and the only

question, so far as I can understand, that remained to be decided was with regard to the funds and with regard to the aristocratic families of British India. If that question is going to be opened up in this manner, there can, so far as I can see, be no finality to anything, if we discuss the question to-day or to-morrow. Therefore, as far as I am concerned personally, I am quite prepared to volunteer as a member to go round the States in order to help in the collection of further subscriptions.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I beg to second the proposal, but I think it should be made clear that they will not be expected to necessarily subscribe till after the war. And for the reasons given by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, I beg to request that the motion should be put to the vote, *viz.*, the question whether the majority are in favour or are not.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa** :—Why don't you take votes on the question whether it should be postponed until after the war or that it should be dropped altogether?

**The Chairman** :—I understand that the general sense of the meeting is that the original question should be put to the vote, *viz.*, the proposal of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala that the scheme for the Higher Chiefs' College should be permanently dropped.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—(To Chairman) You said that it should be held in abeyance till after the war.

**The Chairman** :—I suggested to Your Highness that you might suggest an amendment to that effect. Would Your Highness withdraw your proposal that it should be permanently dropped? I do not wish to influence Your Highness in any way.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I understood you to say that this question be dropped till after the war.

**The Chairman** :—May I take it that Your Highness has dropped the original suggestion in deference to the suggestion I made, and would now suggest that the scheme be held in abeyance during the war?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I still say that the scheme should be dropped, but if it is going to be considered by the Council after the war, certainly I would agree.

**The Chairman** :—Will Your Highness say whether you definitely withdraw your original proposal or whether you would adhere to it?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I still adhere to it.

**The Chairman** :—The question that I put before the Conference is that the proposal for the institution of the Higher Chiefs' College be permanently dropped.

The motion was then put to the vote and the following 12 members voted for it :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

His Highness the Raja of Sirmur.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.

His Highness the Raja of Faridkot.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

His Highness the Jam of Navanagar.

His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal.

His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Morvi.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

The following voted against the motion :—

1. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.

2. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

3. His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

4. His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.

5. His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior Branch).

6. His Highness the Raja of Rajgarh.

7. His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar.

8. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

9. His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

10. His Highness the Maharao of Kota.

11. His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh.

12. His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.

13. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

14. Maharaj Kunwar of Sirohi (on behalf of His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi).

15. His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

16. His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.

17. His Highness the Maharaja of Idar.

18. His Highness the Rao of Cutch.

19. His Highness the Raja of Sailana.

20. His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

The votes for the motion were 12, and against 20. The motion was therefore lost.

**The Chairman** said that the vote of the Maharaja Scindia, who was absent to-day, would be taken to-morrow.

This question having been settled, we may, I think, proceed to discuss the question of the plans of the building. I do not think it is necessary to say anything committal, but if any of Your Highnesses see any obvious defects in the plans it is just as well to have them placed on record now.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has suggested that the question of consideration of the plans and designs is premature until we know the amount of funds that would be available and the number of young men that will have to be accommodated. Unless, therefore, any of Your Highnesses has any remarks to make about the plans, I suggest that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's suggestion should be accepted.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I agree except that I would add a remark that looking at the plans superficially I do not think the style of architecture is suitable, that is with reference to the exterior.

**The Chairman** :—I take it that the Conference has decided that this question need not be proceeded with for the present,

### Item No. VI of the Agenda.

**The Chairman** :—We may now discuss the question of control and regulation of motor vehicles. The matter has been referred generally to all Darbars, and a notification has been issued prescribing the conditions subject to which motor vehicles from Native State may be brought into British India temporarily. The particular points on which Your Highnesses' views would be acceptable are —

- (1) the best method of facilitating recognition by British officials of motor vehicles brought into British India by Ruling Princes ; and
- (2) the grant of reciprocity by Darbars in the matter of licensing and registration of all motor vehicles from British India entering into or passing through Darbar territories.

We may take up the first question first, namely, the best method of facilitating recognition by British officials of motor vehicles brought into British India by Your Highnesses. I have no doubt that on the occasion of your present visit to Delhi, Your Highnesses have some marks or symbols on your cars which are intended to make things easier with the police and if you would discuss this matter among yourselves and decide what would be the best kind of symbol it would be a good thing.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh** :—I suggest that the board should have the name of the State marked on it.

**The Chairman** stated that one form of identification would be the crest or coat-of-arms of a State ; but the difficulty of that would be that there would not be any uniformity and that the police officers might not recognise the State crest as belonging to one of the Ruling Princes.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh** suggested that they should have the crest on the top and the name underneath.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** said he was of opinion that this matter should be referred to the States individually and left to them to be decided.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** said his views were that every State should have its own Motor Act or rules and a sign for the recognition of that State's cars, and a copy of the Act and a specimen of the sign should be sent to the Government.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—But what will you do if a State does not adopt a Motor Act of its own ? We want to identify the car of that State, how will you do it ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I say that a mark of identification should be made in any form and sent to the Government.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** said that some of Their Highnesses had made a suggestion which seemed a good one. It was that they should have the letters R. P. M. C., signifying *Ruling Prince's Motor Cars* which should apply to all States who have cars. It could be in the form of a monogram.

**The Chairman** :—And the name underneath.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—There is no need of the name. Any State that has its own badge can also put it on, but the monogram R. P. M. C. would be a common thing which would be easily recognised by everybody,

**The Chairman** asked if Their Highnesses were agreeable to this proposal for a common monogram with the letters R. P. M. C. suggested by the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** said he would like to second the proposition.

**His Highness the Raja of Sailana** :—That is excellent.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** asked if he might send his views in writing. He had a file from Government, through the Political Agent bearing on the question and he thought he might send his answer through the Political Agent.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** said he agreed so far as this point was concerned that these four letters might be put on their cars.

**The Chairman** asked if His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala had any objection to the proposal for this monogram.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—No, certainly not, I have no objection.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** asked what the punishment should be if any unauthorised person made use of this symbol.

**The Chairman** thought it was a matter for lawyers to deal with ; he thought the punishment would certainly be severe.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—Some means would have to be provided to guard against that.

**The Chairman** :—I should think it would be a question of false impersonation.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** said he understood that this question did not affect the other points about rules for controlling traffic and so on, which questions would remain open.

**The Chairman** :—You prefer that that should be discussed by letter ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Yes, by letter.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** asked where this monogram should be put.

**His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Morvi** suggested it should be on the radiator.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** asked if all the cars of a State were to be numbered serially.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—No, no number ; I understand all the cars belonging to the Ruling Princes will have the symbol. The suite of the Ruling Prince would use these cars which had the symbol.

**The Chairman** said it would not apply to all the cars in the State.

**The Chairman** said the question was that a common symbol should be adopted containing the letters R. P. M. C. in a monogram, which should be affixed to the radiator of the motor car belonging to a Ruling Prince in order to facilitate recognition by the police.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** suggested that the letters R. P. M. C. might be put below the radiator where the numbers generally are.

**The Chairman** stated that the main thing was that the car should be recognised as belonging to a Ruling Prince.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** suggested that the monogram R. P. M. C. might be put where the name plate was generally and whatever crest was required might be put on the radiator.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Why not have the letters in a prominent place in front of the car ?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—The letters would have to be pretty big too.

**The Chairman** :—Your Highnesses, an alternative suggestion has been made by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar that, instead of having a monogram with R. P. M. C. on it, which might get in the way of Your Highnesses' crests and coats of arms, on the radiator, the number board in front and behind should both have the letters R. P. M. C. on it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—Would it not be better to have the letters R. P. M. C. on any prominent part of the car ?

**The Chairman** :—His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar wants something that will be common to all and that the police will be able to recognise. I think that would be the most convenient arrangement. Then you could have ample scope for any other designs you wanted to put on the radiator or elsewhere.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—I do not think there should be so much rigidity about the letters being put in a certain place. They might be put in some prominent place.

**The Chairman** :—May I take it that Your Highnesses approve of the proposal that the letters R. P. M. C. should be inscribed on the number board in front and behind all cars belonging to Ruling Princes brought into British India in order to facilitate recognition by the police ?

The proposal was approved.

**The Chairman** :—The second point is about reciprocity.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I understand that the Notification on pages 10-11, which is an enclosure to item No. 6 in the Agenda has already been issued by the Government of India.

**The Chairman** :—Yes, that is so.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—We have not considered the proposed instructions on page 11. I have a suggestion to make with reference to that.

**The Chairman** :—Those instructions have already been issued, Your Highness. The only other point for consideration is the grant of reciprocity by Darbars in the matter of licensing and registration of all motor vehicles from British India entering into or passing through Darbar territory.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—May I interrupt you. There is one other point that I wish to refer to. You have already excluded the Ruling Princes from the provisions of the Act. But when Ruling Princes go to Bombay or some other place in British India, they are sometimes asked to get licenses for their drivers. I have no objection to doing so, but the time is short sometimes, and unless these licenses are obtained our drivers are probably liable to prosecution. Rule 6 of the Rules made under the Indian Motor Vehicles Act says that " nothing in these rules shall apply to Rulers of Native States or to motor vehicles owned by them ". I therefore think that our drivers should be allowed to drive in British India without any let or hindrance. I only raise the point to make it clear.

**The Chairman** thought it would not be necessary for the drivers of motor cars owned by Ruling Chiefs to obtain licenses.

He also thought that this question of reciprocity had better be settled by letter as His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala had suggested. If Their Highnesses agreed that this second point should be discussed by correspondence, then the Agenda for the day were finished.

The proposal was agreed to.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** asked whether in the case of marks of identification for private motor vehicles, these could not be obtained from the State instead of from the Political Officer.

**The Chairman** said that the mark of identification had to be one which had been settled and communicated to the police in British India, so that it could readily be recognised. It would be necessary to obtain these marks from the Political Officer where the State had no system of its own ; where a State had a system of its own, its marks of identification would be recognised as valid in British India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—These are all points that will be referred to us ?

**The Chairman** :—Yes.

The Conference then adjourned till Wednesday, the 1st November 1916, at 2-30 P. M.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY.

*1st November, 1916.*

### Item No. IV of the Agenda.

**The Chairman :**—Your Highnesses, the question now to be considered is No. 4 on the Agenda, *viz.*, the form of minority administrations. I think you all have the printed Report of the Committee which was appointed to consider this question, and the matter is now for general discussion by the Conference. If Your Highnesses have any remarks to make on the draft Resolution the Committee have proposed, I am sure, the Committee will be very glad to consider them.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Your Highnesses, I have a few amendments to propose. In the first place, in paragraph 2 (a) and (b), I would suggest inserting “three to five Indian Members”, in place of “three or five Indian Members”. That is a small amendment for Your Highnesses’ consideration.

**The Chairman :**—Does any one wish to speak on this amendment? If Your Highnesses will read paragraph 2 (a) of the draft Resolution it states that in cases where no written instructions have been left by the late Ruler the form of administration should be a Council of Regency consisting of three or five Indian Members presided over by a Regent. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has proposed an amendment that in place of the words “three or five” the words “three to five” should be substituted. That leaves the question more open; you can have three or four or five members as you please, and I think that Your Highnesses will have no objection to that amendment which merely leaves the matter more open for decision in a particular case.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—Would it not be better to decide this point after seeing how it works?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—What does it matter? We may say three or four or five.

**The Chairman :**—Does Your Highness object?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—I do not wish to oppose the amendment; I merely wanted to make sure that there would be no working difficulty owing to a majority of votes on one side or the other. There may be trouble owing to an equal division of votes. That is my opinion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—It is only to give elasticity.

The amendment was carried.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—The second amendment I propose is to add a note in brackets to paragraph 2 (a) as follows. It is merely the gist of what was proposed during the sittings of the committee which was attended by three members who were absent at the second meeting. It runs as follows:—The Regent may be either the legitimate mother or the widow or a near male relative of the late ruler, provided the former has been in the full confidence of the late Prince.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—Your Highness, that is provided for under the heading of Regent. There is nothing to prevent a lady of the family being appointed Regent.



**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Would you not define ? The idea here is to define who would be eligible for becoming Regent.

**The Chairman** :—Has any one of Your Highnesses any remarks to make on this second amendment ? I am afraid Your Highnesses may find it a little difficult to follow, but the clause in question is “where no instructions have been left by the late Ruler, the form of administration should be a Council of Regency consisting of three to five Indian Members presided over by a Regent”. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar would add to that : “The Regent may be either the legitimate mother or a widow or a near male relative of the late Ruler, provided the former has been in the full confidence of the late Prince”. His Highness the Rao of Cutch has pointed out that this is merely specifying the different persons who might be appointed as Regent. Do I gather that His Highness the Rao of Cutch is of opinion that the addition of these words is unnecessary ?

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior Branch)** :—In the event of a Maharani, Rani, or Begum, being given preference to a near relation (*i.e.*, to a member of the Ruling family) for the Regentship during the minority of a Prince the following provisos are in my humble opinion necessary :—

- (i) that it was the clear wish of the late Ruler that such a Maharani, Rani, or Begum should be made Regent and that she enjoyed his confidence at his demise ;
- (ii) that she is the real mother of the minor Prince ; and
- (iii) that political, social and general conditions of the State permit such an appointment.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I think the clause is sufficiently wide to admit them.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—If I may suggest one thing : the wishes of the late Ruler have already been provided for and if any Ruler does not wish his aunt to succeed as Regent after his death, surely that is provided for by the late Ruler leaving that on record ; and in the absence of any strong and special reasons it will not be done, but is it advisable that we should necessarily specify ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—There may be other questions of ladies of the family who would not be eligible according to the *Dharma Shastras*.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Then they would not be eligible as Regent, and in the absence of the late Ruler's wishes the Government of India would see that no undesirable person was appointed as Regent, who was not qualified to be Regent.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—Personally I think that the more you define the better. Unless you do so you may have trouble. I wish to make the thing as clear as possible, and I propose that the resolution should be made as exhaustive as possible to meet all exigencies. There might be a hand book just like the Penal Code ; and I think the whole idea is to guide the Political Agent and others. If anything crops up they will be helped by this book.

**The Chairman** :—I think Your Highness' suggestion is that a book should be drawn up for each particular State ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—Yes ; it would be an attempt merely to lay down very general rules.

**The Chairman :**—Perhaps Your Highness will accept the Maharaja of Alwar's amendment on this particular point, that the persons eligible to be Regent should be either the legitimate mother or legitimate widow or a near male relative in whom the late Maharaja had full confidence.

**The Chairman :**—Your Highnesses, I should like to put this question to the vote in order to make some progress. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar wishes to add to paragraph 2 (a)—“ the Regent may be either a legitimate mother or widow or a younger male relative of the late Ruler, provided the latter is in the full confidence of the late Prince ”.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—The Jam Sahib has suggested one addition with which I also agree, to add in the last line, “ at the time of his demise ”.

The amendment was put to the vote and carried, 19 voting for and 3 against it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—The third amendment I propose for Your Highnesses' consideration is to paragraph 2 (b). What I would propose for Your Highnesses' consideration is to leave out the rest of the paragraph from “ In cases where no suitable Regent can be found, or where the appointment of a Regent is customary to the State concerned ”.

As regards the first portion of it, if we omit “ In cases where no suitable Regent can be found,” this leaves the option of making either arrangement, of a Regent in Council or President in Council, whereas paragraph 2 (b), as I understand it, means that we should first attempt the former arrangement, and failing that, try the latter.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—We say a Regent shall be appointed, but where no suitable Regent can be found, then there will be so and so. I think it is fairly clear that where a suitable Regent can be found, he will be appointed in preference to a President.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—My suggestion was the opposite. I meant that we should leave it optional whether a Regent is appointed or whether a President in Council is appointed and not tie ourselves down in the first place to always try to find a Regent.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—When the Ruler does not leave his wishes on record, the matter will be settled by the Government of India, and in that case if they find a suitable person to be appointed as Regent they will appoint a Regent, and if they think there is no suitable Regent, they will appoint a President. I do not think we can fetter the discretion of the Government of India, or in any way bind them to do any one thing. Where a late Ruler does express his wishes, we have provided that they should be carried out except for very strong reasons. And where the late Ruler has not expressed his wishes, we have given two alternatives which it will be competent for the Government of India to choose between, and I do not think we can tie the Government of India down to any one course. They will be the people to judge. Presumably they will also consider local circumstances, and I do not think we can bind them down ; they will see what is suitable, and what is available, and they will act accordingly.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—That was the idea of my proposal, whether it would not clear the air by the omission of the sentence.

**The Chairman :**—I think, Your Highnesses, the issue is pretty clear. It merely amounts to this. Do your Highnesses wish to express preference for a Regent as opposed to a Council of Administration, or would you leave the

matter entirely open ? If you wish to express a preference for a Regent, then you will adhere to the wording of the Resolution as it stands ; if you wish to leave the matter open, then you will vote for His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's amendment. I think, therefore, that I may safely put it to, Your Highnesses whether you are in favour of this amendment, which means the omission of the last three lines of paragraph 2 (b), or whether you are opposed to it. If you vote in favour of the amendment, it means you leave the matter entirely open.

Ten Ruling Chiefs voted in favour of the amendment and 16 against it, so the amendment was lost.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—The fourth amendment which I wish to propose for Your Highnesses' consideration is that paragraph 3 may be omitted altogether as the appointment of a British official to the Council should only be permissible in cases where the late Ruler leaves instructions to this effect. Under these circumstances the subject would then be covered by paragraph 1.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Am I to understand that His Highness advocates that neither a British official, nor the Political Officer, nor the Government of India are to have a voice in the administration in any shape or kind, in the absence of any special instructions of the late Ruler ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—No, Your Highness. That is not the intention. Here we are dealing with the appointment of a British official on the Council.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—The reason why the Committee put this forward was that, in the absence of any express wishes of the late Ruler, the Government of India would be making the arrangements and we thought it better for a lent officer to be on the Council than that a Political Officer should combine the duties of Political Officer as well as the head of the administration.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Would this paragraph then alter the position of the Political Agent in any way ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—We recommended this because we thought it necessary in the interests of the State that there should be a Political Officer or some other officer lent to the State, instead of the Political Officer accredited to the State having to combine the duties of Political Officer and head of the administration.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—We also contemplated that if it was desirable, the services of a Political Officer could be transferred.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Would such an officer be also eligible as President in Council ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Yes, in the absence of any expression of the views of the late Ruler. The Political Officer very often is President of the Council of Regency.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—This is a case of a lent officer.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Yes, in the absence of an experienced Indian statesman, and in the absence of a suitable Regent it would be a case of a Political Officer or a lent officer being appointed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—May I request that the amendment be put to the vote.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I would respectfully request that a little discussion be allowed before this is put to the vote. Would it not at the same time be as well to hear His Highness' other amendment about the Political Officer, which probably has an important bearing on the amendment now moved ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**It practically runs concurrently.

**The Chairman :—**I think it is a separate matter. It would be more convenient to take them separately. Here you are not talking of the Political Officer accredited to the State.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**If the votes of this Conference result in the Political Officer as well as a lent officer having no voice in the administration, and there are no express wishes of the late Ruler, what will the situation be ?

**The Chairman (to His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar) :—**Will Your Highness explain your other amendment. I have no objection if the Conference is agreeable to the two amendments being considered together.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** read out his previous amendment again and said :—The second amendment which runs practically concurrently with this is that paragraph 4, which I accept, may be made paragraph 3 and a new paragraph 4 may be introduced as follows :—

“ The Regent in Council or President in Council should consult the Political Officer in matters of supreme importance, but the latter officer will have no direct authority in conducting the administration of the State ”.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**May I suggest that the amendments be put to the vote separately, not together ?

**The Chairman :—**Certainly, Your Highness. The first amendment is that paragraph 3 of this draft Resolution be omitted altogether.

14 Ruling Chiefs voted for the amendment, 10 against it, so the amendment was carried.

**The Chairman :—**The next amendment is that paragraph 4 be made paragraph 3 and a new paragraph be added as follows :—

“ The Regent in Council or President in Council should consult the Political Officer in matters of supreme importance, but the latter officer will have no direct authority in conducting the administration of the State ”.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I hope I have made myself quite clear as to what I mean in this respect. The idea is not to exclude the Political Officer altogether. That is not possible or desirable. He should be consulted more or less, as is done at present, but he should not be at the head of the administration. He should advise and control the proceedings in that manner. If there are matters in which the Government of India desires that certain reforms should be introduced, he should of course pay every respect to that advice, and carry it through.

**The Chairman :—**Has anybody any observations to make ?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I object to this amendment. I think the Political Officer's position should in no way be different during the minority administration from what it was during the life-time of the Ruler. If it is necessary to have a British officer either as President or Member of the Council, his services should be borrowed from and lent by Government. I can imagine

cases in which it will be necessary to have a British officer on the Council either as President or as Member. But I would make no difference whatever in the position of the Political Agent in the life-time of the Ruler and during the minority of the Ruler.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda** :—I am inclined to agree with the view expressed by His Highness the Rao of Cutch.

**The Chairman** :—I will read the amendment once again and ask you to kindly record your votes.

The proposed new paragraph runs as follows :—

“The Regent in Council or President in Council should consult the Political Officer in matters of supreme importance, but the latter officer will have no direct authority in conducting the administration of the State.”

Will those in favour of the amendment kindly stand up ?

The amendment was then put to the vote, and 8 voted in favour and 19 against the amendment. The amendment was therefore lost.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—The amendment that paragraph 3 should be excluded from the draft has been carried. But what I beg to point out is that the change that has been made excludes the possibility of a British officer coming on to the Council either as President or as Member. That exclusion, I think, in some cases is not desirable.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—A Ruling Chief who has governed his State during a long period of years is an expert authority on the affairs of his State. I think Government ought to carry out during the minority of his son whatever wishes he may have expressed as regards the minority administration. That is the proposal, and I hope Government will do it. That is what I understand.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal** also subscribed to the views expressed by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

**The Chairman** :—Has any member any other amendments to suggest ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—I beg to move that in clause 1 of the proposed Resolution of the Committee, the words “or verbal” be inserted between the words “written” and “instructions”. My reason for moving this amendment is that there may be instances where a Ruler was incapacitated from leaving written instructions, I mean owing to some accident or anything like that, and yet able to give verbal expression to his wishes. Such instances are not inconceivable and should be duly provided for.

**The Chairman** :—Does any member wish to support this amendment ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda** :—I also agree.

**The Chairman** :—I will put the amendment to the vote. The amendment suggested is that between the words “written” and “instructions”, the words “or verbal” should be added.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Will you kindly add some more words to make it quite distinct ?

**The Chairman** :—I think you had better vote on the amendment as it stands.

**His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla** :—I should say omit both.

The amendment was put to the vote and carried. 21 voted in favour.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :**—I beg to move that the following be added at the end of the same clause in which I have just moved that amendment. After “not doing so” I wish to add the following words:—“The reasons in all cases to be recorded in full and communicated to the Darbar for the information of the Ruler on his attaining majority”. I consider it a matter of considerable gravity that there should be any departure from the instructions left by the late Ruler, and that if unavoidable it should be on record so that his heir on the attainment of his majority may be able to judge for himself how far the departure in question was justifiable. It is only in the best interests of the State that a change like this would be permissible and the onus of proving it to be so must rest on the responsibility of those who introduce the change. In such circumstances a record of the reasons why such a change was permitted should be kept in the Record Room of the State.

**The Chairman :**—Does any one wish to second that amendment?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :**—I second the amendment.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—I wish to oppose it, Sir, as it is unnecessary.

**His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda :**—I am in favour of the amendment.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :**—I am also in favour of the amendment.

**The Chairman :**—The amendment proposed is that at the end of clause 1 the following words should be added:—

“The reasons in all cases to be recorded in full and communicated to the Darbar for the information of the Ruler on his attaining his majority.”

I would point out in regard to this amendment that of course it is the Government of India who will be the authority concerned in this matter; they will decide whether the reasons are sufficiently strong, and sufficiently special to justify over-riding the wishes of the late Ruler. The Government of India might not be prepared perhaps to communicate such reasons in full to the Darbar for the information of the Ruler, as they might be conceivably of a nature which would be better that the Ruler's successor should not know; but it is for Your Highnesses to decide whether you wish this provision to be made.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—I think it is necessary. After all it is in the best interests of the State; it does not affect the Government at all. The Government is only the custodian and they must tell the minor when he attains majority what their reasons are. It is fair, I think. The question turns on the fact that Government may not think it necessary; I think it is necessary that they should put it on record.

22 were in favour of the amendment and 4 against it. The amendment was carried.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :**—In clause 2, I propose to insert the words “or verbal” after the word “written”. It is only a consequential amendment.

**The Chairman :**—It may be taken as carried.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :**—I beg to move that the following sub-clauses be added to clause 2 of the resolution; there are clauses (a) and (b) already; and I am proposing to add (c), (d) and (e):—

(c) that the Regent shall not have directly or indirectly any interest in the next succession;

(d) the Regent should not have been on unfriendly terms with the late Ruler ; and

(e) that the Regent, if a lady, should not be the step-mother or step-grandmother of the minor Prince.

Comment on this amendment is superfluous, as it is obvious how essential and important it is.

**The Chairman** :—There are three amendments proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—

“ 1 That the Regent appointed shall not have, directly or indirectly, any interest in the next succession.” That seems to be a matter which should be taken into consideration on such occasions, but it is a question whether Your Highnesses think it necessary to provide this specifically in the Resolution.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—That the Regent should not be the next heir ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Yes, that is what I mean.

**His Highness the Raja of Sailana** :—In that case the uncle will not be eligible or the step-mother. If the step-mother really loves the minor and she has no son of her own, why should she be excluded ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Difficulties are likely to arise when the step-mother has children of her own, and we have to provide against that.

The amendment was put to the vote and lost, 9 voting for it and 10 against it.

**The Chairman** :—The next amendment is that it should be stated in the Resolution that the Regent should have been on friendly terms with the late Ruler. I think that amendment has been covered by the amendment proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, who proposed that the Regent should be either a lady of the family or a near male relative who had been on good terms with the ruler.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—If that covers it, I will withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was accordingly withdrawn.

**The Chairman** :—Similarly I think this last amendment is covered by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's amendment. It is that the Regent, if a lady, should not be the step-mother or step-grandmother of the Prince. I think Your Highness (the Maharaja of Alwar) mentioned a legitimate mother, that might be a step-mother ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Yes, it might be a step-mother.

**The Chairman** :—It seems desirable to take a vote on this point. His Highness (the Maharaja of Nabha) proposes to add “ that the Regent, if a lady, should not be the step-mother or the step-grandmother of the Prince ”.

The amendment was put to the vote and lost, the votes being 1 for and 6 against.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I beg to propose an addition at the end of clause (1) as follows :—

“ Where such strong and special reasons exist for deviating from the instructions of the late Ruler, the concurrence and approval of

(1) the Rani, and (2) the Council, or (3) where no Council exists, of two prominent and loyal sardars and two senior officials should invariably be invited ”.

The amendment was put to the vote and carried, the votes being, in favour 22, against 1.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**My second proposal is that a paragraph should be added, to run as follows :—

“ In the selection of the Councillors local talent should be utilised to the utmost possible extent, preference always being given to people with vested interests in the State so long as they possess the requisite qualifications. When the Rani is capable, she not being a minor, and custom permits, she may be appointed Regent and entrusted with the running of the State aided by a Council. Again, one of the members of the Council should be a relation of the Chief, who enjoys the Rani’s confidence.”

**The Chairman** after some discussion said :—The new paragraph proposed by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia runs as follows :—

“ In the selection of the Councillors local talent should be utilised to the utmost possible extent, preference being always given to people with vested interests in the State so long as they possess the requisite qualifications. Again, one of the members of the Council should be a relation of the Chief who enjoys the Rani’s confidence.”

**The Chairman :—**We will take the first part of the amendment first.

The amendment was put to the vote and 30 voted in favour, and it was therefore carried.

**The Chairman :—**The other suggestion is : “ That one of the Members of the Council should be a relation of the Prince or Chief who enjoys the Rani’s confidence.”

That is a separate matter which will be included in one of the other paragraphs. It is a matter of drafting, but I put it to the Conference whether they wish to endorse this proposal in substance.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar :—**We cannot lay down rules to that effect, because there may not be such persons who would enjoy the Rani’s confidence.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa :—**I think there must be at least one Sardar.

**The Chairman :—**I think we are in a position to put this question to the vote.

The amendment was put to the vote and 9 voted in favour and 15 against. The amendment was therefore lost.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**I want to propose an amendment. I move to add the following paragraph to the draft Resolution: “ The Political Agent accredited to the minor’s State shall remain in the same position politically as he was during the life-time of the late Ruler.”

**The Chairman :—**Nothing has been said in the draft Resolution about it. It was decided by the Conference to omit the clause suggested by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to the effect that the Political Agent should



be consulted in matters of supreme importance but should have no direct share in the administration of the State. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has now proposed that a paragraph should be added saying that the Political Officer should remain in the same position politically as he was during the life-time of the late Ruler.

The question is rather whether it is necessary to provide for that, or whether it should be taken for granted. Ordinarily speaking, I imagine it will be taken for granted. The position of the Political Officer is not altered owing to the fact of the minority unless he is actually given a direct share in the administration. Has any member any observations to make on this?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I think it is sufficiently clear from the draft Resolution submitted by the Committee.

**The Chairman :—**I think we may take votes on this point.

The amendment was put to the vote, and carried as 27 members voted for it.

**The Chairman :—**His Highness the Rao of Cutch has proposed two verbal amendments, the first of which is that in clause 1 the words "it is essential that" should be omitted as being redundant. Does any one see any necessity for retaining them?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I think they ought to remain.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Is His Highness suggesting the omission of words which were proposed by himself?

**The Chairman :—**Perhaps as some of the members think it necessary to retain these words, Your Highness would agree to let them stand, they are merely redundant and cause no trouble.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**Is there opposition?

**The Chairman :—**Yes, His Highness the Maharaja Scindia and His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar think they ought to be retained.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**So do I.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**And I.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**And I also.

**The Chairman :—**Perhaps Your Highness would agree to withdraw that amendment?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**On the other hand there seems to be a consensus of opinion also amongst others as to their redundancy and as to the advisability of their omission, perhaps the point might be put to the vote?

**The Chairman :—**I put the amendment to vote.

Against the amendment 20; for the amendment 4. The amendment was lost.

**The Chairman :—**There is one other small amendment which His Highness the Rao of Cutch has proposed, and that is that in sub-clause (b) of clause 2 after the words "three or five" the words "including the President" should be added in brackets. This again is a small matter on which I think I may take a vote at once.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Is it not more or less understood from the existing phraseology?

**The Chairman** :—I should think it is going into unnecessary detail myself but this is for Your Highnesses to decide.

In favour of the amendment 3 ; against the amendment 6. The amendment was declared lost.

**The Chairman** :—I now suggest that the Conference should adjourn and meet to-morrow morning at 10-30 a.m. if that is not too early for Your Highnesses ? The first two agenda to be considered to-morrow will be this one that we have been just discussing, about minority administration, and then No. II on the Agenda paper.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY.

2nd November, 1916.

## Item No. I of the Agenda.

**The Chairman :**—Your Highnesses, a general desire has been expressed that the proceedings to-day should begin with the discussion of item No. I of the Agenda, namely, the ceremonial to be observed at the Installation and Investiture Durbars in Native States. Your Highnesses have seen this draft memorandum which has been prepared departmentally. I should like to explain that this is merely meant as a basis for discussion and that the object of preparing a draft was that Your Highnesses might know the points on which your advice would be acceptable. The Government of India will welcome the fullest discussion of the subject and I hope that we shall be able to arrive at some satisfactory understanding. I should like to add, Your Highnesses, that the time before us is rather short and several items still remain to be discussed, so I propose that we should be as concise as possible.

A suggestion has been made by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor that a Select Committee be appointed to discuss this question and that among the members should be Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Baroda, the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Rao of Cutch. I might however add that there is not much time for a Committee to sit and consider their report and then submit it to the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—I fear, Sir, that this is such a big question that it must be discussed by all the Ruling Princes here and that a Committee would not be suitable.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :**—I agree with His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda :**—I think the same.

**The Chairman** (to His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor) :—I am afraid, Your Highness, that your suggestion is not generally acceptable. Perhaps you will kindly withdraw it.

The suggestion was withdrawn.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—I have prepared a memorandum on this subject for Your Highnesses' consideration, which I propose to read out, with regard to the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of Accession Durbars in States. My memorandum particularly applies to Hindu States, because, I am afraid, I am not personally aware of the religious procedure in Muhammadan States.

His Highness then read out the following memorandum :

“ When a Prince succeeds by his right of heritage to his father, the ceremony is one of accession—the installation part being a religious ceremony. In accordance with our *Dharma Shastras* an heir-apparent succeeds the late Ruler on his demise as a matter of course, and the public proclamation is simultaneously issued. (See *Vishnu Dharmottor Puran*, Chapter 19.) Directly the obsequies are finished, the *Rajya Bhishek* ceremony takes place at an early date on a proper *Mahurat*, namely, an auspicious day.

The procedure to be observed in a *Rajya Bhishek* is summarised below :—

1. *Ganesh* and other *Poojan* ;
2. *Abhisheka* ; and
3. *Mukut Bandhan*.

First the *Acharya* ties the *mukut* round the Prince's head and chants religious *mantras*. The *Purohit* then seats the Prince on the *Raj Asan* and reads *mantras*. After the Prince has thus been installed in a public assemblage and the religious ceremonies are completed, the *Raj Sabha* who is seated below the *Raj Asan* in the hall present their *Bhet*. Immediately afterwards is the occasion for *Kharitas* and congratulatory messages to be presented from different States as well as from the people of the State and the Prince is to give back such presents as he thinks fit. A public procession then starts from the Palace and the Prince with due pomp and ceremony goes out into the main streets to receive the salutations of his subjects.

#### NOTE.

'Accession' means coming to as by succession or by right.

To 'instal' means to place or instate in an office or rank.

As the ceremony of installation after accession is a religious rite, this can be performed by no one else but the *Raj Acharya* and the *Purohit*.

The terms *masnad* and *gadi* are modern innovations—the ancient phrase being the *Raj Asan* which is of many kinds—such as, *Singhasan*, etc. A 'chair' can under no circumstances be regarded in our States by our Sardars or our people or ourselves as the *Raj Asan*.

It has been customary on such occasions of accession for *Kharitas* and presents to be received from His Excellency the Viceroy or the head of a Local Government and in order to receive such presents and *Kharitas* with all the pomp and ceremony that are due to them a Durbar should be held at any convenient time after the ceremony of installation, at which the head of the British Government or his Agent may read out personally the congratulatory messages and advice conveyed by the representative of the Sovereign of India or the head of a Local Government, and at the same time in accordance with precedents gifts should be presented before the Prince in trays.

On such occasions when the representative of the Sovereign of India is the honoured guest of the Prince, a Durbar of 'chairs' should be held and the distinguished officer should be given a seat on the right hand of the Prince—*Atar* and *Pan* being given to him at the termination of the ceremony.

It is not possible to hold such a Durbar for receiving the *Khilats*, *Kharitas* and presents from the honoured representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, immediately after the installation ceremony is complete—because, the *Raj Sabha* is seated on carpets and our Sardars would not agree to sit on the floor if any other officer was seated on a chair ; nor would it perhaps be becoming for such a representative to be placed on a chair at the same time as the Prince is seated on a *Singhasan*.

(The ceremony mentioned in the note of fastening a *Sarpech* on the head is equivalent to a *Mukut* which—in places where such *Mukut* exists—can only be tied by the *Raj Acharya*, but *Mukut* is a hereditary possession and a new one cannot be tied on the head of the Prince on every occasion of installation.)

It has been mentioned that owing to diversity of local customs no definite instructions can be formulated regarding the procedure to be followed on such installation ceremonies, but as such a function is clearly and definitely laid down in our religious *Dharma Shastras*, it is no longer a case where the adoption of these rites in their main principles are made to suit individual fancies. Customs may vary in States about minor details, but the essence in all cases must be the same as those laid down in the *Hindu Shastras*.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior) :**—So far as the ceremonials to be observed in the State itself on both these occasions there can be neither uniformity nor any divergence because in each State will be held Durbars attended with suitable pomp and publicity. The only point of difficulty in this connection arises about the representative of the Government of India. What should be the ceremonial observed from start to end when the representative does attend. This is a position which is very delicate and attended with great difficulty, and my view is that so long as there is no uniformity in the political status of the Ruling Princes, the solution of this difficulty will not be uniform and satisfactory. And I venture to say that the relations of the Indian Princes with the British Crown being embodied in documents which are not all of the same value, and which may some day have to be carefully examined, discussed, explained and understood. A consideration of the question of the ceremonial had better be postponed or at least be in a stage of discussion only.

Considerations urged in connection with the Indian States in matters of ceremonial would equally weigh here, and while I say this I am not to be understood as though I am opposed to the view indicated on the Agenda. I quite admit that the system of rule obtaining in our States happening more or less to be of a personal character, cases may arise where the approval and sanction will be necessary. But such cases are rare as there can be no uncertainty as regards the successor both from the principles to be deduced from the declaration of the British Crown as well as the closer relations and contact of the Government of India with the Indian States. The internal concerns of Ruling States are no longer a sealed chapter to the Government of India, and in cases of the successor being found unequal to the task of administration as a personal ruler, the principles to be borne in mind in the case of a minority might be deemed applicable. My own views about the form of Government that should prevail in Indian States being already indicated, the necessity for approval and sanction does not and should not arise.

**The Chairman :**—(To His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar). Will Your Highness read the note which you have prepared dealing with the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of an Investiture Durbar in Indian States ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Your Highnesses, this is a note dealing with the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of an Investiture Durbar in Indian States. In this respect, of course, Investiture Durbars, as we have seen them, or as we know them, or understand them, are more or less of modern growth, and therefore in this respect I would first of all like to point out to Your Highnesses that what I mention is merely my own personal opinion.

“A definite age limit should be laid down at which a minor Prince assumes the powers of the government of his State. On such occasions if a *Kharita* of congratulations or advice is received from the honoured representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, this should be read out at a Durbar held by the Prince at which an announcement should also be made publicly terminating the period of the minority and the assumption of the reins of government of his State by the Prince.

Should a Prince for special reasons be not found capable to assume charge of a State on coming of age, it would be a case in which the Government of India would control the proceedings.

No *Khilats* and other gifts should be presented on the occasion of an investiture as it is not the occasion for such presentation.

No restrictions should be placed on a Ruler's powers when he assumes the administration of his State and it is better to postpone the ceremony of assumption of the reins of administration—should in special cases this be desirable—in place of observing the ceremony and restricting the powers of a Prince which are inherited by his right."

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—In deference to the wishes of the President, I rise to give expression of my humble suggestions, though perhaps I would personally have preferred to speak after a little discussion had taken place. It requires no words from any of those present at this Conference to point out the admitted fact that there is no Body in the British Empire who are more unswervingly loyal to their King-Emperor or more jealous of the dignity and interests of His Imperial Majesty's Empire than the Ruling Princes of India. The sacrifices which they have made in the past and are making at the present time and which it goes without saying that they will ever continue to make for the Emperor and the Empire, as well as the practical demonstrations given of the same not by words but by actual deeds speak for themselves. In the circumstances, it will not, I trust, be difficult to perceive that the raising of any vexed or contentious point must be extremely unpalatable to them. I feel, however, that I am echoing without exception the views and sentiments of our entire Order when I say that if we demur to the point at issue with regard to item No. 1 on the Agenda we feel sure that the Government of India would realize that we do so only because we consider it a matter of the very gravest import and most serious consequences to us and because we feel that in doing so we are in no way jeopardising the interests of the British Government or of the Empire—interests which it is always our endeavour faithfully and loyally to keep in view and also to do everything in our humble power to promote.

With the organic connection between ourselves and the British Government which true partnership involves and our daily growing closer association with the Imperial Government, which we venture to feel will be of mutual advantage, questions must occasionally arise where there is bound to be minor or major divergence of views. At the same time, it is earnestly hoped that it will be understood that on such occasions where criticism is necessary, our aim is to offer not destructive, but constructive, criticism so that the Empire may be welded together with still firmer and unbreakable bonds of unity and affection.

With these preliminary, and I hope not unnecessary, remarks and my apologies for taking up so much of Your Highnesses' time and that of my friend, Mr. Wood, who has already proved himself to be a sympathetic and popular Political Secretary, I will proceed to deal with the points at issue.

The explanatory note of the Political Department of the Government of India shows that owing to some uncertainty and considerable diversity of custom it is proposed to issue a memorandum for the guidance of Political Officers as regards the correct ceremonial to be observed at the Installation and Investiture of Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

The first two paragraphs of the above-mentioned draft memorandum would appear to relate chiefly to political, rather than to ceremonial, matters.

As, however, the subject has been prominently brought forward, and as it is of the most vital importance to the States and their Rulers as well as to the heirs and parents and other heirs interested in the inheritance according to the old established law and custom of the country, it would appear to be desirable that a further explanatory statement should be made on the subject by the Political Secretary to the Government of India at this Conference for the information of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs before any remarks or criticisms can be offered by them on this point. If the Chairman is agreeable to my suggestion, I propose to make the rest of my remarks afterwards, or, if he would like, I will go on with my remarks.

**The Chairman :—**If it will assist Your Highnesses in forming your opinions on this subject, I should be glad to say a very few words in explanation of the two paragraphs in the draft memorandum. I may say, in the first place, that this draft memorandum is quite tentative, as I have already explained. It is merely meant to form the basis of a discussion. The first paragraph says that every succession requires the approval and sanction of Government. I have heard that some of Your Highnesses are not prepared to accept that statement. Personally, I had always regarded that as one of the political axioms of the Government of India, but I am quite prepared to admit from my own personal point of view that it might have been more clearly and more appropriately stated in other terms. (Hear, hear.) The term "approval and sanction" is perhaps not quite the correct expression. All that is meant by the statement is that the Government of India are responsible for settling disputed successions, as I think Your Highnesses will all admit, and that therefore it is necessary in every case, whether there is any dispute or not, that there should be a formal recognition by the Government of India. Otherwise who would know that the succession was disputed or not? Who would know that there might not hereafter appear some other claimant to the *Gadi* who might have a better right than the claimant who had already been installed by the local political officers. It is a mere matter of wording, but if Your Highnesses desire and approve I think that I may say that the Government of India would be quite prepared to substitute the word "recognition" for the words "approval and sanction."

The second paragraph is to the effect that it is essential that such approval and sanction should be announced in a formal Installation Durbar by a Representative of the British Government. Here again that is a tentative suggestion which is based on what has, I understand, hitherto been the practice. If Your Highnesses can give evidence to show that this has not been the practice in your own States, or consider that such an announcement is not necessary or desirable, your views will be placed on record and carefully considered.

I think Your Highnesses are aware that in inviting you to be present to discuss these matters at the Conference the Viceroy is anxious to encourage full and frank discussion and that there is no desire to entrap you into making any kind of admission that will be to your disadvantage. I should like to sweep away any kind of cloud or suspicion that may be darkening your minds (Cheers). I might add that in regard to this question of recognition, Your Highnesses will understand that a mere statement that succession requires the recognition of Government does not in any way impair the inherent right (Cheers) of the heir to succeed, either by natural succession or by adoption. (Cheers).

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**As I had the honour of addressing you before this personal statement was made by Mr. Wood, perhaps I may be permitted to resume the debate. After the very frank and, I think we will all admit, sympathetic statement which Mr. Wood has now made,

I think Your Highnesses will agree that the way is more than paved for a frank and free discussion, which if both parties will discuss in a friendly and free and temperate manner ought ultimately to lead to results which will be acceptable to us.

I would split up the subject into two portions, that relating to paragraphs (1 and 2) about succession and that relating to correct procedure and the various forms of ceremonials.

As regards succession, paragraph 1 of the Government of India draft memorandum states that every succession requires "the approval" and "sanction" of the Government of India, while paragraph 2 states that it is essential that such approval and sanction should be announced in a formal Installation Durbar by a Representative of the British Government. The principle enunciated appears to be non-existent in the past and as such could not operate without stultifying not only the time honoured and established principle of inheritance by right of birth and blood but also the solemn promises made in the past and especially in Queen Victoria's Proclamation. It leaves the succession in the natural course of events of sons and heirs-apparent in a very doubtful condition; while it does not appear to have been followed in practice. I shall attempt to mention here the guiding principles of successions:—

- (a) A Ruler of an Indian State is the inheritor of a State conquered and built by his ancestors and does not derive his title from any grant requiring sanction.
- (b) He succeeds his predecessor by right of birth according to Hindu Law and by the rule of Primogeniture (and it will be remembered that the Government of India have accepted and acted on this principle in arriving at decisions in disputed cases).
- (c) If sanction was necessary, the *gadi* of a State would remain vacant until such sanction would arrive, whereas the time-honoured rule is that the new Ruler comes into existence directly on the death of his predecessor without any ceremony whatsoever. Installation and other functions are only religious ceremonies such as take place at the time of the Coronation in other countries. The right of an heir to succeed the late Ruler is inherent in him by birth and has always been so held in this country by the people, and even the slightest suspicion in the direction of the disturbance of this accepted fact will cause great pain and concern to the whole body of Indian Rulers.
- (d) Again what becomes of the rights and privileges of the heirs-apparent and heirs-presumptive of a class of personages whose inherent rights to become Rulers in the natural course of events are recognized even before they actually arise? It is impossible to imagine that the British Government contemplate leaving the succession of heirs-apparent in a doubtful condition. I recognize fully the delicacy of the subject and the great care that should attend any discourse on the matter, but I do hope that it will be appreciated that in submitting these views I have said nothing that the vital importance of the subject does not warrant.
- (e) Even in the case of adoption the British Government have recognized the absolute right of an Indian Ruler to name and appoint his own successor (*vide* Adoption Sanads under the signature of Lord Canning). It was the disregard of the inheritance code



and custom of Indian rule that contributed to the trouble during the régime of Lord Dalhousie : but it was the sympathy and farsightedness of our good Queen Victoria that recognized and promised unbroken the continuity of our ancient usage in the adoption Sanads. The words "recognition" and "confirmation" used in the Sanads have a very special significance. Again, the words "adoption by yourself and future Rulers of your State" leave the entire discretion to the Rulers, requiring no approval or sanction of the Government of India. Looking to the times when these Sanads gave positive assurance to the Ruling Princes and were promulgated, one would admit without demur that, far from imposing any restrictions on a Ruler in the selection of his successor, the Sanads imposed on the Imperial Government an obligation to 'recognise' and 'confirm' this action of an Indian Prince. It was this policy of sympathy and recognition of old rights that, it may be safely assumed, allayed the misgivings raised by the policy of Lord Dalhousie. Thus, even in the case of adoption, the wish of the Ruler is recognised as final and irrevocable, and I hope and trust that *a priori* no question will ever be raised that would tend to detract from the inherent right of lineal successors.

- (f) Attention is invited to the following words from Adoption Sanads given under the signature of Lord Canning to the Rajputana States which I will now read out. Therein the assurance has been conveyed that "on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future Rulers of your State of a successor according to Hindu Law and to the custom of your race will be recognized and confirmed." Thus, even in regard to adoption, only the terms "recognition" and "confirmation" are used and that too of the adoption made "by yourself and future Rulers of your State" and it has not been required that the *approval* and *sanction* of the British Government should be asked for or given in such cases. If that is the case in regard to adoption, the approval and sanction in regard to every succession, even in case of sons and heirs themselves of the Rulers of States, would appear to be untenable.

In my own case, His late Highness Maharaja Sri Dungar Singhji Bahadur adopted me as his son and successor shortly before his death, and the Government of India merely "recognized and confirmed my succession" after the death of His late Highness, which fact was conveyed to me by the then Political Agent, Colonel Thornton, at a formal visit paid on the 1st of September, 1887, i.e., the day after my Accession and the performance of my Installation rites and ceremonies.

Perhaps the impression that approval and sanction of the British Government is necessary has got about from the fact of British officers being present at Installation or Investiture Durbars. I would venture here to offer an explanation and definition of those words round which so much unnecessary significance appears to have gathered. This may also help later on in the settlement of the ceremonials in the subsequent paragraphs of the draft. A Ruling Prince's assumption of his reign consists of two and, in cases of minor Princes, of three ceremonies, viz., Accession, Installation and Investiture. Accession of a new Ruler takes place directly on the death of his predecessor by the fact of there being a vacant *gadi*, for it is the recognized custom that

no *gadi* can ever remain vacant. The person is deceased but the Ruler always lives. "The King is dead : long live the King" is in no sense a less enforceable principle in India. In our *Shastras* Sri Krishna says " (among men I am the King, i.e., of men I am the ever existing man). So instantly on death taking place the rightful heir steps in. This view is verified by the fact that in some States an *An* or *Dukhai* of the new Ruler is proclaimed on the first or third day throughout the States after the death of the Ruler. And I believe I am right in saying that after the death of his late Highness the *An* or *Dukhai* was proclaimed before my adoption was formally recognised and confirmed. In some States the custom is that the dead body of a Ruler cannot even be removed for cremation unless and until the successor takes his place and is the principal mourner.

The appropriateness of, and specially the need for, the British Representative formally announcing their approval and confirmation of the succession is not apparent in the light of what has been stated at length regarding the inherent rights of a Ruling Prince in India.

I should like in conclusion to remark that I do not believe the British Government intended by their proposals in the draft to interfere with the rights of the Ruling Princes. On the contrary I am firmly convinced that it is the earnest desire of the Imperial Government to maintain and uphold them, and in my above remarks I have tried to show how they can carry out their intention of firmly maintaining for all times all these rights and privileges of the Indian Rulers. I have given a full and frank expression of my views, and I hope it will be agreed that in their appreciation will be fulfilled the promises conveyed in our great Queen Empress' memorable words "We shall respect the Rights, Dignity and Honour of Native Princes as our own".

I have only to add one more remark. I do not know whether the Government of India ever in the past exercised the right which, so far as I know, has only now been put forward so prominently. Nor can I imagine that they would contemplate exercising it in future. I prefer to think that they consider the expression contained in paragraphs I and II a matter of formality. If that is so, may I submit if it would be politic, even from the point of view of the Government of India, to raise unnecessary misapprehensions in the minds of the entire body of Indian Rulers without any corresponding material gain.

**The Chairman :—**I would suggest that, after the explanation I gave, possibly this somewhat delicate question might not be further pursued and that we should go on to the subject of the ceremonial, which is really the point on which Your Highnesses' advice is asked. I am quite certain that the Government of India will never do anything to impair the rights and privileges of the Ruling Princes and I need not inform you that the occasion of the discussion of a matter of ceremonial like this is not one on which the Government of India would wish to slip in any doctrine that is in any way contrary to Your Highnesses' treaties and rights. I would strongly urge that this question should not be further pursued and that Your Highnesses should address yourselves solely to the question of the ceremonies to be observed. I do not feel in a position to suggest the exact wording of the memorandum that will be addressed to Political Officers, but you may be quite sure that any memorandum which is issued will not contain these words to which Your Highness (His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner) has taken exception. .

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**Am I to understand that the recognition will be only a formal recognition ?

**The Chairman** :—It will be formal Your Highness in this sense, that where there is no dispute, the Government of India will naturally at once accept the heir, whether lineal or adopted. But as they have the responsibility for settling disputed successions, they must in every case satisfy themselves that there is no dispute.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Where there is no dispute, what would you do in the case of direct sons ?

**The Chairman** :—The Government of India would automatically recognise such a succession.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Then this will not delay the installation ceremonies according to our religious rites, taking place on the day which is the prescribed custom of the State ?

**The Chairman** :—I think not.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—That is the point, as long as there is no interference to the son succeeding to his inherent right.

**The Chairman** :—It has been, I understand, the custom for the religious ceremony to take place within the State even before the Government of India have had time to examine the question whether there is any dispute or not, and there is no desire to interfere with any kind of practice of that sort.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Then would it not be as well to exclude altogether the direct sons who by their inherent right will succeed ?

**The Chairman** :—But the Government of India have to recognise that it is the succession of the direct son, and if they have not already recognised him, they will have to do so on the accession ceremony.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—Is there any harm in every one of us expressing his opinion for submission to Government as the matter has been brought in in the Agenda ?

**The Chairman** :—If you think it is necessary after what has been said.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—Because it has created a flutter in our dovecotes and it is just as well that we might give our opinion on this point for Government to know what we think of the question.

**The Chairman** :—That is what we are here for, Your Highness ; I only mentioned it because the point on which the Government of India are anxious to have your advice is the question of the ceremonies, and if we spend all our time in discussing abstract questions of political practice and policy, I am very much afraid we may never get to the question at issue at all.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—Personally I am quite prepared to take your explanation. The only thing is that if there be any doubt in the minds of anybody, I think it would be right to give him a chance of expressing his views. This phrase has not been of our insertion and perhaps we might have the privilege of expressing our views.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Might I suggest for the consideration of my hon'ble friend as well as of Your Highness how it would do as regards this particular subject of paragraphs 1 and 2, where the main question involved is one of phraseology, as the Hon'ble Mr. Wood has just suggested, that we should form a committee on this subject, where perhaps the Chairman himself would be able to suggest something, as he so usefully and successfully has been able to suggest corrections in certain matters of

phraseology on a committee at which I was present, and we should perhaps solve the problem for both sides.

**The Chairman :—**I would be prepared at once Your Highness to suggest a phraseology for your acceptance if that would help matters :—" Every succession requires the recognition or confirmation of the Government." For the second paragraph I would suggest—" It has been the practice in some States that such recognition is announced in a formal Installation Durbar by a representative of the British Government." I do not wish to lay down on the present occasion any procedure in that matter, and it is really a question of fact whether it has always been the practice in every State that this is done or not, I am not able to say. Your Highnesses are in a better position to say that, but I think it will be safe to say it has been the practice in some States. Or if Your Highnesses would prefer the paragraph to be omitted altogether, I think the Government of India would be quite prepared to consider that suggestion. But I think it is really for Your Highnesses yourselves to say what you want in this matter. I only suggest for your consideration that something should be said to indicate that the recognition of the Government of India is required, and that if it is the practice that such recognition is given in a formal Durbar, words to that effect might be inserted. Or if you think it should be omitted, then Your Highnesses might say so and that would be considered.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**As I say it is a question of phraseology because the two words "recognition" and "confirmation" are already used in our adoption *sanad*, and, as His Highness mentioned in his speech also, the question of succession is one that ought to be on a somewhat higher footing, a somewhat clearer footing at least, than adoption, and perhaps, if three or four heads be put together, they will evolve something acceptable to all sides, whereas I am afraid in a public Conference like this it would be very difficult to give the words necessary and evolve spontaneously a suitable phrase. As regards the question of the subject necessitating a formal recognition or the confirmation of the British Government, I am not quite certain myself as regards the procedure in other States, but in my own State, when my grandfather succeeded (and he was the only heir who succeeded by his inherent right because the others succeeded by adoption), in that case, after all the religious ceremonies and the accession and the investiture ceremonies were finished and carried out, the *Kharita* which was received from His Excellency the Viceroy read somewhat as follows, and no mention whatever was made of any recognition or confirmation because the son was the direct heir and succeeded by his inherent right. If I may read this, it may interest Your Highnesses.

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*Translation of Kharita dated 23rd September 1857, from His Excellency Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India to His Highness Maharao Raja Shivdan Singhji, after his accession to the gadi.*

Your Highness' kind and affectionate letter announcing the sad death of Your Highness' father has been received by me and has caused me intense grief and sorrow. Along with it the glad tidings of Your Highness' Masnad Nashini on Sawan Sudi Nowmi has changed all sorrow and grief into extreme pleasure and joy.

Any way, no one who is born and comes in this transitory world can last for ever and only he is happy who leaves behind him an heir to carry on his name and by this means attains the continuation of everlasting life. Taking this into consideration, it is hoped Your Highness will have recourse to patience and resignation and will try for your august father's salvation and good management of your State.

Trusting Your Highness will always consider this sincere friend to be your well-wisher and will favour him with letters of your welfare.

What more can I write.

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*Translation of Kharita dated the 4th August 1857, addressed by George Henry Munk Mason, Political Agent, Jodhpur, to His Highness Maharao Raja Shivdan Singhji of Alwar after his accession ceremony in the year 1857.*

After expressing every wish and desire of seeing Your Highness personally (beyond which no further pleasure can be thought of) may it be known to Your Highness that Your Highness' letter announcing the sad death of Your Highness' late lamented father on Sawan Badi 4th Samvat 1914 (corresponding with Saturday the 11th July 1857), which must have been a cause of sorrow and grief to all your relations and to Your Highness' august person and at the same time announcing the glad tidings of Your Highness' auspicious Masnad Nashini on Sawan Sudī Nōwmi (corresponding with Thursday the 30th July 1857) was duly received and was the cause on one hand of affording extreme sorrow and grief and on the other of extreme pleasure and joy.

On receipt of the sad tidings the heart of this sincere friend has really been plunged in the storm of sadness and grief : so much so that the pen with its open tongue only sheds black tears of grief. Alas : this world is a dream so long as a man's eyes are open and life is only a thought which finishes only in a moment. But as said "whoever is born must taste death one day." It behoves everybody to resign himself to the Creator's will and there is no other remedy to this unbearable pain except patience.

Along with this news of Your Highness' auspicious Masnad Nashini, all ideas of sorrow and grief have been transformed into extreme joy. May God bless Your Highness and your true friends with the glad tidings.

It is hoped Your Highness' auspicious Masnad Nashini through the grace of God be a cause (as in the case of the deceased Maharao Raja Sahib) of real blessing to your subjects and a bond of true friendship with your friends.

Hoping Your Highness will always consider this sincere friend to be your well-wisher and will favour him with letters of your welfare.

With kind regards.

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**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, after the poem that His Highness has just recited to us it would be somewhat of a bathos to descend to the consideration of the phraseology of the memorandum to be produced by the Political Department, and I really do not think that this is the occasion or that we have the time to go into all the very deep problems that would have to

be considered before we can evolve a form of words. I should again suggest that this particular point might be left in abeyance for the present. Your Highnesses could send your views in writing on this subject, and I can assure you that they would receive sympathetic consideration. But it would really be an advantage to us if we could leave this particular point to be decided hereafter by correspondence and get on with this question of the ceremonies.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I entirely agree. If you will allow us to represent our views, and there is no question of tacit acceptance or rejection, we can represent our views to the Government of India who, we feel sure, will give them full and sympathetic consideration.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**May we submit them separately to the Government of India ?

**The Chairman :—**Certainly.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I would submit for Their Highnesses' consideration whether it would not be a good thing for the Ruling Princes instead of submitting their individual views which might possibly be conflicting to come to a common understanding and then submit them.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**We can discuss this among ourselves and then write to the Government of India separately. There is time enough for us to discuss this among ourselves. I do not think there will be much divergence of opinions. The main point at issue is whether there is any justification supported by past precedent to recognise even formally the succession in the natural course of a son. The other points are clear.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**And as regards adoption ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Both the Government of India and we are bound by *sanads*. The point at issue is—is it necessary or is it called for, or is it supported by past precedent to have even a formal recognition of the son to his father's place, and I think that is the point Your Highnesses will be able to express your views on ?

**The Chairman :—**Do Your Highnesses agree to pass on to the question of ceremonies and leave this matter to be decided by correspondence ?

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**We are very grateful for your kind explanations.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I heartily endorse that.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I think we all endorse that, though each of us may not individually say so.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**Will the matter again be put before the Conference next year or at any other time ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Not necessarily, Your Highness. I think we shall be able to be reasonable in our request, and I think the Government of India will be reasonable in their settlement of the question in accordance with our wishes, if we are right and just.

The proposal that the Government of India should be addressed separately by the different States was agreed to.

**The Chairman :—**That matter being disposed of, perhaps His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner will now make his suggestions regarding ceremonials.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Alwar has given us a learned disquisition on the ceremonies that are

rightly observable or which ought to be performed according to the provisions of the *Dharma Shastras*. I fear I cannot claim to give my suggestions for what they are worth on such authority, but with Your Highnesses' permission I will confine myself to the practical side and to what I am aware of as the custom either in my State or that in some other places. As regards the correct ceremonial and procedure to be observed at installations and investitures the first thing that appears very necessary for the future is to make a clear and absolute distinction between the two functions, that is to say, of installation and investiture. It would have been hardly necessary to make this statement had it not been for the undoubted fact that in the past the two terms have, even in official phraseology, been often mixed up and incorrectly used. After I was 18 I saw correspondence referring to my investiture in which they have talked of the installation of His Highness the Maharaja taking place and so on. The installation ceremony proper corresponds with our *Raja Bhishek* or *Raja Tilak*, whichever name the ceremony may be or may have been known by in the various States and provinces, and relates solely to the accession of the new Ruler irrespective of whether he is at the time a minor or has attained his majority. It is from that very moment that he becomes the Ruler of the State whether he is known by the title of Maharaja, Raja, Nawab or any other title peculiar to or customary in the State, and, succeeding as he does the late Ruler, he from that time is also entitled to all the honours, dignities, courtesies and privileges attaching to that high position. In this connection attention is invited to paragraph 67 (c), page 36, of a Minute which I had the honour of writing a short time ago, where I ventured to point out a recent tendency of not extending in full the honours and courtesies due to a minor Prince which are his absolute right, no matter what his age may be.

The Investiture ceremony is that which is performed when the minor Ruler comes of age and assumes Ruling Powers, and it only proclaims the termination of the minority of the Prince or Chief.

A perusal of the various ceremonials observed in some cases, especially in more recent times, on these two occasions will, it is submitted, show clearly that the two ceremonies have been confused, in that the procedure properly observable, and actually observed at the time of the Installation, is *repeated* at the time of the Investiture. When a Prince has already been duly installed and has actually become the Ruler of State, it is unnecessary to repeat at the time of his assuming Ruling Powers any of the ceremonies appertaining to the Installation, and hence the request that the procedure and ceremonial to be observed on these two occasions should be kept quite distinct and apart from each other.

I propose to deal later with the question as to whom the Durbar should be held by in regard to these two functions.

The *Rajyabhishek*, *Raj-Tilak*, or Installation ceremony, is to a large extent really a religious ceremony, in which the persons playing the principal part are the high priests, nobles, and other prominent and privileged people belonging to the State itself. Moreover, it is to be found that the proper Installation ceremonies have taken place in the past, and should take place in the future also, in a particular room, place or hall from time immemorial, and on such occasions the new Ruler has taken his seat with all due ceremony and in accordance with the local custom on the *Singhasan* (*Takht*, Throne, *gadi*, or *masnad*). On this no other man, not even the son and heir of the Ruler, can in any circumstances sit and the *Takht* or *gadi* is held in such reverence that not only does nobody approach it with shoes on but every

one, not excepting, in many cases, the Ruler himself, makes his reverence to it as he passes by it. It is obvious therefore that the *Singhasan* cannot be moved about from that particular room to other rooms where chair or European Durbars are held, even if it were not prohibitive to hold the religious ceremonies in any other place, or not opposed to local custom or not against the feelings and sentiment of the Members of the Reigning Family, the Nobles and the old and hereditary officials of the State and of the people themselves. So that when the "*gadi*" or "*masnad*" is shown as having been placed at any recent ceremonials at Investiture or Installation Durbars, it was in all probability nothing more than a State or Durbar chair at best.

Then again at our proper Indian Durbars only the rulers of the State sits on the *Singhasan* and everybody else. Where it be the son, uncle, or any other relation of the Ruler, or any Noble, or official sits at his allotted place on the floor, and it is there that the proper *Nazar* and *Nichhrawal* Durbars are held up to this day. For instance, in Bikaner the Installation ceremony and our other purely Indian or "*Nazar Nichhrawal*" Durbars are held in the Karan Mahal Durbar Hall in the Fort, next door to the principal Temple—"Har Mandir"—in the old Palace. And it would not be feasible for British officers to be present at these Durbars (or for Chair Durbars to be held there) as our Nobles and officials would naturally and justifiably object to sitting on the floor when British officers sat on chairs.

To hold the Installation ceremony proper in any other place would, for the reasons already mentioned, be altogether against all local sentiment and customs and would also greatly detract from its value and significance in the eyes of the people.

At the time of my own Accession, *i.e.*, on the 31st of August 1887, 13 days after the death of His late Highness, the actual Installation ceremony was performed according to the *Shastras* and local custom in the Karan Mahal Durbar Hall—our proper Throne Room—and it was only on the day following my Installation Durbar—*i.e.*, at 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st September—that the then Political Agent, Colonel Thornton, paid me "a formal visit" at the Palace. The Political Agent sat on my right and at the conclusion of his visit I gave him *Atar* and *Pan*. On the 3rd of September I returned the visit of the Political Agent in full State.

Even if everything else were possible or practicable and not contrary to local sentiment and custom, there is yet another point which should be mentioned. The *Singhasan* is generally so much bigger than the biggest chair ordinarily used at Chair Durbars that, if the Rulers were to sit on the *Singhasan* and His Excellency the Viceroy only on a Durbar Chair, the disparity between the two seats would be very marked—and as already stated of course nobody but the actual Ruler of a State can sit on a *Singhasan*—and that would not look at all well either for the Viceroy or the Prince or Chief.

It would therefore appear to be most desirable from every point of view that the representative of the British Government should attend only the Investiture Chair Durbar to offer his congratulations and to hand over with all due pomp and ceremony the usual *Kharita* from His Excellency the Viceroy. such a Durbar is held to receive the congratulations and *Khilats* and presents from the British Government no less than from other brother Princes and friends. In fact, the practice of the *Kharita* and the *Khilats* and presents on the part of the British Government has its origin in the ancient custom of such presents and *Kharitas* from Ruling Princes in the country. These are sent and received as tokens of friendship, and if a representative was, out of courtesy,



allowed in some instances to attire a duly installed Ruler with *Khilat*, neck-lace and *sarpech*, this should not take the form of a recognized rule. The customary rule is that while a *Kharita* from the Viceroy and those from other States are presented to the new Prince, the *Khilat* and the *Poshaks* from other States are placed on the floor of the Durbar. The representative of the British Government makes a speech in which with the passage of time no doubt, matter other than congratulatory has come to appear. The study of more ancient procedure and Viceregal *Kharitas* is bound to reveal the fact that the presence of British officials was of the nature of honoured guests. It is doubtful if the draft rule (a) as framed in the memorandum itself has the sanction of custom.

In many places, the procedure adopted at installation and investiture Durbars of sitting on two chairs in the first instance and of having another set of two chairs and "when the moment arrives" of conducting the Prince or Chief from the one set of chairs to the other, has always been looked upon as curious and incorrect. Inquiry will reveal the fact that it is of recent origin, introduced at the investiture ceremony of a minor Prince. The position in which he is placed at the time and his natural disinclination to start a career of seeming opposition to a Political Officer makes the Prince, who has just attained his majority, silently acquiesce in any innovation or departure from the custom of his State. A perusal of the record of the several such ceremonies in one and the same State will reveal the force of the argument that what is here described as custom is merely the result of innovation gradually brought in.

The procedure of presenting the *Kharita* and the *Khilat* at the time of the investiture is, strictly speaking, incorrect according to the custom, for these presents which are tokens of friendship are more appropriate at the time of his Accession than on the occasion of his Investiture which is a mere proclamation of his assuming full powers.

Coming to the question as to who should hold the Durbar I should like to instance my own case which has a bearing on the principle. At the time of my investiture with Ruling Powers, i.e., on the 16th of December 1898 a Chair Durbar was held in the new Ganga Niwas Durbar Hall in the Fort. The Agent to the Governor-General sat on my right and the ceremonial procedure observed was that of the presentation of His Excellency the Viceroy's *Kharita* and *Khilat* (the latter, correctly speaking, should have been sent at my Installation and not at the Investiture) and a speech by the Agent to the Governor-General to which I replied. We sat on the usual State or Durbar chairs, but no *Singhashan*, or *Gadi* or *Masnad* was brought in nor were two separate sets of chairs arranged, and at the end of the Durbar I gave *Atar* and *Pan* to the Agent to the Governor-General and the Resident, and not the Agent to the Governor-General to me, which would have been the correct procedure had the Durbar been held by him.

It would therefore appear that the correct procedure will undoubtedly be to hold a Durbar of the Ruling Prince at which the representative of the British Government should in a speech announce the termination of the minority on the minor Prince or Chief coming of age and his assumption of his Ruling Powers. None of the ceremonies due to be performed, at the Installation proper should on account of the minority or other reasons be omitted at that time or postponed for the Investiture ceremony.

• With reference to paragraph 11 of the draft memorandum an Investiture ceremony should, in my opinion, be held to mark the withdrawal of temporary restrictions only in cases in which they were in the first instance publicly announced.

It is very gratifying to find from paragraph 5 of the draft memorandum that the Government of India hold that ordinarily "if a newly installed Prince or Chief is of full age, the installation carries with it *proprio vigore* the investiture with ruling powers."

As regards the Installation and Investiture ceremonies being performed by His Excellency the Viceroy, the Head of a Local Government, the Head of a Local Administration, or the Political Officer accredited to the Court of the Ruling Prince or Chief, I am not aware of any Installation ceremony having in the past been actually performed by any former Viceroy; as in some cases the Accession of the new Ruler takes place immediately after the death of his predecessor, and in others at a fixed interval, *e.g.*, on the 13th day after the death of the late Ruler, as in the case of Bikaner, etc. In such circumstances, and as regard has also to be paid to *Mahurats* or auspicious days it would hardly, if ever, be possible for His Excellency the Viceroy to honour the Ruler and his State by being present on such an occasion. There are of course many instances where His Excellency the Viceroy, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Agents to the Governor-General and Political Officers have been present at Durbars when minor Rulers have been invested with Ruling Powers. This however is only by the way.

From the draft memorandum of the Government of India it appears that there is some uncertainty and considerable diversity of custom as to who should hold such Durbars and it would, it is respectfully submitted, seem that the question has been dealt with in recent days not on any fixed principle but according to the rank and status of the personage or officer representing the British Government at such functions. In all such matters too much attention cannot obviously be paid to questions of principle and to past usage and custom, by which is meant not any new custom or innovation that might have been brought about during a minority period or, roughly speaking, only in the last few years, but what was generally the custom in former days. It needs no remarks from me to point out that the political relations of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs with the British Government were firmly established long before the past decade or two and any procedure which was followed prior to this period cannot *ipso facto* be held to have been wrong merely because in recent days, the procedure was altered or innovations were made through whatever causes, and it should be observed that it is especially during minorities that changes and curtailment in ceremonial procedure have chiefly been made in the past. And now that happily a really sympathetic policy prevails once more, it is, we understand and gratefully realize, also the present policy of the Government of India to pay a scrupulous regard to all past usage and custom and to local sentiment and feeling, and if there is no precedent except that of very recent origin, in support of any such changes or innovations, the question as to who should hold such Durbars appears to be quite clear and obvious. Installation and Investiture Durbars are held in our own States and moreover generally in the Palace itself of the Ruler, where His Excellency the Viceroy, a Governor, or a Lieutenant-Governor is an honoured guest. It is further my opinion that Installation and Investiture Durbars should invariably be held in the Palace of the Ruling Prince himself. The Head of a Local Administration such as the Agent to the Governor-General is also an honoured guest, and the Resident or Political Officer, who has no jurisdiction in our States, is also shown every honour and courtesy due to him as the Representative of the British Government accredited to our Courts. In the circumstances, it is difficult to see the need or indeed the reason why any of these Durbars should be treated as anything but the Durbars of the Ruling Prince or Chief himself. It does not appear to us to be right from the point of view of courtesy alone

that within our own States or inside our own House and Palace any body else should hold a Durbar; nor again does it appear at all appropriate that in our State or own Palace His Excellency the Viceroy or the Head of a Local Government or Administration should, when they are our guests, be seated anywhere but on the right of the Ruler—the only correct and proper place of honour for such distinguished persons. It would therefore certainly appear to be altogether in keeping with local tradition and sentiment, as well as courtesy due to each other, that the Durbar should be treated as that of the Ruling Prince or Chief and that the Representative of the British Government should in each and every case be seated on the right of the Ruler of the State. So far as is known there is no other occasion of a ceremonial or official nature, or indeed any similar public function within the territories of our States, at which the principal personage or officer representing the British Government sits anywhere but on the right, and it is indisputable that great stress has been at times laid on the seat on the right being accorded to the principal officer representing the British Government and the same has been the practice, as already shown, in case of both the Installation and the Investiture Durbars of my own time up to the years 1887 and 1898, respectively.

On all other occasions in our States whether it be to invest the Ruler with any high British Order or Decoration or any other similar ceremonial function—where His Excellency the Viceroy or any other high officer of the British Government is present, he invariably takes the seat on the right without any question, and, so far as is known, all such other Durbars held in the Palace or the Residence of the Ruler are regarded as the Durbars of the Ruling Prince or Chief himself, and it is submitted that there is neither any need nor any justification for any departure to be made from such an established procedure in regard to Installation or Investiture Durbars.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I agree.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**The subject has been so exhaustively dealt with by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar that it only remains for us to give our hearty approval to the views expressed by the two Princes who started this debate.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**In my humble opinion the approval and sanction of Government in regard to succession should be necessary only in very exceptional cases, *i.e.*, cases in which the eldest son does not succeed to the *Masnad*, or the late Ruler dies without male issue. For in several States it is the custom that the remains of the late Ruler cannot be buried or cremated until the succession of the new Ruler is announced.

It is to be remembered that according to the Treaties concluded between the British Crown and Ourselves, Treaties always regarded as sacred by our Paramount power, the rightful heir succeeds to the *Masnad* of his fore-fathers in his own right, and the Paramount power has, by Treaties and Engagements, undertaken to recognize all such successions. The new Prince, it need hardly be said, owes on his part allegiance to the British Crown every whit as complete as that of his ancestors. Complicated cases are, however, bound to arise at times when it would assuredly be desirable that the approval and sanction of the Government should be obtained. But, for cases when the rightful heir succeeds to the *Masnad*—and the circumstances are well known to, and understood by the Paramount power, who according to the Treaties and Engagements, is sure to recognize the succession, I would beg to suggest that the words “approval and sanction” should be altered to “recognition” as far as the ordinary succession is concerned. It would at the same time be desirable, in my opinion, to make the sanction of Government obligatory in the difficult cases which are sure to arise from time to time.

Then there is the question of Installation and Investiture Durbars. I would beg leave to point out that the Installation Durbar is a far more important function than the investiture ceremony. Installation necessarily implies the investiture of the minor Prince with ruling powers on his coming of age, *i.e.*, when he is fit to shoulder his new responsibilities. The chief thing is the installation of the minor Prince on the *Masnad* of his fore-fathers. As I have said, the new Prince or Ruling Chief succeeds to the *Masnad* by right, a right which our Paramount power has undertaken by Treaties and Engagements to acknowledge and recognize—and therefore the presence at the installation of His Excellency the Viceroy or the Head of a Local Government as representative of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, is meant to indicate the recognition of the Prince by the Government of India. The Installation Durbar is held at the capital of the New Ruler to announce his succession to his people. Such a Durbar should, to my mind, be regarded as held by the Ruler, and His Excellency the Viceroy or the Head of a Local Government should, if present, be regarded as the honoured guest of the Prince or Ruling Chief and his seat should be to the right of the Ruler. There is no difference in essentials between the Installation and Investiture Durbars. By recognizing the installation, the Government of India recognize the right of the new Ruler to be invested with Treaty powers on his coming of age—and the investiture Durbar is an announcement to the people of the State of the new Prince having attained his majority. The presence at it of His Excellency the Viceroy, or of the Head of a Local Government is intended to set the seal of recognition by the Paramount power, and the distinguished visitor should be regarded as the honoured guest of the Prince at the occasion, and his seat should be to the right of the Prince, as it usually is at the Durbars ordinarily held at the capitals of Indian States.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I beg to express my agreement with His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda** :—The subject has been treated by the different Princes with so much erudition and elocution that it is hardly necessary for me to dilate on it longer than can be helped. My notes are indeed very brief and the manner in which it has been treated will make my notes fortunately intelligible to follow. Had it not been treated so, perhaps they might have been a little unintelligible.

At the outset I may say that my original intention was to refrain from giving utterance to my views on this question. Realising, however, that some expression of opinion may be expected from me thereon, I rise to offer it as briefly as possible.

*First*, I must say that I do not hold the view that the succession of a Ruling Prince to the *gadi* of a State needs the sanction and approval of the Government of India. Were such sanction and approval insisted on a regrettable feeling would arise that the Rulers were *ipso facto* deprived of their full sovereignty in internal affairs; a sovereignty which has been secured to them by treaty obligations to which the British Government has repeatedly declared its firm intentions of scrupulously adhering.

*Secondly*, I am of opinion that the formal Installation Durbar should, under all circumstances, be convened by the Ruling Prince himself. The representative of the Government of India will always be cordially welcomed; he will be treated as an honoured guest who brings messages of congratulation and good-will.

*Thirdly*, as to the Investiture Durbar. On such an occasion the Ruling Prince, having attained his majority, in the presence of his sardars, officers, and

people, assumes those full rights, responsibilities, duties, and powers, which are inherent in his rank. I therefore hold that no Investiture Durbar, in the sense attached to it in the draft memorandum under discussion, is necessary.

*Finally*, I think that most of the ceremonies now proposed for the guidance of Political Officers—unless where they are supported by special engagements—are not in accordance with custom, and run directly counter both to the traditions and sentiments of the people and to the rights of the Ruler.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala** :—The memorandum regarding the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of Installation and Investiture Darbars prepared and circulated by the Government of India postulates a proposition the nature of which is highly controversial and strikes at the very root of the principle of heredity and sovereignty which has been time and again maintained and recognized by the British Government.

The memorandum lays down that every succession requires the approval and sanction of Government.

The Ruling Princes of India have been guaranteed the security and integrity of their States, so much so that in the event of their being without issue their right to adopt an heir has been recognized.

The obligation of the sanction of British Government pre-supposes its right to veto the succession.

That being so, the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of Indian States becomes a mere abstract illusion. The British Government has by law no right to interfere with succession in the case of its Zemindars and other subjects. What justification is there that its right to veto should be maintained in regard to succession to the *gadi* of Ruling Princes whose territories are treated as foreign soil as far as internal jurisdiction is concerned ?

In my opinion the duly acknowledged heir to the *gadi* of an Indian State, direct or adopted, succeeds on the demise of the Ruler in his own right without any extraneous assistance or confirmation.

The disappearance of the occupant of the *gadi* for the time being vests it *de jure* and *de facto* in the heir—be he minor or of full age.

The question of age affects the actual exercise of ruling powers but not the automatic accession to Rulership.

In the circumstances, the installation ceremony would be absolutely incongruous.

If the heir is of mature age he not only succeeds but assumes full ruling authority. He possesses all the attributes qualifying him to be a full fledged ruler. But, since his accession to the *gadi* of his forefathers must be announced to his people with befitting solemnity, he should hold a Durbar of his own, at which the representative of the suzerain power might be present as an honoured guest to offer on its behalf the customary *Kharita* and presents and congratulations on the commencement of the new régime. He would be accorded a place of honour on the right of the prince. His presence would amount to an official recognition of the new Ruler by the paramount power.

If, on the other hand, he is a minor, the only question that requires to be determined is that of conducting the administration during his minority which I shall discuss later on.

On the termination of the minority, the procedure suggested in the case of the assumption of powers by an heir of full age would be applicable.

(b) When no heir direct or collateral survives, or the succession is in dispute, fundamentally different considerations would dominate the situation.

Such a case would evidently require the interference of the British Government. But when the question is once settled with due regard to individual claims and wishes of the Ruling family and in consultation with the important officials of the State concerned and a successor nominated, he should, as regards his accession, etc., abide by the procedure governing undisputed successions.

**The Chairman :—**May I ask Your Highness then who would settle the case of a disputed succession ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**In the case of a disputed succession of course the British Government I admit.

**The Chairman :—**Does not that imply the right to veto a succession ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**Not if it is in the case of a rightful heir. For instance, in the case of my son the Tika Sahib there would be no occasion to veto the succession.

**The Chairman :—**That has not been suggested, Your Highness.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**No, I only wished to say it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**The Government have invited the remarks and criticism of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs on the draft memorandum which has been prepared by their Foreign Office for the guidance of Political Officers regarding the ceremonial to be observed at the "Installation" and "Investiture" Durbars in the States. I may say at the outset that the installation ceremony has a significance of its own and it is religious in character. I therefore consider it of the utmost importance that it should be so conducted as not only to preserve and maintain intact the principles on which the Treaties of the States have been framed but also its traditions and customs. Looked at from this point of view, it would appear to me that uniformity in a matter like this is as difficult to obtain as it would be to reduce all the Treaties and Sanads of all the Indian States to a common and uniform level. In the circumstances, my opinion is that the question of such ceremonial would best be solved by leaving it to be decided on the old practices and precedents of each State. The decision should invariably be arrived at with reference to the established precedent in each State irrespective of departures from precedent accepted by other States under varying circumstances. The succession should be considered to have followed as a matter of course.

A thorough examination of the draft memorandum is not possible without a careful perusal of the precedents alluded to in No. 1 of the Agenda. In the absence of such an opportunity I am not in a position to offer any detailed criticism or remarks on the draft memorandum before the Conference.

I endorse the memorandum by the Indore Durbar on the subject, which was laid on the table of the Conference.

**The Chairman :—**I suggest that, as Your Highnesses appear to be generally in agreement on this question, it would be an advantage if something could be put on record to which Your Highnesses would all be prepared to subscribe to the effect that Your Highnesses demur to the proposition in the memorandum that the sanction and approval of Government is required to a succession, although you accept the position that the settlement of disputed successions must rest with the Government of India. The other point on which there appears to be a general consensus of opinion is that both at the time

of the installation and at the time of the investiture the Durbar should be that of the Ruling Prince or Chief in which the representative of the British Government would attend as an honoured guest.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Not at the installation, Sir. He would come in after the installation and sit on the right.

**The Chairman :—**I was referring to the Durbar after the installation.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**That is the Durbar to receive the British representative.

**The Chairman :—**That is the Durbar with which the Government of India are concerned. For it certain procedure would have to be laid down.

To sum up, the main points are—

- (1) that you demur to this proposition that the sanction and approval of the Government of India is necessary, and
- (2) that any Durbar at which the British representative is present, either after the installation or for the purposes of the investiture, should be held by the Ruling Prince and not by the British representative.

I think that a brief expression of opinion of that sort would enable the Government of India to reconstruct this memorandum on different lines. If Your Highnesses would select a small Committee to draft some general expression of opinion to that effect, I think it would be very useful both to yourselves and to the Government of India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**That will be the best thing.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**I think that is a very sound proposition.

The following Committee was appointed :—

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda,  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner,  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar,  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior,  
 His Highness the Rao of Cutch,  
 His Highness the Jam of Navanagar,  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala,  
 Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal,  
 His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

**The Conference then adjourned for lunch.**

*After re-assembling.*

#### **Item No. IV of the Agenda.**

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, I think you have all got a copy of the amended Report of the Committee on the form of Minority Administration. The question for the Council to decide now is whether this Report should be accepted. If any of Your Highnesses have anything further to say on the subject, now is the time,

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, I have been discussing with certain members of the Conference the general effect of this Report as amended. Rather an important point appears to have been overlooked. In the Committee which discussed the general principles of Minority Administration last March, the opinion was strongly expressed by all members of the Committee, including Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior and Bikaner and Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, that the Government of India, during a minority, are the trustees and guardians of the State and of the minor during the minority. If that is accepted as a proper statement of the position, it is obvious that the Government of India must have some machinery to enable them to discharge that responsibility. If they are trustees and guardians, then they must know what is going on in the State; they must have one of their officers who will advise them if anything is going wrong. Now, in the last paragraph of this Report of the Committee, it is stated that "the Political Officer accredited to the minor State should remain in the same position politically as he was during the life time of the late Ruler." That would mean that in States with full powers and with independent position, the Political Officer would ordinarily have nothing to say to the Minority Administration, his advice would not be asked, and in fact he might be quite ignorant of anything that was going on in the State. I think Your Highnesses will admit that that is a position in which the Government of India should not be placed. They cannot discharge the responsibility of guardians and trustees unless they have some machinery to enable them to discharge that responsibility. So, the amendment that I would suggest, after consultation with Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner, Patiala and others is that the last paragraph should read—

"The Political Officer accredited to the minor's State should be consulted in important matters in order that the Government of India may be in a position to discharge their responsibility as guardians and trustees of the interests of the State during the Minority".

The object is not that the Political Officer should, necessarily, exercise any authority but that he should be kept informed of what is happening and that he should be consulted in important matters. He would then be in a position to keep the Government of India informed that everything was going all right, or if anything was going wrong, the Government of India would similarly be informed, and would consider whether any alteration should be made in the form of administration.

There is no idea of giving any extra authority to the Political Officer; he simply acts as intermediary for keeping the Government of India informed of what is happening and advising them as to any action that should be taken to protect the interests of the State.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**While I agree that the present form requires alteration, would the intention of the Government expressed by my Hon'ble friend not be given effect to if the first portion of the proposed addition is inserted without the qualifying phrase afterwards, which would be a mutual understanding.

**The Chairman :—**Which first portion?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**There are two portions.

**The Chairman :—**Would you stop after "should be consulted on important matters?"

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Yes.



**The Chairman :**—I suggested the fuller statement in order to explain what was the object. The object is not to enable the Political Officer to interfere but to enable him to keep the Government of India informed. It is entirely a matter for Your Highnesses' discretion, but I do think it is important to make some provision to enable the Government of India to discharge their responsibility.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Then I entirely agree.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—I think it reads well on the whole as it is.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—As suggested by the Chairman ?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—Yes.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Your Highnesses, with reference to the amendment which is proposed, you will perhaps permit me, as I was not present here yesterday when some amendments were made, to carry Your Highnesses through some portions relating to the work of the Committee on which I was. The Committee went on the principle that where a Ruler has left instructions they should be carried out except in the case of very strong and special reasons to the contrary. To us it appeared that having provided that, the essential thing was that wherever instructions were left they would be carried out ordinarily—we must give the Government of India credit for keeping faith with us—it would only be in extraordinary circumstances that the wishes of the late Ruler would not be carried out. We then legislated for cases where there were no express wishes left by the late Ruler. In that circumstance, the first question is—who is there in the whole of India who will settle as to the form of minority administration in a State during minority, and is there anybody except the Government of India who can do so ? Having provided that the wishes of the late Ruler should be respected except for very special reasons, we then enumerated three methods of constituting minority administrations—one was that of a Regent assisted by members of council ; the second that of a Council of Administration presided over by a President or Diwan or Administrator where there was no suitable Regent available. We provided in sub-paragraph 3 that, as I understood to be the sense of this Conference, the Political Officer should not combine the duties of the British representative accredited to our courts, and the head of the minority administration, and it was for that reason and to meet the wishes of all concerned that we said in the third place that where there were no wishes expressed by the late Ruler and where in the interests of the State it might seem desirable to appoint a British official on the Council, then that official should be lent, which meant that the duties and functions of the political officer representing the British Government accredited to our courts and those, where it was really necessary, of an officer lent, would be kept quite apart. But that proposal did not meet with Your Highnesses' approval yesterday, and it has now been settled, according to the resolutions accepted yesterday, that there is not to be any British Officer lent, and at the same time that the Political Officer who is accredited to the minor's State should remain in the same position politically as he was during the life-time of the late Ruler. The result of this is that the British Government cannot be held responsible for anything that happens in a minority, if our proposition is workable and accepted. Then, I would ask Your Highnesses, what is the object of our asking the Government of India to pronounce or declare their policy, not a new policy necessarily, but their policy in regard to minority administrations ? It was after deliberation with the Committee consisting of Their Highnesses the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharaja Scindia and myself that the Government of India agreed and declared to us

to certain States, their principles as to what should and should not be done in a minority. If Your Highnesses now wish that the Government of India should not be directly associated with a minority administration and that the British representative should have nothing whatever to do with the minority administration any more than he had to do during the life-time of the Ruler with full powers, how are you going to ask the Government to be responsible for what is done in a minority or ask them why the principles which they have in view, their policy in regard to the minority administration, were not adhered to in any given case? It is a question for Your Highnesses' consideration what will happen in a State where the Ruler left no wishes on record, and who will see and be responsible for the minority administration, and to whom will they be responsible. Are the Government of India responsible as the Paramount Power for the interests of our own States, to see that certain things are not done? If you do not hold them in any way responsible and if the minority administration shall have made any mistakes which may be binding on the new Ruler when he comes of age, how are we going to ask the Government of India anything about it? With their responsibility they have also to see to their obligations to our States, in a minority administration, in their special position of trustees and guardians. In the circumstances, there is to my mind no alternative except to provide in some way or other that the Government of India should feel that they are responsible for a minority administration, and that they are trustees for the minor Ruler. It is a question for Your Highnesses whether you will accept the amendment as now proposed, or whether you would like something else to be added to the amendments moved yesterday, which will remedy what, if I may respectfully say so, personally appears a glaring defect.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—Would Your Highness then think that clause (3) of the draft as suggested by the Committee yesterday would meet the objections that Your Highness has taken as to the exclusion of the Political Officer?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Personally, of course I was on the Committee and I absolutely subscribe to the view expressed in paragraph 3, but should Your Highnesses not accept that, it was my intention to ask the Chairman officially to put it on record that in the absence of my leaving anything on record in regard to my wishes as to how the minority administration should be carried on in the event of my death, that I was going to ask that the Government of India should be guided, wherever possible, by the principles which were enumerated in the original report of the Committee which has now been amended. But I understand that it is not in accordance with proper procedure for us to move or to vote to move the restoration of a thing that has been changed by an amendment, and it is for Your Highnesses to bring forward another proposition which might have a similar effect, or to move something else.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—Do you think if clause (3) were to be reinserted it would meet the case?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I think so and am in favour of it.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—But we can move it for the consideration of the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—That was my object in putting it forward.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—That is what I mean, for Their Highnesses the members of this Conference to reconsider the whole question,

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I strongly object on a point of order to His Highness's (the Rao of Cutch's) proposal.

**The Chairman** :—I think Your Highnesses as this clause was deliberately struck out yesterday, it would be rather difficult to justify the reconsideration of that particular clause.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I do not wish to press for anything that may be against the rule of proper procedure ; I only suggested for consideration whether clause (3) as drafted yesterday was not better than that suggested now.

**The Chairman** :—Perhaps I may explain that they are really two different questions.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—But, if I may interrupt, the effect is the same.

**The Chairman** :—My point is this. Clause (3), as drafted yesterday, did not concern a Political Officer. If a British official were lent to the Darbar to serve on the Council of the Administration he would not then be a servant of the Government of India, he would be a servant of the Darbar. Therefore, the point I have in view, namely that the Government of India should have one of their own officers to keep them informed of what is happening in the State and enable them to discharge their duties would not come up.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I agree with the amendment proposed now, only I suggest for Your Highnesses' consideration the omission of the two words trustees and guardians.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh** :—I agree that this amendment should be added (the amendment suggested by the Chairman).

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—What is the proposition at the present moment ?

**The Chairman** :—The amendment under consideration Your Highness is that the last clause, clause (5), should read as follows :—

“ The Political Officer accredited to the minor State should be consulted in important matters in order to enable the Government of India to discharge their responsibilities as trustees and guardians of the interests of the State during the minority ”.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—If the function is merely to inform, for purposes of the discharge of the duties entrusted to the Government of India, I personally see no objection to the clause provided it is clearly understood that the Political Agent does not interfere in the ordinary administration of the State. Perhaps it may meet the views of Your Highnesses if I suggest an alternative. Instead of 'consulted' insert 'informed,' 'should be kept informed of any important matters'.

**The Chairman** :—Your Highness, the Government of India are rather an unwieldy body, and I think Your Highnesses would find it convenient to deal with the man on the spot in the ordinary circumstances rather than with this body of which I have spoken. Consultation with the Political Officer does not bind the administration to accept his advice when offered. It only helps to remove any difficulties and to insure that the minority administration shall receive the advice. The Political Officer can refer to the Government of India if necessary, but I think Your Highness will realise that it is better that the Government of India should not appear unless real necessity arises.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**Personally I have no objection to it, but I thought it might facilitate an early solution if the words were changed.

**The Chairman :—**It is entirely for Your Highnesses' consideration. I have no business to propose an amendment in a resolution that Your Highnesses are going to pass. I thought it was advisable for me to make the position of the Government of India clear, because ultimately these resolutions will have to come before the Government of India for consideration in regard to any revision of the existing orders which they wish to make.

I think Your Highnesses, as time is getting on and we have a great deal of business to discuss, that perhaps this question might be put to the vote, and perhaps I may explain once more my reasons for suggesting this amendment. I am very anxious that these Conferences—I am sure the Viceroy is very anxious—that these Conferences should have really fruitful results, and that being so, it is very important that Your Highnesses should not inadvertently propose anything which would not be likely to be accepted by the Government of India. That is why I have ventured to suggest this amendment, and I have explained to Your Highnesses that it does not involve any interference by the Political Officer and that it will not confer any authority on him as regards the administration during the minority. He will be purely in the position of an adviser and in the position to inform the Government of India of what is going on. I think I had better put this question to the vote.

His Highness the Rao of Cutch has suggested a slight amendment, that the words 'to keep the Government of India informed of how the affairs of the State are going on,' should be inserted before 'to enable the Government of India to discharge their responsibilities' and so on.

It now reads :—

"The Political Officer accredited to the minor's State should be consulted in important matters in order to keep the Government of India informed of how the affairs in the State are going on and to enable them to discharge their responsibilities as trustees and guardians of the interests of the State during the minority."

The amendment was carried unanimously.

**The Chairman :—**I think I may now put the general question to the vote.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**I have a little amendment to propose. It is to paragraph 2, *viz.*, that in cases where no written or verbal instructions have been left by the late Prince, the Regent or President of the Council should have a fixed period of tenure of office. I propose 3 years.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**But supposing he is very suitable and answers the purpose well, would you oust him and put in another person?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**Then he would get an extension. It has been my experience and that of other States where the Presidents of Regency Councils have wanted to stay on, so that the Maharaja should not get any powers.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**You would say, subject to extension if he is suitable?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**Yes, certainly.

**The Chairman :—**Would it suit Your Highness, as a matter of drafting, if a paragraph were added that the constitution of a Council of Regency or of administration should be subject to reconsideration in every case after 3 years?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Including the appointment of the Regent or President.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—Yes, I agree to that. I hope that Their Highnesses have got this clear that this is only in cases where there are no specific instructions left by the late Ruler.

**The Chairman** :—There seems to be a good deal of opposition to this, Your Highness. This is a matter which could be provided for in instructions left by the Ruler.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—But supposing instructions are not left. Suppose there is a motor accident to-day and I get killed. There have been cases of this sort in the Punjab.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I fear that the more we fetter the Government of India with instructions the more impracticable it will be to carry them out when the time arrives.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I do not think this amendment of mine fetters the Government of India. If the Government of India thinks that the Regent or the President is not working satisfactorily, he could be quietly dispensed with after 3 years.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—But they could still do so before 3 years. Why give him a tenure of office for 3 years?

**The Chairman** :—I think the issue is sufficiently clear to have the matter put to the vote.

8 voted for the amendment and 16 against ; so the amendment was lost.

**The Chairman** :—If none of Your Highnesses have any other amendments to propose, the question may be put to the vote whether the recommendations of the Committee as amended should be accepted?

The proposal was carried unanimously.

#### Item No. V of the Agenda.

Agendum No. 5 was then considered and the Chairman asked that a note should be made at the foot of the report of the Committee on this subject, adding the signatures of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala to the report.

**The Chairman** :—I assume that Your Highnesses have been studying this report carefully in the watches of the night and that there is no necessity to give any explanation of it. The Committee is fully representative of Your Highnesses and, unless any one has any amendments or remarks to make, I propose to put the matter to the vote at once.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau** :—I propose that the age limit should be raised. 18 is not sufficient.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—We are not discussing the age limit here. It is beyond the scope of the Committee whose report only tries to show how the training should be imparted.

**The Chairman** :—The question before Your Highnesses is that the recommendations of the Committee should be endorsed by the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I have to say something, Sir. It is stated in the Report that the Committee are not in a position to make any recommendations on the subject of the period to be spent by the Prince in Europe.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—That point is coming up, is it not ? I think the Maharaja Scindia refers to the advisability or otherwise of some part of the period to be spent in Europe.

**The Chairman** :—What was decided was that there was so much diversity of opinion that it was useless to lay down any rules on the subject.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—That question will be submitted directly to the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—We stated that we were not in a position to make any recommendations.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—His Highness the Maharaja Scindia says that it should be thrashed out.

**His Highness the Maharaja Scindia** :—I am not in favour of sending the Prince to Europe, on the ground that experience has not proved fortunate in this respect, but I have no objection to his being sent on tour after he has received his training.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** concurred in the opinion expressed by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—In paragraph 3 it is stated :—“ Without attempting to draw up a regular curriculum which can be safely left to those responsible for the education of the young Prince, we wish to emphasise that his study should take such form as may best develop his mental faculties and that it is most essential that he should acquire such a thorough knowledge of the English language as will enable him to read it and express and record his thoughts in that language with facility. He must also be thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular of the State”. This is only a minor point, but I want to place it before the Conference. What I say is that the time is so short that the poor boy has got to learn so many books. Therefore, I think the books ought to be specially prescribed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—It would not be the duty of this Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I don't mean that the Conference should write out every book, but where it comes to a question of learning law—it is a subject which takes at least four or five years—the Rajkumar College Lecture Book might be prescribed. I am only giving an illustration. You want very short books and to the point, because there is very little time for the young Prince to complete his education. I only want my opinion recorded that the books should be simple and not on very big subjects.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Would that not be a thing to be decided according to the local laws in the State. We can only describe the general principles.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I only want that the books selected should be useful to him.

**The Chairman and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—That ought to be left to the tutor.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—This is a minor detail.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—That is the only thing that occurs to me, and I want it to be put on record.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—It is also stated that “ the guardian should also ordinarily reside with the minor Ruler.” Why should it be so ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—He must ordinarily reside with the minor Ruler, otherwise how can he be responsible for his moral training. It does not make it compulsory. It seemed to us desirable that the guardian should be near the Ruler if he is going to look after his moral conduct and see to his general bringing up.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—Why should you write it in the Report ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—It seemed desirable to the Committee that if he is to be responsible for the moral welfare of the Ruler, he should ordinarily live with him.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** :—Can anybody become a guardian or only an official of the State ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—It has never been defined that only an official of the State should be a guardian.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Who will be the guardian, it is not known ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—It is for Your Highnesses to express an opinion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—May I make one suggestion in this respect ? My proposal is, that a qualifying phrase as has been put in question No. 4 of the Agenda regarding Minorities, may also be added. I would suggest that after the words "where a Ruler has left written or verbal instructions" the words something to this effect, viz., "The Ruler can leave his written or verbal instructions as to the manner in which he wishes his minor Prince educated", and to these opinions we have no doubt that the Government of India would be good enough to pay respect and give their consideration. The general question as to how education should be given to the minor Prince is such a gigantic and momentous one that we cannot definitely lay down any principles. Even in European countries this question has not been solved, and they are still thinking of improving it and are trying to introduce new reforms and so forth, as to how and in what manner education should be given in individual cases. It is therefore very difficult to lay down any general principles, because the whole question would depend considerably on a variety of opinions and on a variety of methods. Therefore what I would propose is that a clause may be added, if it will facilitate the question, as in my estimation it will, to the effect that "in cases where a Ruler has left written or verbal instructions, his opinions may be given due consideration in this respect."

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—Though it is put down generally that he should reside in the Palace, what I am afraid is eventually he will always live in the Palace.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Is there any harm in it ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—There is, and there is not.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Your Highness would be able to provide in your State in accordance with your own wishes ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—May I proceed ? That is a point which may be discussed ; I only want to bring it to notice as to where the guardian should live. I do not say generally, but I have my doubts.

The third point I want to draw attention to is with regard to paragraph 6 of the report. "Files of cases dealt with by the department should then be studied under the guidance of his guardian". If the man is an educationist he will never be able to know anything about a file.

**The Chairman :**—I think, Your Highness, there is a stop after “ studied ”.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Yes, that is a different thing, Your Highness.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—“ The young Ruler should make notes of what is shown to him and it should rest with the guardian to keep all important facts focussed before his memory ”. The files of cases dealt with by the department should then be studied. How ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—By the head of the department coming and explaining to him.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—There is a paragraph as to the selected official of the department concerned attending and explaining the constitution and cost of the department and the way the work is carried on.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—That same officer will also show him how the files are.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—The guardian is not expected to do that ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—No.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—Because in the past many young Chiefs were at a disadvantage.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—That is why we say an official will do it, and the guardian will impress it on his memory so as to keep him reminded of the principles.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—Then you put down that he will be taken in tour through his State (paragraph 7), and you say “ He can study the indebtedness of cultivators and the interest they have to pay, and other economic problems connected with the welfare of the village community. He can also be shown the work of District Officers and Tahsils and the tour can be utilized to afford opportunities for the minor Ruler to acquire facility in replying to Addresses.”

I should like to say that he should be taught survey and settlement work.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—He will learn it on tour.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—No ; you cannot make him learn it on tour.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—But “ all departments ” will include land settlement also.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—But this survey work is field work and the boy must go out to learn the actual work of survey ; you cannot learn survey while on tour. Therefore, I most humbly suggest that he should be given training in survey.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Would not that be included in paragraph 6 “ He should then acquire knowledge of the working of the various departments of the State ? ”

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—Quite true, but he won't because this is a very minor thing.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Sailana :**—It appears to me that survey is a special subject ; I do not think that every Chief will go into the field and survey in the field ; instead of wasting time on such small things we must



acquire substantial knowledge ; these are very petty things, and they have no immediate use.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—This is not a minor thing, it is very important.

**His Highness the Raja of Sailana :**—I know very well that survey was Your Highness' special subject. I bow to Your Highness' experience, but it seems not workable with all the Chiefs.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—But I think that survey and settlement work ought to be taught to the Chiefs. If the Conference is of the opinion of the Raja of Sailana I have nothing to say. It is my duty to suggest what is in the interests of the boys.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—We have provided for it being taught to him.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—It makes a great deal of difference between explaining and actually learning the work.

**The Chairman :**—Your Highness, may I suggest that this report of the Committee goes into very considerable detail and that it can hardly be expected that all the members of this Conference would endorse it in every particular. Your Highness has made some criticisms and I have no doubt that many members of this Conference feel some doubt about some particular provisions in the report of the Committee, and would like to add something further.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—I am only suggesting what I think, and I have only very few things to say. I have not yet finished. I only want to bring survey and settlement in clause 6.

**The Chairman :**—Your Highness, we cannot alter the report of the Committee. It is a question of what the Conference should say.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—I do not know; I am only stating what my opinion is.

**The Chairman :**—May I explain to Your Highness what I was going to say. I was going to say that if Your Highnesses will express general approval of the recommendations of the Committee without committing ourselves to details and would add as the Maharaja of Alwar has suggested that where a Ruler has left instructions as to the training of his son they should be observed, it would be unnecessary to go into detail.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—I have nothing more to say than that. What I think right and what was my experience I am putting before the Conference ; it is for the Conference to accept the suggestion or not to accept it. The Committee was asked to draft the report and the report was put before the Conference, and I think a member of the Conference has a right to make any suggestions on this report.

**The Chairman :**—You have every right, Your Highness.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :**—I am not criticising : but I think I am improving. In principle I do not differ. There are only two more points I wish to say. (Paragraph 8) "While practical training in administrative work is going on the minor Prince should also study with his tutor theoretical problems bearing on such State work." Now, the only question is, it ought to be some official, instead of the tutor ; the tutor is only an educationist and only gives education, while these problems of State must be taught by experienced men. This is one suggestion, and the other is in paragraph 10, "also for him to receive nobles or others in audience in the presence of his guardian." I do not

say that relations must be trusted, but why should he receive them in the presence of his guardian ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**It is said there “nobles and others.”

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I am only referring to relations.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**That is quite clear : there is no reference to relations. It is only with regard to nobles and others. Would Your Highness allow 135 nobles all to come and see the minor Prince without any one being present ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Then he will have his men there ; he will not be alone.

**The Chairman :—**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has suggested a Resolution which may be passed by the Conference apart from the question of the report of this Committee to the effect that, where a Ruler has left instructions as to the training of his son, they should ordinarily be observed. I think probably Your Highnesses are in favour generally of that principle. You have adopted it on other occasions, and I will therefore put it to the vote. Does any one oppose it ?

The Resolution was carried.

Now the question of the report of the Committee. Your Highnesses have to consider whether you approve generally the recommendations of the Committee. I would suggest that any of Your Highnesses who differ from the recommendations of the Committee on minor points should send in a written statement of the points in which you think the Committee have gone wrong, and in which their recommendations might be improved. That will save time and will ensure their being given due consideration.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I hope I may not be misunderstood. I am not against the report ; I have suggested what I think is an improvement ; I do not think the report is a bad one, but have suggested what I think might be added.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**Might I enquire if we have to take the report of the Committee as a whole ?

**The Chairman :—**The suggestion I made, Your Highness, was if you feel so disposed, to endorse generally the principles recommended by the Committee, and that you should, if you wish to improve on them in any way, or to submit alternative proposals, embody them in a separate report which would be sent to the Government of India with the recommendations of the Conference. They would then be fully considered. It is rather difficult to go into all the details of this report in a large Conference like this, particularly as our time is running very short.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I entirely agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**I wanted to say a few words. It is very difficult to devise any ideal or fixed scheme for the education and training of a minor and fatherless Prince. No helpful remarks can be offered unless an opportunity is given to study all previous papers on the subject. But whatever method of education and moral training of minor Rulers may be chosen it should be subject to the wishes left by the father and in the absence of such wishes, subject to the approval of their mother. Particularly the feelings and wishes of the minor Prince's mother ought to be respected as regards

training in Europe and a training in a foreign country should in no case be undertaken at a time when the minor may be exposed to the dangers of denationalization.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**May I request you to put the recommendations of the Committee to the vote in order that we may move on and proceed with the business.

**The Chairman :—**I do not suggest to Your Highnesses that the recommendations of the Committee should be accepted entirely without reservation, I think it will be in accordance with the views of Your Highnesses that a general endorsement of the recommendations should be recorded, and that any members who wish to improve on those recommendations or suggest any alterations should do so separately and their wishes will then be placed on record. If that meets Your Highnesses' wishes I will put it to the vote.

The Resolution before the Conference is that this Conference endorses generally the recommendations of the Committee.

The Resolution was carried, 29 voting in favour of it and none against it.

### Item No. II of the Agenda.

**The Chairman :—**We may now proceed to No II of the Agenda on the subject of insolvency, a question on which a Committee was appointed and has sent in a report.

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, this is rather a complicated question about which very many of Your Highnesses appear to entertain some deep suspicion. I do not fully understand the question myself but it appears to be a matter for experts and, although Your Highnesses are well acquainted with problems of administration in your States, perhaps the more intricate details of legal technicality are not altogether familiar to you. The Committee have put forward two alternatives for dealing with this question.

(1) that a Committee should be appointed consisting of experts, Your Highnesses to decide the number and personnel of the representatives to be nominated.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**There is one more point and that is that the Committee, if appointed, should not submit any recommendation as to the action to be taken by the Darbars but merely put the facts before the Darbar.

**The Chairman :—**The second alternative is that the whole question should be referred by letter to individual States for opinion. It is for Your Highnesses to decide which of those alternatives should be adopted.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I request that the question may be put to the vote. In case the Committee is to be appointed, its composition can be discussed ; if the other alternative is decided upon the question settles itself. I suggest that the second alternative be put to the vote first.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**I second His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's proposal.

**The Chairman :—**I do not know whether all the members of the Conference are aware of what is the object of this Committee which has been suggested. I understand its object is to thresh out the question before it is referred to individual Darbars for opinion. At present every one seems to be rather in the dark and the object of the Committee is, I understand, that it should be representative of the Darbars and of the Government of India and that it should

make a full examination of the question before it is submitted to the Darbars for opinion, so that when it comes to the Darbars there will be a clear-cut issue before them. The alternative is that the matter should be referred straight away by letter for opinion to the Darbar. As suggested by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, I will put the second alternative to Your Highnesses first.

Four voted for and 16 against ; so the motion was lost.

**The Chairman :**—I will now put the alternative motion that there should be a committee appointed for the purposes of a thorough investigation, but that the Committee should not submit any recommendations as to the action to be taken by Darbars. Their views would not bind or commit any of the parties represented, and the Darbars of each State would be afforded full opportunities to consider the results of the Committee's investigations.

Twenty-one voted for and none against ; so the motion was carried.

**The Chairman :**—It will be convenient if you would now consider the number and the personnel of the representatives to be nominated to the Committee by the Darbars.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—I would suggest that one or two experienced administrators should also be put on the Committee. We must see to the non-legal side of the question in the interests of the States.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :**—Are we to give names ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—That would be very difficult.

**The Chairman :**—Perhaps the best way would be that certain States should be represented and that the Darbars of those States should suggest the names of their representatives.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Would it not do if you settle the numbers and then get votes from the different States by correspondence ? If we fix the number now for each province and then write to each State represented in each province asking them to give their votes and say whom they think should represent their views, the Princes of the Punjab would then be able to record their opinions, so would the Princes of Rajputana, so would the Princes of Bombay and so on.

**The Chairman :**—His Highness the Maharaja Scindia has suggested that representatives of the following States should be appointed on the Committee : Baroda, Mysore, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Bhopal, Indor, Bikaner, Jaipur, Alwar, Patiala, Kapurthala, Kolhapur, Navanagar and Cutch.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Jodhpur is specially interested in this question. If it is done by States, Jodhpur should come in too.

**The Chairman :**—I think it would perhaps be rather invidious for the Conference to select individual States which should be represented on the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja Scindia :**—I have only mentioned according to the report who should be the members of the Committee. I have put down my proposals.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—May I make a suggestion ? It is that, as the recommendations of the Committee will be eventually submitted to all the States for their acceptance and they will have entire liberty of expressing their opinions on them, it will perhaps be better in order to get the work through to have a much smaller Committee, and for that purpose I would suggest the nomination of 4 members from Indian States, a law member from British India and an officer of the Political Department.

**The Chairman :**—I think that would be a very good Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—The Committee were of opinion that 4 would not be a sufficiently representative number, as far as I understood.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—How would it do if the representatives were taken from States grouped together geographically.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—The states specially affected should have a voice in the selection of representatives and in Rajputana for instance I think Their Highnesses from the other States of Rajputana will agree with me—Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer are the only States who have large numbers of traders in all parts of India.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—The Jam Sa hib and I are in the same position.

**The Chairman** :—I think Your Highnesses had better leave the matter fairly vague, that a Committee not exceeding a certain number should be selected, with perhaps a member from the Legislative Department and a member from the Foreign and Political Department.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I was going to suggest 6 and the two British officers.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—How would it do to have a small Committee of say 3 or 4 members, with a Political Officer and a Law Officer, and for them to go round as a Commission to the important States—I mean to say only to the particular groups of States ?

**The Chairman** :—The motion before the Council is that 8 representatives of the various States should be selected and associated with two officers of the Government of India, one from the Legislative Department and one from the Foreign and Political Department, to discuss this question.

Twenty-five voted for and none against. The motion was therefore carried.

#### Item No. VIII of the Agenda.

**The Chairman** :—Sir Thomas Holland has recorded a note of his suggestions as to the possibility of a reduced Commission visiting various States to advise on industrial questions. This note has been circulated for Your Highnesses to peruse at leisure. In case you wish to make any suggestions on the subject, you would do so in the ordinary way.

#### Item No. VII of the Agenda.

**The Chairman** :—Your Highnesses, we have only got two more items on the Agenda. One relates to the question of the ceremonial observed at Installation and Investiture Durbars in Native States, as to which a Committee has been appointed and which will, I understand, sit shortly to draft a Resolution. The other matter is item No. 7, regarding the amendment of the rule regarding the payment of compensation for land required in British India and in Native States for railway purposes with the object of explaining more clearly the rights and obligations of both parties respectively in the matter of quarrying and excavation of stone and other material for railway purposes. This is rather a complicated question, and I do not know whether Your Highnesses wish to appoint a small Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—The Committee will not have time enough to finish and present its report in time for discussion here to-morrow.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I would propose for Your Highnesses' consideration that this question being a complicated one and also one in which different States might like to stick to their different ideas, it may be referred individually to different States for opinion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—I second it.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—How would it do if we reserve it for a future Conference ?

**The Chairman** :—I think that a combination of the two methods might perhaps be desirable, that is, that the matter should be referred to Your Highnesses' Darbars by letter, and then when the letters have been received, if they appear to indicate the desirability of a general discussion, that might be reserved for a future Conference. (Hear, hear.)

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I have got a suggestion to make. Would it not be as well to let us refer to any other point arising in connection with our railways going through our territories and our present difficulties so that the whole question can be gone into carefully, and then brought up at a future Conference for discussion and sanction.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—That might be a suggestion from us to the Government of India.

**The Chairman** :—I think, Your Highnesses, the Government of India will be very glad of your advice regarding this question, but for the immediate purposes of this agenda, I gather that you all agree that the matter should be referred by letter and subsequently, if found desirable, discussed at a future Conference.

The motion was carried.

**The Chairman** :—I propose to Your Highnesses that we have another Committee to-morrow morning. I was going to suggest that His Excellency might perhaps come after lunch to-morrow in order to close the Conference.

**The Chairman** :—The Conference will meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow to consider the remaining items on the Agenda.

The Conference then adjourned till 11 A.M. on Friday, the 3rd November 1916.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH DAY.

3rd November 1916.

## Item No. I of the Agenda.

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, a Committee was appointed yesterday to consider the first item of the Agenda, namely, the procedure for installation and investitures in the States. I would ask His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner kindly to read the report of the Committee as a sufficient number of copies are not available for circulation.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**The Committee have drafted Resolutions in accordance with the wishes expressed by Your Highnesses yesterday, and have drafted them in two portions, one referring to paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft memorandum and one referring to ceremonials. The Resolution on paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft memorandum is :—

This Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India hold—

- (1) that the principle of Succession in the case of Hindu States is governed by Hindu law and usage, and in the case of Muhammadan States by Muhammadan law, or the custom of the State concerned. In accordance therewith, succession to the late Ruler takes place immediately as a matter of inherent right, and as such is not dependent on the approval, sanction or recognition of the Government of India ;
- (2) that cases of adoption will be governed by the adoption *sanads* ;
- (3) that the British Government has the authority of approval and recognition in cases of disputed succession.

We have provided for all three contingencies, succession by inherent right, cases of adoption, and cases where there is disputed succession, the only three cases that can arise.

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, I would suggest as a matter of drafting that numbers (1) and (3) of the report of the Committee are to some extent mutually inconsistent. No. (1) lays down the general proposition that succession to the late Ruler takes place immediately as a matter of inherent right and as such is not dependent on the approval, sanction or recognition of the Government of India, and paragraph (3) says the Government of India has the authority of approval and recognition in cases of disputed succession. The suggestion I would make is that, as a matter of drafting. Your Highnesses should add the words “ where undisputed ” to the sentence in the first paragraph—“ In accordance therewith succession to the late Ruler takes place immediately as a matter of inherent right.”

There is one other point Your Highnesses, supposing the elder son or the son adopted is a lunatic or a criminal, does Hindu law and usage provide for such cases ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Have you had any case where such a case has arisen and you have had to interfere ? There must have been something in the last hundred years in the various States.

**The Chairman :—**I only mention the possibility, and enquire how you would provide for such a contingency.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**As no contingency has arisen we need not consider it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I strongly urge that this question be left to another occasion and that we deal with the general question only. I would deprecate any reference to this point.

**His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda** was understood to say that such cases would be provided for by Hindu law and usage.

**The Chairman :—**The only new point that has arisen is the suggested addition of the words "where there is no dispute" in the first paragraph just to make the meaning clear. I understand, Your Highnesses, that the intention is that the first paragraph should deal with cases where there is no dispute, and as a matter of drafting, I think it would be as well to put that in. That is the only suggestion I have to make from an outsider's point of view.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**The Committee when drafting, as I said a little while ago, considered the three kinds of cases that would arise in regard to succession and our intention was to define them all separately under separate sub-paragraphs. Therefore, we took first cases which were not adoption or disputed cases; then we took adoption cases—paragraph 2—and then we took disputed cases—paragraph 3. I would therefore suggest that the sentence should read as follows :—

"and as such, where not disputed, is not dependent on the approval, sanction or recognition of the Government of India".

The three things have been very clearly provided for. In cases of inherent right the approval, sanction and recognition of the Government of India is not necessary, and if it is necessary to define it, let us say "it is not necessary where the succession is not in dispute".

**The Chairman :—**I understand you to say the first paragraph does relate to cases where there is no dispute?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**It also relates to cases which do not refer to adoption. That is why we separated the three cases. Our intention was to make these three things absolutely separate—the first was with regard to cases where there was no adoption and no dispute, the second one was with reference to adoption and the third one was with regard to disputes.

**The Chairman :—**Would it do if it ran as follows :—"Succession to the late Ruler by the natural heir where there is no dispute, etc."

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**We discussed it a long time last night and again this morning, and the reason why we delayed Your Highnesses this morning was that we wanted to word it very carefully, and if we alter that portion, I do not think the Resolution will be acceptable. Probably it will be the general sense of the Conference that these three cases are absolutely distinct one from the other. One is a case where there is no dispute and where there is no adoption; the second is a case which relates merely to adoption; the third is a case which relates merely to disputed succession. I think, if you took the sense of the Conference on this point, the purport would be clear. I have no objection to its being brought in as long as it is brought in without interfering with the inherent right of the Ruler. I think, if the Conference expresses its general sense that paragraph 1 relates to such cases as are not connected with adoption or disputes, we make our purport clear and make it quite clear to the Government of India what our views are.



**His Highness the Raja of Sailana :—**This covers the whole thing. It does not require any amendment, I think.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**The Conference when accepting the Resolution might add a rider to the effect that sub-paragraph 1 refers to cases where there is no dispute and no adoption.

**The Chairman :—**Or would you say where there is a natural heir ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I think we had better say where there is no dispute and no adoption. We can simply add a rider " Paragraph 1 of the Resolution refers to cases where there is no dispute to the succession and does not refer to adoptions ".

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**Why not say " not covered by Nos. 2 and 3 " ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Yes, we might say that " the paragraph refers to cases not covered by Nos. 2 and 3 ".

**The Chairman :—**How would it do to begin paragraph 1 as follows :— " Where there is no dispute and no adoption, the principle of succession is governed, etc." ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**You will be excluding those cases from being governed by Hindu law and custom, if you begin like that.

**His Highness the Raja of Sailana :—**May I suggest an amendment to paragraph 3 ? It should run " The British Government has the authority of approval and recognition in cases of disputed succession in consultation with the Ruling Chiefs ".

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I think myself that as we have claimed our rights to have succession by our inherent right, we ought not to infringe the rights of the Government of India where we have been so insistent on our own. If there is a sympathetic policy, as there is now, the Government of India will doubtless consult the relations of Chiefs and others even who are not relations. If Your Highnesses, however, like to bring that in it is for Your Highnesses to do so.

**The Chairman :—**I put it to Your Highnesses that the Committee's recommendations be approved by the Conference, adding a rider that the Conference understands that clause 1 relates to cases where there is no dispute and no adoption.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I entirely concur.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**I also agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**I also concur.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**May I ask you, Sir, to read the recommendations of the Committee ?

**The Chairman :—**" That this Conference approves the recommendations of the Committee on paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft memorandum contained in the Agenda, and would add as a rider that they understand that clause 1 of the recommendations of the Committee relates to cases in which there is no dispute and no adoption."

The Resolution was then put to the vote.

32 voted in favour and none against. The Resolution was therefore carried unanimously.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Then with regard to the other draft Resolution about the ceremonials, perhaps I might mention what we decided yesterday. I am not reading the Resolution, but I am trying to explain things. We said that the Ruler succeeds by inherent right in ordinary circumstances, except in disputes and so on, and on those occasions he becomes the Maharaja from the time of his accession, and that the religious and other ceremonies are performed according to the old customs in certain places on *Sinjhasan* where Chair Durbars cannot be held and so on. After that the British Resident pays a visit and at the same time other *Khilats* are received from such people as are received at a Chair Durbar, and the British Representative is seated on the right in such a Durbar. That was the one thing we settled.

The other thing we settled was that the Durbar should always be held by the Ruler and not by the British Representative, and the third thing we settled was that at Investiture Durbars, that is to say, when the Ruler assumes his powers, which are only for the purposes of proclamation, there should be no conducting to the *Masnad* and so on, but there should be only the proclamation. It is only for the purpose of proclaiming his assumption of powers, and the British representative should again be seated on the right and the Durbar on the left. I shall just read what we have drafted.

#### *Resolution on Ceremonials*

(1) That the Installation ceremony being a religious ceremony in Hindu States and customary in Muhammadan States and being an adjunct to the act of accession, it takes place with the accession, whether the Ruler is a major or minor, and no part of it can be postponed until the minor comes of age.

(2) That the Durbar held after Installation by the Ruler of the State being only a formal one to receive *Khilats* and *Kharitas* from the British Government as well as from the brother Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the procedure of conducting the Prince or Chief to the *Gadi* or Chair has no sanction of custom. He has already been installed by his priests in accordance with religion and so on. On such occasions the Chair of the Representative of the British Government should be on the right of the Ruler.

Then about the end of the minority period we have got paragraph 3, which says that the Durbar for the purpose of proclaiming the assumption of powers by the minor Ruler on his coming of age should also be held by the Ruler of the State, the British Representative sitting on the right of the Ruler.

I think we have embodied Your Highnesses' views.

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, with your permission, I propose to read the Resolution again, unless any one has any general remarks or criticisms to make on the Committee's recommendations.

The draft Resolution was read.

**The Chairman :—**If no one has any further observations to make, I propose to put this to the vote.

All voted in favour, and the resolution was therefore carried unanimously.

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, before proceeding further, I should like to inform you that printed copies of the proceedings so far as they have been printed will be ready for distribution this afternoon. Your Highnesses will understand that they are in the rough ; and that they will require further examination.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**When shall we have the rest, if they are not complete ?

**The Chairman :—**We hope, Your Highness, that they may be complete ; if not we will send the rest as soon as they are ready.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**Will they contain the resolutions ?

**The Chairman :—**Yes.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Will we be able to obtain a full copy of the proceedings ?

**The Chairman :—**Yes ; that is the intention.

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**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Highnesses, before the proceedings of the Conference close to-day, I will ask your permission to encroach on your patience for a few minutes once more, because I have already read out a scheme when only a certain number of Princes were present at our informal Conference on the first day, and, if you have no objection, as the question is one of interest to ourselves and is more or less a domestic affair as well as a social one, I would ask the liberty of reading before Your Highnesses once more the scheme for starting a Princes' Club.

It was realised very strongly on the occasion of the Imperial Durbar at Delhi in 1912 that it was necessary to have a common institution where Princes and Chiefs could assemble together at one place for recreation and mutual friendly intercourse which would not involve any question of ceremony. Since then there have been other formal and informal occasions and conferences when Princes have assembled at Delhi and the same desire and want have been repeatedly felt.

In order to fulfil the above object, it is proposed that a club should be formed of Indian Princes which would provide a common ground of meeting for them as well as for their relations and where they could invite friends to sports, garden parties, dinners, etc. It is proposed that this club should provide accommodation for a certain number of Princes and their staffs living in the modern style and also for a few living in the old fashion, and that there should be large reception halls in the case of exchange of visits between His Excellency the Viceroy and other Princes or important officials. A large dining room could also be arranged for dinner parties—while other necessary apartments, such as billiard rooms, libraries, restaurant, lobbies, etc., would form an important part of the buildings. In the grounds, arrangements could be made for tennis courts and garden parties—while a certain number of stables could also be arranged for in the case of any Prince perhaps wishing to bring horses or ponies for personal use or playing polo tournament.

Such an institution would not only be useful as a place of social gathering for Princes assembled in the new Capital of India but would also provide a meeting ground for discussing between themselves such questions as, for instance, have arisen in the past and present conferences.

Though it would only to a limited extent meet the necessity of accommodation for Princes coming with small staffs, it would principally be a meeting ground which would supply a long and urgently felt need.

Now that the Imperial Capital is being built, the Government of India can be approached with regard to the question of allotting a site for the above institution ; but in the meantime, should it meet with general approval, temporary accommodation could be arranged in some suitable building in the present Delhi, with a certain number of residential quarters.

It would perhaps not be difficult to bring such a temporary institution at least into being by next year in order to provide a great number of facilities which are at present absent. The question was moved in 1911 when certain Princes started subscriptions and it was again mooted in 1914 when the list was added to.

As a large assemblage of Indian Princes is present for the Conference on the present occasion, it would be a good opportunity for completing the scheme and inviting the sympathies and subscriptions of such of the Princes present here who have not already subscribed as well as of the remainder who have not come.

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**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**It is my most pleasant duty to rise to propose to Your Highnesses a hearty vote of thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. Wood for the most courteous, friendly, and frank manner in which he has aided us in our deliberations and decisions. (Cheers.) If I may be permitted to say so, I would add that I have had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Wood for a great many years now, and when his appointment was announced I said to myself that it would be very surprising if before very long Mr. Wood could also not claim cordial friendship with the rest of my Brother Princes. (Cheers.) His great sympathies, broad-mindedness, frankness and upright ways have not only won our gratitude but also our high regard. That he is at the same time held in the high estimation of the Government of India and that he is doing good work no less for the Empire than for us and our States is evinced by the fact that the Government of India recently bestowed upon him further honour in the shape of a C. S. I., which, if any proof were needed, also demonstrates that the interests of the Government of India and those of ourselves are identical. We suffered to a certain extent in former days by the Foreign Secretary having to deal, not only, with the affairs of our States but also of external India, when the time of the Foreign Secretary was not infrequently too much occupied by the attention that the latter affairs demanded of him. We therefore had much cause for gratification when the duties in the Foreign Office were separated and a whole-time Political Secretary was appointed to attend only to the affairs of our States. This enables him personally to visit our various States, to make our acquaintance, and to see for himself the various problems that arise and to realise, at first hand, and to represent to His Excellency the Viceroy and to the Government of India, what our anxieties and difficulties and hopes and aspirations are. No one here amongst the Ruling Princes can doubt the advantages and importance of such personal visits from the Political Secretary, and I feel sure that Your Highnesses would like to endorse what I have said and to ask that this should apply not only to Mr. Wood but also to Political Secretaries in the future, though we hope that we shall have the good fortune to retain Mr. Wood for many years to come. At the same time we do not, of course, want to stop his promotion.

Your Highnesses will have been the first to realize the great advantages accruing from all this, but we all feel that however good the new arrangement may be in theory a great deal depended on the personality, sympathy, fairness, and broad-mindedness of the incumbent of the new appointment. I feel sure Your Highnesses would like to take this opportunity of recording that our hopes and anticipations have not only been fully justified as to the advantages accruing from the appointment of a separate Political Secretary but that we have much for which to be grateful to Mr. Wood personally for all that he has been able to bring about in many ways to remove the former drawbacks and difficulties since he was appointed Political Secretary.

We are confident that during his future tenure of office he will be able still further to improve and strengthen the cordial relations which do at the present time, and should always, exist between the British Government and the Ruling Princes.

With these remarks I have the honour to propose that this cordial vote of thanks be unanimously passed by us to our friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Wood.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**May I just say a few words. I would like to support the very eloquent speech that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has just said in praise of Mr. Wood. I have had the pleasure, if I may say so, of knowing Mr. Wood since 1892. I met him then on the open field and I meet him on the Council field, and I may say that we hope that we may have the pleasure of seeing men of Mr. Wood's sympathy, fairness of mind and large-heartedness in the chair that he now occupies, and I am quite sure that if they all play cricket as Mr. Wood does we shall have nothing to fear from that chair. I do not desire any longer to detain Your Highnesses, but I do hope that you will all give Mr. Wood, if it is not a sacrilege in this room, three hearty cheers, or in any other way fully demonstrate our feeling towards him.

**The Chairman :—**Your Highnesses, I am almost overwhelmed by the kind way in which you have referred to me, and I give you my most hearty thanks. The Conference will meet again this afternoon at 3 o'clock.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :—**Your Highnesses, I would like to accord a hearty vote of thanks, before His Excellency the Viceroy closes our Conference, to one of our distinguished members, who has been acting as Secretary and who has driven the car in a way that no one else amongst us could do. I refer to the splendid achievements of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner (cheers) on our behalf, with a zeal that does him much credit. I am quite sure that this Conference owes to a certain extent, if not wholly, its origin to the zeal and political sagacity which His Highness has always shown in our welfare. Therefore, I should like, speaking for myself and I hope on behalf of Your Highnesses, to express our hearty vote of thanks and gratitude, if I may say so, for the splendid and noble work that he has been doing not only in this Conference but outside.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**I fully and most heartily endorse the remarks made by His Highness the Jam of Navanagar and with extreme pleasure second him in repressing our vote of thanks and gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Your Highnesses, His Highness the Jam Sahib, whom I had the honour of knowing many years before his accession, has done me too friendly a turn in putting me up for another speech, but at the same time I hope Your Highnesses and His Highness will realise how intensely overwhelmed I am with gratitude for the kind words

in which you have spoken about me. His Highness and Your Highnesses and I, we all have the same interests at heart, our feelings of devotion to our Emperor, our faithfulness to the British Government, and the interests of our States, and if everybody has worked as I know we all have, I feel there was no need for singling me or anybody out. We have only done our duty to our Emperor, our Empire, to our States and to ourselves.

(The Conference then adjourned for lunch.)

*After reassembling.*

# ADDRESS BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

On behalf of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled here, I have the honour to lay before Your Excellency a brief account of the proceedings of this Conference during the past five days. Of the Agenda placed before this Conference, we have been compelled to postpone consideration of item No. II, relating to the realisation from insolvent debtors of assets in State territory, this being a complicated question which requires further investigation and expert advice. Consideration of the designs and plans for the Higher Chiefs' College, item No. III, has also been postponed pending further information as to the funds available and the quantity of accommodation required ; while as regards item No. VII, on the subject of the rules for the payment of compensation for Railway lands required in British India, we have decided that the question is one, which is more suitable for discussion by letter, and later reference, if necessary to a future Conference. As regards item No. VIII, we have to acknowledge with gratitude the helpful suggestion made by Sir Thomas Holland as to the means by which the industries of our States may be developed.

On the question of ceremonial to be observed at Installation and Investiture Darbars, we have arrived, after full consideration, at certain conclusions which we have a desire to place before Your Excellency's Government for favourable consideration.

Similarly, the question of the form of administration to be adopted in a State during the minority, and the question of the education, and administrative and moral training of minor Princes and Chiefs have been carefully considered by Committees and resolutions on the subjects have been adopted. We have also recorded our opinion on the control and regulation of motor vehicles, and have approved provisionally the report of the Committee appointed to consider means for financing the Higher Chiefs' College. The Conference has re-affirmed its previous resolution in favour of the institution of the Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi.

This has been the first meeting of the Conference in its extended form. Composed as it is of Princes and Chiefs who are accustomed rather to issue direct commands than to discuss and vote ; and who are, for the most part, strangers to the rules of debate ; we think that its results have been fruitful and profitable.

Your Excellency has held out the hope that in the fulness of time some Constitutional Assemblage may grow out of these Conferences which will take its appropriate place in the Government of our Mighty Empire. We

cherish that hope. We trust that this Conference will in future meet annually, for in it we see the commencement of an Institution full of potential good.

The ideal we have before us is a Council of Princes with specified functions and well-defined power; and, that it may be realised speedily, that it may perhaps be looked on in future as one of the landmarks of Your Excellency's term of office, our every endeavour must be to secure that future sessions of the Conference may be worked on proper business-like lines.

This, our first experience, has revealed to us the fact that we must eliminate certain defects of procedure which have been obvious, which tend to dissipate our energies, and to sacrifice valuable time. If, for example, the select Committees could be appointed some time before the commencement of the regular session we should be in a position to give to the resolutions the thought they deserve. Some of the overlapping and conflicting amendments which we had to deal with could find no place in a well-regulated debate. Our work must be co-ordinated, and individual energies, and effort economised. A record of proceedings should be prepared and circulated every evening, showing the stage each question has reached, and a daily Agenda, preparing us for the work of the day well in advance, should be in our hands every morning.

Such a Conference as ours depends for its success on several factors; not the least of these is the interest shown by all the members in every detail of its proceedings. This has been a particularly pleasing feature of our work of the past few days, and has been evidenced by the animated nature of the debate on several items.

We desire to take this opportunity of leaving on record our sense of gratitude to the Political Secretary, Mr. Wood, for his exemplary tact and patience in the conduct of the affairs of the Conference.

We trust that the recommendations which we place before the Government of India will be accepted.

We would again express to Your Excellency our gratitude for inviting us to the Conference, and so affording us an opportunity of recording our views on important matters affecting the welfare of our States.

Further, we desire, with sincere emphasis, that Your Excellency will convey to His Most Gracious Majesty, the King-Emperor, warm assurances of our unswerving loyalty to his August Person and to the Throne.

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## HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE.

YOUR HIGHNESSES,

I am glad to receive such a satisfactory account of the work you have been able to accomplish during these past few crowded days, and I should like to offer you my felicitations on the work you have accomplished and the spirit in which you have approached it. I need hardly assure you that the Government of India will consider most sympathetically the advice which Your Highnesses are placing before them in the resolutions which you have passed.

I am gratified to think that you regard the meeting of this Conference as having been of value and are desirous that I should invite you to assemble again next year.

I think I can without risk say that I share your opinion as to the value of this Conference and hope to be able next year to invite Your Highnesses once again to help me with your advice. But I would beg you to give time for development and growth, and the motto I would ask you to place before yourselves is *Festina lente*, make haste slowly.

Naturally I should like to see the Conference take a concrete shape during my tenure of office, but the tenure of a Viceroy's office is merely an arbitrary time limit and the course of events in history is not determined by limits of man's making.

Be sure that in this matter of the evolution of your Conference, as in others, the inevitable psychological moment will arrive but true statesmanship awaits that moment and is careful not to be ahead of it.

For myself, it has been a source of intense gratification that I have been able to come into close personal touch with Your Highnesses ; that you are no longer merely honoured names to me, but living personalities in whose actions and welfare I can take a lively personal interest.

The personal factor in affairs is one which none of us can afford to disregard. I have now the honour of formally declaring the Conference closed.



**Resolutions passed by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs held at Delhi on 30th October 1916 and following days.**

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**Item No. I of the Agenda.**

*Draft Resolution recommended by the Committee on paragraphs (1) and (2) of the Draft Memorandum attached to Agendum No. I.*

This Conference of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India hold—

- (1) that the principle of Succession in the case of Hindu States is governed by the Hindu Law and usage and in case of Muhammadan States by Muhammadan Law or the custom of the State concerned. In accordance therewith, succession to the late Ruler takes place immediately as a matter of inherent right, and as such is not dependent on the approval, sanction or recognition of the Government of India ;
- (2) that cases of adoption will be governed by the adoption *Sanads* ;
- (3) that the British Government has the authority of approval and recognition in cases of disputed succession.

*Resolved* :—That this Conference approves the recommendations of the Committee and would add, as a rider, that clause (I) of the draft Resolution relates to cases in which there is no dispute and no adoption.

Carried unanimously.

*Draft Resolution recommended by the Committee on paragraphs 3 to 12 of the Draft Memorandum attached to Agendum No. I.*

I.—That the installation ceremony being a religious ceremony in Hindu States and customary in Muhammadan States and being an adjunct to the act of accession it takes place with the accession, whether the Ruler is a major or minor and no part of it can be postponed until the minor comes of age.

II.—That the Durbar held after installation by the Ruler of the State being only a formal one to receive *Khilats* and *Kharitas* from the British Government as well as from the brother Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the procedure of conducting the Prince or Chief to the *gadi* or chair has no sanction of custom. On such occasions, the chair of the representative of the British Government should be on the right of the Ruler.

III.—That the Durbar for the purpose of proclaiming the assumption of powers by a minor Ruler on his coming of age should also be held by the Ruler of the State—the British representative sitting on the right of the Ruler.

*Resolved*.—That this Conference approves the recommendations of the Committee.

**Item No. II of the Agenda.**

*Resolved* that 8 representatives of the various States should be selected and associated with 2 officers of the Government of India, one from the Legislative Department and one from the Foreign and Political Department, to discuss the question of the realisation of assets of insolvent debtors which are situated beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts in British India and in Native States respectively.

### Item No. III of the Agenda.

*Resolved* that consideration of the designs and plans for the proposed Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi be not proceeded with for the present.

### Item No. IV of the Agenda.

*Resolved* that the following Resolution drafted by the Committee appointed for the purpose and amended in Conference be accepted.

This Conference is of opinion—

- (1) that in cases where a Ruler has left written or verbal instructions as to the arrangements to be made for carrying on the administration during his heir's minority, it is essential that his wishes should be carried out, unless there are very strong and special reasons for not doing so ; where such strong and special reasons exist for deviating from the instructions of the late Ruler, the concurrence and approval of (i) the Rani, (ii) the Council, or (iii) where no Council exists, of two prominent, loyal and hereditary Sardars and two senior officials should invariably be invited ; the reasons in all cases to be recorded in full and communicated to the Darbar for the information of the Ruler on attaining his majority ;
- (2) that in cases where no written or verbal instructions have been left by the late Ruler the form of administration should be—
  - (a) a Council of Regency consisting of 3 to 5 Indian Members presided over by a Regent. (The Regent may be either a legitimate mother or widow or a near male relative of the late Ruler provided the latter was in the full confidence of the late Prince at the time of his demise), or
  - (b) a Council of administration consisting of 3 to 5 Indian Members presided over by an Indian Administrator of proved experience of Indian States, in cases where no suitable Regent can be found or where the appointment of a Regent is contrary to the custom of the State concerned ;
- (3) in the selection of the Councillors, local talent should be utilised to the utmost possible extent—preference being always given to people with vested interests in the State so long as they possess the requisite qualifications ;
- (4) where expressly desired by the late Ruler, the minority administration should in important matters consult with Ruling Princes nominated by him for this purpose ;
- (5) the Political Officer accredited to the minor's State should be consulted in important matters, in order to keep the Government of India informed of how the affairs of the State are going on and to enable them to discharge their responsibilities as trustees and guardians of the interests of the State during the minority.

### Item No. V of the Agenda.

*Resolved—*

- (a) that where a Ruler has left instructions as to the training of his son, they should ordinarily be observed ;

(b) that this Conference endorses generally the recommendations of the Committee appointed to consider and frame suggestions regarding the training of minor Rulers, but advises that any members who wish to improve on those recommendations or suggest any alterations should do so separately, so that their wishes may be placed on record.

#### **Item No. VI of the Agenda.**

*Resolved—*

(a) that the letters R., P. M. C. should be inscribed on the number board in front and behind all cars belonging to Ruling Princes and Chiefs brought into British India, in order to facilitate recognition by the Police ;

(b) that the question of reciprocity in the matter of licensing and registration of motor vehicles from British India entering into or passing through Native State territory should be settled in correspondence with the Darbars of Native States.

#### **Item No. VII of the Agenda.**

*Resolved* that the question regarding the payment of compensation for land required in British India and in Native States for the quarrying and excavation of stone and other material for railway purposes should be referred to Darbars by letter and subsequently, if found desirable, discussed at a future Conference.

#### **Item No. VIII of the Agenda.**

No Resolution was passed on this item but a note recorded by Sir T. Holland was circulated for Their Highnesses to peruse at leisure.

#### **Item No. IX of the Agenda.**

*Resolved* that the Conference approves provisionally the recommendations of the Committee appointed on the subject of the admission to the Higher Chiefs' College of young men from leading aristocratic families in British India.

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## APPENDICES.

### Question I of the Agenda.

#### *Report of the Committee.*

The Committee have drafted Resolutions in accordance with the wishes expressed by Your Highnesses and have drafted them in two portions, one referring to paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft memorandum and one referring to ceremonials. The Resolution on paragraphs 1 and 2 of the draft memorandum is:—

This Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India hold—

- (1) That the principle of succession in the case of Hindu States is governed by Hindu law and usage, and in the case of Muhammadan States by Muhammadan law or the custom of the States concerned. In accordance therewith, succession to the late Ruler takes place immediately as a matter of inherent right, and as such is not dependent on the approval, sanction or recognition of the Government of India.
- (2) That cases of adoption will be governed by the adoption *sanads*.
- (3) That the British Government has the authority of approval and recognition in cases of disputed succession.

We have provided for all three contingencies, succession by inherent right, cases of adoption, and cases where there is disputed succession, the only three cases that can arise.

The resolution referring to ceremonials is:—

(1) That the Installation ceremony being a religious ceremony in Hindu States and customary in Muhammadan States and being an adjunct to the act of accession, it takes place with the accession, whether the Ruler is a major or minor, and no part of it can be postponed until the minor comes of age.

(2) That the Durbar held after Installation by the Ruler of the State being only a formal one to receive *Khilats* and *Kharitas* from the British Government as well as from the brother Ruling Princes and Chiefs, the procedure of conducting the Prince or Chief to the *Gadi* or Chair has no sanction of custom. He has already been installed by his priests in accordance with religion and so on. On such occasions the Chair of the Representative of the British Government should be on the right of the Ruler.

(3) That the Durbar for the purpose of proclaiming the assumption of powers by a minor Ruler on his coming of age should also be held by the Ruler of the State—the British Representative sitting on the right of the Ruler.

This Committee consisted of—

- His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda.
- His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.
- His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
- His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.
- His Highness the Rao of Cutch.
- His Highness the Jam of Navanagar.
- His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
- Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.
- His Highness the Maharaja of Cooh Behar.

**Question II of the Agenda.**

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*Report of the Committee.*

The Committee do not consider that there is sufficient information before them to justify them in accepting or rejecting the view enunciated in the memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. II.

They are of opinion that a thorough consideration of the whole matter by a Committee is necessary.

The appointment of the Committee should be merely for purposes of a thorough investigation and it is not desired that the Committee should submit any recommendations as to action to be taken by the Darbars. Their views should not commit or bind any of the parties represented. The Darbar of each State should be afforded full opportunity to consider the results of the Committee's investigations and should retain entire liberty to come to whatever decision may appear to be required by the particular circumstances of the State.

The Committee recommend that if the Conference accept the above suggestions, the question of the number and personnel of the representatives to be nominated to the Committee by the Indian States should be considered by the Conference.

The other alternative would be that the whole question should be referred by letter to individual States for opinion.

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This Committee consisted of—

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner,

His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Morvi,

His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal,

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Navanagar,

His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar,

His Highness the Raja of Sailana,

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa,

His Highness the Raja of Cochin,

His Highness the Rao of Cutch,

The Hon'ble Mr. A. P. Muddiman, Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department, and

R. E. Holland, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department.

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### Question IV of the Agenda.

#### *Report of the Committee.*

The Committee propose the following draft Resolution for consideration by the Conference :—

This Conference is of opinion—

- (1) that in cases where a Ruler has left written instructions as to the arrangements to be made for carrying on the administration during his heir's minority, it is essential that his wishes should be carried out unless there are very strong and special reasons for not doing so ;
- (2) that in cases where no written instructions have been left by the late Ruler the form of administration should be—
  - (a) a Council of Regency consisting of 3 or 5 Indian Members presided over by a Regent, or
  - (b) a Council of administration consisting of 3 or 5 Indian Members presided over by an Indian Administrator of proved experience of Indian States, in cases where no suitable Regent can be found or where the appointment of a Regent is contrary to the custom of the State concerned ;
- (3) where in the interest of a State it may seem desirable to appoint a British official on a Council of Regency or of administration, formed under paragraph 2 of this Resolution, one should be lent by the Government of India or the Local Government as the case may be ;
- (4) where expressly desired by the late Ruler the minority administration should in important matters consult with Ruling Princes nominated by him for this purpose.

This Committee consisted of—

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior,

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner,

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar,

His Highness the Rao of Cutch,

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Navanagar,

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, and

The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood, Political Secretary to the Government of India.

**Question V of the Agenda.**

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*Report of the Committee.*

For purposes of this discussion we have assumed that ruling powers will ordinarily be assumed by the minor Ruler at the age of 18 years.

2. As a diversity of opinion exists as to the desirability of the minor Prince receiving any portion of his training in Europe, the Committee are not in a position to make any recommendations on the subject.

3. Without attempting to draw up a regular curriculum, which can be safely left to those responsible for the scholastic education of the young Prince, we wish to emphasize that his studies should take such form as may best develop his mental faculties, and that it is most essential that he should acquire such a thorough knowledge of the English language as will enable him to talk and read it, and express and record his thoughts in that language with facility. He must also of course be thoroughly at home in the vernacular of his State.

4. Where such vernacular is not that generally spoken in other parts of India a colloquial knowledge of Hindi or Urdu is desirable.

5. During the period of his early education the tutor or guardian should ordinarily reside with the minor Ruler and, if possible, two or three carefully selected companions of his own age should be associated with him. The guardian should accompany him to college or superintend his education in his State, as the case may be, and while joining in his sports and games, be responsible for the strict bringing up of the minor. He should also see that those responsible for the moral and religious teaching of the minor Prince are not neglecting their duties. The guardian should be in frequent communication with the minor's mother or whoever stands "*in loco parentis*" and with his religious teachers, or any others in the State who are in a position to have a say in his bringing up and who are known to have his best interests at heart.

6. Two years before his coming of age or at about the age of 16 the minor Ruler should begin his training in administration work. As a preliminary to his doing this, it is essential that he shall be taught the principles of Law (Hindu, Muhammadan, and the most important Acts of the legislature) and be well grounded in the rules in force in his State governing all the important Departments. He should also be conversant with the principles of Budget and State Finance. He should then acquire knowledge of the working of the various Departments of the State, a selected official of the Department concerned attending and explaining the constitution and cost of the Department, and the way the work is carried on. Files of cases dealt with by the Department should then be studied. Under the guidance of his guardian the young Ruler should make notes of what is shown him and it should rest with the guardian to keep all important facts focussed before his memory. A number of

files already dealt with and settled by the Department concerned can be gone through and the minor Ruler taught to record the facts and write his decisions or orders on them. Every variety of Revenue, Jagir, and Succession case can be gone through in this manner as also Civil and Criminal cases and appeals. The young Ruler should also attend Courts of Law and see how cases are conducted.

7. The minor Ruler should tour in his State and thus acquire knowledge of localities, and of the people inhabiting them, as also of the local landowners and jagirdars. He should be shown in the most practical manner how survey and settlement work is done, how *jamabandi* is carried out, revenue collected and village records kept. He can be shown selected fields, and have the cost of production, the value of the crop, the State demand, and the profit left to the cultivator, all explained to him. He can study the indebtedness of cultivators and the interest they have to pay, and other economic problems connected with the welfare of the village community. He can also be shown the work of District Offices and Tahsils and the tour can be utilized to afford opportunities for the minor Ruler to acquire facility in replying to Addresses.

8. While practical training in administrative work is going on, the minor Prince should also study with his tutor theoretical problems bearing on such State work. He should also study important questions of the day, History, especially of India and his own State, Biographies, English Literature, and healthy books of fiction. The study of the systems of Parliamentary Government and of the British Government in India, etc., should also claim his attention. As the time draws near for the young Ruler to assume ruling powers, he should read up the correspondence between the British Government and the State and between the Ruler and his Ministers, and should study all the Treaties and Agreements between his State and the British Government. He should also attend meetings of the Council and take part in their deliberations.

9. The physical training, including manly sports and games, of the minor Ruler, is also of the highest importance and, where possible, his military training should be carried on in the State side by side with his administrative training.

10. Throughout the training of the minor Ruler times should be fixed for him to meet his relations, and also for him to receive nobles or others in audience in the presence of his guardian.

11. Ordinarily it is not desirable that young Rulers should be absent from their States during the period of administrative training, except for necessary reasons or for a well-earned holiday.

12. Particular attention should be paid to the selection of a well-qualified, conscientious and sympathetic tutor or guardian of suitable age. The minor Ruler's relations or those responsible for his bringing up, should nominate the tutor or guardian for the approval of the Government of India.

13. In the event of the minor Ruler being sent to Europe for any part of his education, it is essential that the principles, recorded therein, regarding proper supervision and guardianship, should apply. It is generally desirable, where possible, that the minor Ruler should be accompanied by one or more relations or Sardars, who would keep him in touch with the customs and



manners of his own people or that such other arrangements as are possible should be made with this object in view.

SAYAJI RAO,

*Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.*

RAO KHENGARJI,

*Maharao of Cutch.*

RANJIT SINGHI,

*Jam Sahib of Navanagar.*

TUKOJIRAO PUAR,

*of Dewas Senior.*

JITENDRA NARAYAN BHUP,

*of Cooch Behar.*

JAGATJIT SINGH,

*Maharaja of Kapurthala.*

GANGA SINGH,

*Maharaja of Bikaner.*

BHAWANI SINGH,

*Raj Rana of Jhalawar.*

J. B. WOOD,

*Political Secretary.*

C. J. WINDHAM,

*Resident, Western Rajputana States.*

B. EGERTON.

SADR-UL-MAHAM, PAIGAH,

*Hyderabad State.*

### Question VIII of the Agenda.

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#### *Proposed Industrial Committee for Native States.*

It is important to remember that each State offers a group of problems that, under the present system of independent administration, would have to be considered separately. On this account, a single State would take as much time as any one of the British Provinces, as the proposals we may make regarding the Government organisation required to foster industries will be generally applicable to most or all British Provinces, but would be peculiar to each State.

2. Before any useful advice could be given on behalf of a State, it would be necessary to form a mental appreciation of the present state of its industrial development, of its resources in raw materials and of its ability to meet the financial problems. We should thus be compelled to adjust our estimates on all these points in passing from State to State, and in all cases the whole scheme of enquiry undertaken and proposals made would be utterly different from those of the British Provinces.

3. We have one season only for the whole of British India, and the problems before us are so numerous and varied in character that we are forced to use our evidence as mere samples for the purpose of discovering general lines of administrative policy to assist the Government after our dissolution. We can do little more in the time available than specify the kind of Government machinery required to carry out our proposals.

4. The Commission is too large and unwieldy to employ for the problems of the smaller of the Native States, and I would suggest, instead, a much smaller and more mobile Committee for operations during the season 1917-1918. Before October 1917, the Report of the Commission will probably be published, and the small Committee suggested will have the benefit of its work. It should be possible to adapt many of our conclusions to the special conditions of each State, or, where co-operation is practicable, to groups of the smaller States.

5. My colleagues are mainly, like myself, much occupied with private affairs, and while we can afford to suspend work for a year in order to be of some use to the country, absence for a second year from private business interests would mean the breaking of connections that cannot readily be restored. What we sacrifice this year is no more than some of us would have done in any case, either on military service as in my own case, or in some other public work of an accessory nature. My colleagues have larger private interests than I have, and time to them is accordingly more valuable. I cannot therefore justifiably ask them to sacrifice another year of their private time; but it is not necessary for the proposed small Committee to be drawn entirely from the same personnel after our report has been published.

6. Those States that wish to employ such a Committee might agree to co-operate regarding the expense, which ought not to exceed about Rs. 15,000—Rs. 20,000 a month for a Committee of two or three, with a Secretary and clerical staff. Time would be saved by placing a State official on special duty in each State in advance of the visit of the Committee, to arrange a programme of visits and to discuss, at the conclusion of each visit, a programme of operations required to develop the industries. An excellent example of the kind of preliminary information required is afforded by the report prepared

by Mr. M. B. Nanavati for Baroda. A similar summary of the conditions bearing on industrial development in each State would make it possible for the proposed Committee to give advice of practical value without loss of time. The time occupied in each State may vary from about ten to twenty days according to the variety of problems taken up. Allowing for the time lost in travelling it might be possible to furnish schemes for about 15 States in 6 or 7 months, beginning in October 1917. The total cost of the tour would be about Rs. 1,25,000 which might be divided between, say, 10 States at Rs. 10,000 each and 5 States at about Rs. 5,000 each. The personnel of the Committee might be left to the Political Department of the Government of India.

7. Whilst it may be possible and preferable for each State to employ its own officials to foster the cottage industries and minor occupations that are peculiar to its people, the problems requiring the application of modern technical science cannot be undertaken without direct co-operation with the Government of India. In each large State there are chemical, geological and botanical problems that require the services of specialists of the highest grade obtainable, and in this respect each State requires as great a variety of technical specialists as would be required for the whole of India. It is dangerous in science to employ any but first-class specialists, for with the gradual increase of transport facilities, any industry not conducted on up-to-date lines must quickly give way to competition. It is equally important to remember that no scientific man can carry on a piece of technological research of industrial value without an expensive equipment in plant and reference works.

8. Neither the full variety of specialists nor the necessary equipment can be provided by any single State in India. In this matter of scientific research, which must necessarily precede all industrial development under modern conditions, the men and materials can be provided only by the Government of India, which will find it necessary in the immediate future to reorganise and to extend its scientific services, forming special Departments for all the various branches of Chemistry, Botany and other sciences along lines similar to those that have been followed in the case of Geology, that is, with an organised and graded staff, with a well equipped laboratory and with a satisfactory reference library in each case. The time for the employment of the casual expert and for giving general opinions has gone for ever. India must either become a hermit kingdom, or equip itself to face the competition with other nations. Even its trade in raw products will be challenged by other tropical countries unless it can increase both the quantity and quality of its vegetable products.

9. There is no possible chance of India withstanding the competition of Japan except by the use of modern science; and science must be employed all over the country in British India as well as in Native States. Every backward part of the country must necessarily be a drag on the rest. But no single Province and no Native State can face alone the cost of the necessary scientific men and equipment. It is necessary therefore for all constituents to co-operate for the common good of the country. The scientific services ought to be organised for the use of every part of India alike, while their cost, divided fairly among the lot, will be comparatively small, far less than that due to the employment of occasional temporary experts from abroad, such as occurs now under British Local Governments as well as by many Native States.

10. I see no practical difficulty in this co-operation so long as the functions of the scientific departments are of an advisory character. The heads of these scientific departments should have no executive powers in either the Native States or British Provinces, although their officers might be placed under the Durbars or Local Governments for any convenient period and for any

suitable work, executive roadvisory. But as Departments of Government they should be responsible only for research work on problems sent in from any part of India and should be available to give advice so far as their resources permit, whenever wanted by a Native State or a Local Government. The heads of these scientific departments will not give satisfaction to everyone, as they will never have sufficient men at their disposal to answer all the questions sent in. This is the form of discontent that I had to face as Director of the Geological Survey, and it is a healthy kind of discontent, like that of the commercial community who grumble continually because the railways are never sufficiently equipped with rolling stock to carry all their merchandise at all times. Insufficiency of staff means progress and development ahead of equipment.

T. H. HOLLAND, *President,*  
*Indian Industrial Commission.*

*1st November 1916.*

### Question IX of the Agenda.

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*Report of the Committee appointed to select families in British India to whom an appeal should be addressed in support of the scheme for the establishment of a Higher Chiefs' College.*

The third resolution passed by the Chiefs' College Conference of 1914 declared that "this Conference is in favour of the admission to the proposed College of young men from leading aristocratic families in British India and considers that the support of such families should be invited". A Committee was appointed consisting of the undersigned and of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, with instructions to select families to whom invitations might suitably be addressed.

A list of the families recommended by Local Governments, etc., is attached to this report and a column has been added to it showing the decision of the Committee in each case. It will be seen from the list that the number of families to whom it is recommended that invitations should be addressed is 103, and it is estimated that if a favourable reply is received to the invitations, a substantial sum may be obtained for addition to the endowment of the proposed College.

2. In framing our recommendations we have been guided by the principle indicated in the Resolution, that only leading aristocratic families should be included among those to be invited, and we have excluded from the list all families which do not appear to come within this category and which possess an income of less than Rs. 50,000 per annum. As regards title-holders not belonging to the landed aristocracy, we have included only those holding hereditary aristocratic titles and have excluded holders of titles for life only, such as Knights.

3. We suggest that a minimum limit of subscription should be fixed which will qualify—

- (a) for the privilege of sending sons and near relations to the College ;
- (b) for the privilege of appointment to the Governing Body of the College.

The limit in the case of (a) we would fix at Rs. 10,000 and in the case of (b) at Rs. 75,000. We recommend that families invited to subscribe be informed that subscriptions of less than Rs. 10,000 will not be accepted, and that a subscription of Rs. 75,000 or more will be held to qualify for a seat on the Governing Body.

4. We recommend that invitations should be issued in the name of the Committee through the Local Governments concerned. It is important in our opinion that each invitation should bear the imprimature of the members of the Committee.

5. We would add that His Highness the Maharaja Scindia, having been unable to attend the final meeting of the Committee, has not signed this report but, we believe, that the recommendations in it are in general accord with his views.

6. His Highness the Rao of Cutch has suggested that at the outset the proposed Higher Chiefs' College should be financed entirely by the Native States, assisted by the Government of India and Provincial Governments, and that no assistance should be asked for at present from families in British

India. This suggestion goes beyond the terms of reference to the Committee and is a matter for consideration of the Conference. We, therefore, offer no remarks upon it.

RAO KHENGARJI,

*Maharao of Kutch.*

BHUPINDAR SINGH,

*Maharaja of Patiala.*

GANGA SINGH,

*Maharaja of Bikaner.*

SULTAN JAHAN,

*of Bhopal.*

J. B. WOOD,

*Political Secretary, Government of India.*

29th October 1916.

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List of leading aristocratic families in British India to whom invitations might be issued to take part in the scheme for the proposed establishment of a college for the higher education of Chiefs and Nobles.

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
<b>MADRAS.</b>		
Vizianagram .	Raja Mirza Raja Sri Pushavati Viziar- ma Gajapathi Raju Manné Sultan Bahadur Garu, Raja of Vizianagram.	} Include.
Jeypore . .	Maharaja Sir Sri Vikrama Deo, K.C.I.E., of Jeypore.	
Venkatagiri .	Maharaja Sir Velugot Sri Rajagopala Krishna Yachendra Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Panhchazari Mansabdar of Venkatagiri.	
Bobbili . .	Maharaja Sri Rao Sir Venkatasveta- chalapati Ranga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., of Bobbili.	
Ramnad . .	Raja Rajeswara Sethupathi <i>alias</i> Muthuramalinga Sethupathi Avargal, Raja of Ramnad.	
Kalahasti . .	Raja Raja Damara Kumara Thimma Nayanin Bahadur Garu, Raja of Kalahasti.	
Pithapuram .	Raja Sri Raja Rao Venkata Kumara Mahipathi Surya Rao Bahadur Garu, Raja of Pithapuram.	
Karvetnagar .	Raja Raja Kumara Venkata Perumal Razu Bahadur Garu, Raja of Kar- vetnagar.	
Calicut . .	Raja Sri Patinnare Kovilagam Manavik- rama <i>alias</i> Ettan Raja Avargal, Zamor- in of Calicut.	
<b>BOMBAY.</b>		
<i>First class Sardars of the Deccan.</i>		
..	Sardar Shivaji <i>alias</i> Annasaheb Bhonsle	} Omit.
..	Sardar Balaji Madhavrao Phadnis .	
..	Sardar Bayabai Saheb Apte . .	
..	Sardar Bhimrao Nagojirao <i>alias</i> Bhaul Saheb Patankar.	
..	Sardar Shams-ul-ulama Dastur Kaiko- bad Awarbad Noshewan.	

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
	<b>BOMBAY—contd.</b>	
	<i>First class Sardars of the Deccan—</i> concl'd.	
..	Sardar Davar Kaikhosru Edalji Modi .	} Omit.
..	Sardar Gangadhar Laxman Swami of Chafal.	
..	Sardar Ganpatrao Damodar Panse .	
..	Sardar Ganpatrao Madhavrao Vinchurkar.	
..	Sardar Ganpatrao Sultanrao Mahurkar	
..	Sardar Gopal Shiv.lev Raje Bahadur .	
..	Sardar Govind Balwant Shastri .	
..	Sardar Gulam Jilani Waikar .	
..	Sardar Janardhan Bhivrao Potnis .	
..	Sardar Khanderao Baburao Dabhade .	
..	Sardar Lakhamgavda Basav Prabhu, Sar Desai of Vantmuri.	
..	Sardar Parashram Krishnarao Biwalkar.	
..	Sardar Pheroz Hoshang Dastur .	
..	Sardar Raja Bahadur Raghojirao of Deor.	} Include.
..	Sardar Raja Raghunathrao Dinkarrao Mushir-i-Khas Baha ur.	
..	Sardar Ramrao Krishnarao Vinchurkar	
..	Sardar Sa'ashivrao Machavrao Purandhare.	
..	Sardar Sayadna Abdullabhai Badruzin.	} Omit.
..	Sardar Shambhusing Amarsing Jashavrao Raje.	
..	Sardar Trimbakrao Ram Purandhare .	
..	Sardar Umabai Saheb, widow of Bhaui Saheb Dhundiraj Vinayak Biwalkar.	
..	Sardar Vinayak Dhundiraj Biwalkar .	
..	Sardar Vishwanath Khanderao Raste .	
..	Sardar Rao Bahadur Yeshwantrao Trimbak Mirikar.	



Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
<b>BOMBAY—contd.</b>		
<i>First class Sardars of Gujrat.</i>		
..	Sar 'ar Agarsinhji Ranesinhji Thakor of Gamph.	Omit.
..	The Hon'ble Sar 'ar Sir Chinubhai Ma hevlal, Bart., C.I.E.	Include son (father is dead).
..	Sar 'ar Juvansinhji Jasvatsinhji, Thakor of Gangad.	}
..	Sardar Sursinhji Dajiraj, Thakor of Utelia.	
..	Sardar Naharsinhji Ishwarsinhji, Thakor of Amod.	
..	The Hon'ble Sar 'ar Dulabawa Raisinhji, Thakor of Kerwala.	
..	Sardar Udesinhji Ganpatsinhji, Thakor of Sarod.	
..	The Hon'ble Sardar Syed Ali-el-Edroos	}
..	Sardar Mir Muzaffer Hussen Khan	
..	Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, K.C.I.E.	
<i>Karachi District.</i>		
..	Malik Sobdar Khan . . . . .	}
..	Mir Ayub Khan. . . . .	
<i>Nawabshah District.</i>		
..	Mir Mehrab Khan, Talpur . . . . .	Omit.
<i>Sukkur District.</i>		
..	Mir Rustam Khan, II . . . . .	}
..	Mir Mohamed Khan . . . . .	
<i>Thar and Parkar District.</i>		
..	His Highness Mir Fateh Mahomed . . . . .	}
..	Rana Pirdansing of Umarkot . . . . .	
<i>Larkana District.</i>		
..	Wadero Ghaibi Khan Chandio . . . . .	Omit.

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
	<b>BOMBAY—concl'd.</b>	
	<i>Hyderabad District.</i>	
..	His Highness Mir Haji Nur Mahomed Khan.	} Include.
..	His Highness Mir Abdul Hussain Khan	
	<i>Ahmedabad District.</i>	
..	Thakur Jayvantsinghi of Sanand	Include.
	<i>Baronets and Knights of the Bombay City.</i>	
	Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart.	} Include.
	Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit, Bart.	
	Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.	
	Sir Jacob Elias Sassoon, Bart.	
	Sir Karimbhai Ebrahim, Bart.	
	Sir Sassoon Jacob David, Bart.	
	His Highness Aga Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.	}
	The Hon'ble Sir Phirozeshah Mervanji Mehta, K.C.I.E.	
Bombay City	Sir Bhalchandra Krishna 'Bhatawadekar, L.M., Kt.	} Omit.
	The Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thakarsi, Kt.	
	Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Kt.	
	Sir Dorabji Jamsetjee Tata, Kt.	
	The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Dhanjibhai Davar, Kt.	
	Sir Shapurji Bhurjorji Broacha, Kt.	
	Sir Vasanji Trikamji Mulji, Kt.	
	The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C.I.E.	
	Sir Jagmohandas Varjivandas, Kt.	
	Sir Temulji Bhikaji Nariman, Kt.	

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
<b>BENGAL.</b>		
Murshidabad	The Hon'ble Ihtisham-ul-Mulk Rais-ud-Daula Amir-ul-Umara Nawab Sir Asif Kadr Saiyid Wasif Ali Mirza, Khan Bahadur, Mahabat Jang, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., of Murshidabad.	} Include.
Burdwan	The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab Bahadur, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.O.M., of Burdwan.	
<b>BIHAR AND ORISSA.</b>		
Gidhaur	The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravaneswar Prasad Singh, K.C.I.E.	} Include.
Darbhanga	The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameswar Singh, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.	
Chota Nagpur	Maharaja Pratab Uday Nath Sahi Deo	
Parikud	Raja Bahadur Gour Chandra Man Singh Hari Chandan Mardraj Bhramarbar.	
Bettiah	Maharani Janki Kuar	Omit for the present.
Hathwa	Maharaj Kumar Guru Mahadeo Sharan Prasad Sahi (a minor).	} Include.
Sheohar	Raja Bahadur Sheoraj Nandan Singh.	
Narhan	Musammat Rajnet Kuar, mother of Babu Brahma Narain Singh.	} Omit.
Sursand	Proprietors are all women	
Dumraon	Babu Keshav Prasad Singh	} Include.
Tikari	The Hon'ble Maharaj-Kumar Gopal Sharan Narayan Singh.	
Dec.	Kumar Jagannath Prasad Singh.	
Banaili	Raja Kalanand Singh	} Omit.
Srinagar	Babu Kalikananda Singh	
Sonbarsa	Widows of the late Maharaja Bahadur Sir Harballabh Narain Singh, K.C.I.E.	} Include.
Khaira	Kumar Guru Prasad Singh	
Kanika	The Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo.	
Champur	Raja Thakurai Bhagbat Dayal Singh	
Ranka	The Hon'ble Kumar Thakurai Giriwar Prasad Singh.	} Omit.
Ranigarh	Kumar Lachmi Narayan Singh (minor)	
Panchete	Raja Jyoti Prasad Singh Deo	

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
UNITED PROVINCES.		
Jhansi Division.		
Rampura . . .	Raja Ram Singh, C.I.E. . . .	Omit.
Jagmanpur . . .	Raja Lokendra Shah. . . .	Include.
Gopalpura . . .	Rao Sheo Darshan Singh . . . .	} Omit.
Katahra . . .	Raja Sardar Singh Bahadur . . .	
Gursarai . . .	Raja Srimant Bal Kishan Rao Bhao Sahib.	
Benares Division.		
Ausanganj or Saidpur.	Rani Ram Kunwar . . . .	Omit.
Kantit . . .	Raja Bhupendra Bahadur Singh. . .	Include.
Singrauli . . .	Rani Neobaran Sahiba . . . .	} Omit.
Jaunpur . . .	Raja Sri Kishan Datt Dube . . .	
Agra Division.		
Bhadawar . . .	Raja Mahendra Man Singh (Minor—born 1896).	Include.
Gwalior, Agra and Benares.	Raja Mushir-i-Khas Raghunath Rao Dinkar Bahadur.	Include. (See page 130.)
Mainpuri . . .	Raja Sheomangal Singh Bahadur . .	} Include.
Mursan . . .	Raja Dat Prasad Singh Bahadur . .	
Awa . . .	Raja Surajpal Singh (Minor—born 1896).	
Rajaur . . .	Raja Sanwal Singh . . . .	Omit.
Allahabad Division.		
Manda . . .	Raja Ram Gopal Singh Bahadur (Minor—born 1896).	} Include.
Bara . . .	Raja Banspati Singh. . . .	
Daiya . . .	Raja Digbijai Singh . . . .	
Phaphamau . .	Gyan Jang Rana Bahadur . . .	} Omit.
Asothar . . .	Raja Kishanpat Singh (Minor—born 1900).	
Tirwa . . .	Raja Durga Narayan Singh (Minor—born 1896).	Include.

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
<b>UNITED PROVINCES—contd.</b>		
<i>Allahabad Division—concl'd.</i>		
Partabner . . .	Raja Hukm Tej Partab Singh . . .	} Omit.
Ayana or Bhareh . .	Raja Naranjan Singh (Minor—born 1905).	
Malhajini . . .	Raja Parbal Partab Singh . . .	
<i>Rohilkhand Division.</i>		
Kashipur . . .	Raja Udai Raj Singh . . .	} Include.
Tajpur . . .	The Hon'ble Raja Francis Xavier Sham Rikh.	
Pawayan . . .	Raja Fateh Singh . . .	
Bareilly . . .	Raja Misra Kali Charan . . .	
Sahaspur . . .	Raja Kishan Kumar . . .	
<i>Gorakhpur Division.</i>		
Bansi . . .	Raja Ratan Sen Singh . . .	Include.
Mahson or Mahuli . .	Raja Narendra Bahadur Pal . . .	} Omit.
Unaula . . .	Raja Bhunesh Partab Singh . . .	
Majhauhi . . .	Rani Sha Sunder Kunwari . . .	} Include.
Tamkuhi . . .	Raja Indrajit Partab Bahadar Sahi . .	
Alamgarh . . .	Raja Sadeshri Prasad Narayan Singh, Rai Bahadur.	Omit.
<i>Meerut Division.</i>		
Karnal . . .	Nawab Muhammad Rustam Ali, Khan Bahadur.	} Include.
Pahasu . . .	The Hon'ble Nawab Mumtaz-ud-Daula Sir Muhammad Faiyaz Ali Khan, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., C.S.I.	
Talibnagar or Chhitari.	Nawab Abdus Samad Khan Bahadur.	
<i>Lucknow Division.</i>		
..	Mirza Muhammad Taqi Ali (Suraiya Qadr).	} Include.
Salempur . . .	Raja Sir Shaban Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
<b>UNITED PROVINCES—contd.</b>		
<i>Lucknow Division—contd.</i>		
Raipur Ekdaria (Itaunja).	Raja Indra Bikram Singh . . . .	} Omit.
Behta . . . .	Mirza Jafar Ali Khan . . . .	
Thalrai (Khajurgaon).	The Hon'ble Rana Sir Sheoraj Singh, K.C.I.E.	Include.
Kurri Sudauli . . . .	Raja Rampal Singh, C.I.E. . . .	} Omit.
Atra Chandapur . . . .	Raja Chandra Chur Singh . . . .	
Merawan . . . .	Raja Bhagwati Bakhsh Singh (Minor— born 1896).	} Include.
Tiloi . . . .	Raja Bishnath Saran Singh Bahadur . .	
..	Shahzada Basdeo Singh Bahadur . .	Omit.
Mahmudabad . . . .	The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan, Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	} Include.
Mallanpur . . . .	Raja Debi Bakhsh Singh . . . .	
Paintepur and Bilahra.	Raja Abul Hasan Khan . . . .	} Omit.
Muiz-ud-dinpur . . . .	Raja Swami Dayal . . . .	
Kunwan Khera . . . .	Nawab Muhammad Baqar Ali Khan . .	} Include.
Basaishish . . . .	Thakur Suraj Bakhsh Singh . . . .	
Katesar . . . .	Thakurain Prithipal Kunwar . . . .	} Omit.
Katiari . . . .	Raja Rukmangad Singh . . . .	
Bharawan . . . .	Rani Des Kunwar . . . .	} Include.
Basitnagar . . . .	Nawab Muhammad Abdul Karim Khan	
Sarawan Baragaon . . . .	Raja Durga Prasad . . . .	} Omit.
Kakrali . . . .	Chaudhri Muhammad Jan . . . .	
Atwa Nasirpur . . . .	Thakur Shama Kumar Singh (Minor —born 1907).	} Include.
Jalalpur . . . .	Saiyid Itifat Rasul . . . .	
Oel and Kaimahra . . . .	Raja Kishan Datt Singh . . . .	Omit.
Shahpur (Bahadur- nagar).	Rani Sarfaraz Begum . . . .	Include.
		Omit.

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
UNITED PROVINCES—contd.		
Lucknow Division—concl'd.		
Khairigarh . . .	Rani Surat Kunwar . . . . .	} Include.
Isanagar . . .	Thakur Rajendra Bahadur Singh . . .	
Bhur or Bhira . .	Raj Raghubar Singh . . . . .	
Fyzabad Division.		
Balrampur . . .	The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Bhagwati Parsad Singh, K.C.I.E.	Include.
Mankapur . . .	Raja Raghuraj Singh . . . . .	} Omit.
Paraspur . . .	Rani Janki Kunwar . . . . .	
Bilaspur (Utraula).	Raja Mumtaz Ali Khan . . . . .	
Majhgawan . . .	Bhaiya Raghuraj Singh . . . . .	
Nawabganj (Alia- bad).	Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash, C.I.E.	
Payagpur . . .	Raja Bindeshri Prasad Singh . . .	Include.
Gngwa . . .	Rani Itraj Kunwar . . . . .	Omit.
Bhinga . . .	Rani Murari Kunwari Debi . . . .	} Include.
Dera . . .	Raja Rudra Partab Sah . . . . .	
Amethi . . .	Raja Bhagwan Bakhsh Singh . . .	
Hasanpur . . .	Raja Muhammad Mahdi Ali Khan . .	
Kurwar . . .	Raja Partab Bahadur Singh . . . .	
Katari . . .	Raja Partab Bahadur Singh . . . .	Omit.
Rampur Dharupur (Kalakankar).	Raja Avadhesh Singh (Minor—born 1906).	Include.
Kaithaula . . .	Raja Jagatpal Bahadur Singh (Minor —born 1895).	Omit.
Kila, Partabgarh .	Raja Partab Bahadur Singh, C.I.E. . .	} Include.
Adharganj (Dalipur)	Rai Amarpal Singh . . . . .	
Bhadri. . .	Raj Kishan Prasad Singh . . . . .	
Pawansi (Dhangarh)	Lal Sheo Partab Bahadur Singh . . .	
Kundrajit . . .	Thakur Raghuraj Singh . . . . .	
Jahangrabad . .	The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Tas- adduq Rasul Khan, K.C.S.I.	

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
<b>UNITED PROVINCES—contd.</b>		
	<i>Fyzabad Division—concl'd.</i>	
Pokhra Ansari .	Raja Bhagwan Bakhsh . . .	Omit.
Harha . . .	Raja Raghuraj Bahadur Singh . . .	} Include.
Ramnagar Dhamer.	Raja Udit Narayan Singh . . .	
Surajpur . . .	Babu Prithipal Singh . . .	
Rampur . . .	Rai Rajeshar Bah . . . . .	Omit.
Ajodhya . . .	Raja Jagdambika Partab Singh (Minor—born 1904).	} Include.
Pirpur . . .	The Hon'ble Raja Saiyid Abu Jafar . . .	
Meopur Dhaurwa .	Babu Indersen Singh . . . . .	
Khapradih and Sihpur.	Thakurain Sri Ram Kunwar . . .	} Include.
	<i>Benares Division.</i>	
	Raja Nityanand Prasad Singh . . .	
	Raja Madho Lal, C.I.E. . . . .	} Omit.
Benares . . .	Mirza Akbar Bakht . . . . .	
	Mirza Ahsan Akhtar . . . . .	
	Mirza Muhammad Bakht . . . . .	
	Mirza Firoz Bakht . . . . .	
Bijaigarh . . .	Raja Ragho Sarju Saran Singh . . .	} Include.
Jaunpur . . .	Nawab Muhammad Abdul Majid, C.I.E.	
Raja Bazar . . .	Babu Rajendra Narayan Singh and Babu Law Bahadur Singh.	
	<i>Agra Division.</i>	
Eka . . . . .	Raja Jiwan Singh . . . . .	} Omit.
Bhikampur . . .	Nawab Muhammad Muzammil-ullah Khan, Khan Bahadur.	
Dataoli . . . .	Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan . . .	
Kotla . . . . .	The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh . . .	Include.
	Muhammd Khalil-ur-Rahman . . . . .	} Omit.
Dadon . . . . .	Muhammad Abu Bakr Khan . . . . .	
Hathras . . . .	Kunwar Mahendra Partab Singh . . .	
Muttra . . . . .	Seth Damodar Das . . . . .	
Gabhana and Somna	Thakur Lekhraj Singh . . . . .	Omit.



Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
UNITED PROVINCES—contd.		
Allahabad Division.		
Gwaltoli . . .	Nawab Saiyid Ali . . . . .	} Omit.
Gwaltoli . . .	Nawab Jafar Ali . . . . .	
Khimsipur . . .	Rao Udit Narayan Singh (Minor — born 1907).	
Rohilkhand Division.		
Pilibhit . . .	Raja Lalta Prasad . . . . .	} Omit.
Shaikhupur, Budaun	Shaikh Muhi-ud-Din Haidar . . .	
Sambhal . . .	Kunwar Parmanand, Rai Bahadur .	
Sahanpur . . .	Rai Dat Prasad Singh <i>alias</i> Aftab Jang or Kunwar Bharat Singh, Rai Bahadur.	
Gorakhpur Division.		
Padrauna . . .	Raja Brij Narayan . . . . .	} Omit.
Gopalpur . . .	Babu Dan Bahadur Chand . . .	
Basti . . .	Raja Pateswari Partab Narayan Singh	
Rudhauli . . .	Bhaiya Badri Prasad Singh . . .	
Chandapur . . .	Babu Shuhrat Singh . . . . .	
Azamgarh . . .	Raja Muhammad Shah . . . . .	
Meerut Division.		
Dehra Dun . . .	Raja Ranbir Singh . . . . .	} Omit.
Landhaura . . .	Chaudhri Balwant Singh . . . . .	
Jansath . . .	Saiyid Mahdi Ali Khan . . . . .	
Muzaffarnagar .	Lala Jagdish Prasad . . . . .	
Muzaffarnagar .	The Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh .	
Meerut . . .	Nawab Asadullah Khan, Khan Bahadur	
Meerut . . .	Shaikh Wahid-ud-din, Khan Bahadur.	
Baghpat . . .	Muhammad Jamshed Ali Khan . . .	
Jahangabad . . .	Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan . . .	
Pindrawal . . .	Saiyid Jafar Ali Khan . . . . .	
Kuchesar . . .	Rao Girraj Singh . . . . .	

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
<b>UNITED PROVINCES—concl'd.</b>		
<i>Meerut Division—concl'd.</i>		
Dharampur . .	Kunwar Abdush Shakur Khan . .	} Omit.
Shikarpur . .	Chaudhri Raghuraj Singh (Minor—born 1899).	
Kapurthala and Lucknow.	Raja Sir Harnam Singh Ahluwa'ia, K.C.I.E.	
Lucknow . .	Mirza Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan, Bahadur.	
..	Mirza Muhammad Shams-ud-din Haider, Bahadur.	
..	Nawab Mirza Mahdi Husain Khan, Bahadur, C.I.E., <i>alias</i> Abbu Sahib.	
<i>Fyzabad Division.</i>		
Bhiti . . .	Babu Udaibhan Partab Singh . .	} Omit.
Samanpur . .	Musammats Abbas Bandi and Qasim Bandi.	
Chandipur Birhar or Makrahi.	Babu Sri Kamlapat Prasad Singh .	
Chandipur, Haswar	Babu Narendra Bahadur Singh . .	
Deoli (Kamiar) .	Thakurain Harnath Kunwar . .	
Dhanawan . .	Thakurain Sharfuraz Kunwar . .	
Relwa . . .	Thakur Rudra Partab Narayan Singh	
Umri . . .	Raja Kishanpal Singh . . .	
Patti-Saifabad .	Thakurain Gajraj Kunwar . .	
Patti Saifabad .	Diwan Indarpal Singh . . .	
Dhangarh . .	Thakur Jagdish Bahadur Singh and Lal Chhatardhari Singh.	
Bhilwal . . .	Chaudhri Shafiq-uz-zaman and Chaudhri Mustafa Hussain.	
Pariawan . .	Nawab Shaikh Ahmad Husain Khan, Khan Bahadur.	
Majhgawan .	Bhaiya Balkaran Singh . . .	
Majhgawan .	Bhaiya Chahtarpal Singh . . .	

Name of family.	Present head of family.	Recommendation of the Committee.
ASSAM.		
Bijni . . .	Rani Abhayeswari Debi of Bijni . . .	} Include.
Gauripur . . .	The Hon'ble Raja Pralhat Chandra Barua of Gauripur.	
AJMER-MERWARA.		
Bhinai . . .	Raja of Bhinai. . . . .	} Omit.
Masuda . . .	Thakur Bijai Singh of Masuda . . .	

**List of donations subscribed by Indian Princes towards a Princes' Club at Delhi.**

**(1) ABOVE TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND.**

*(Note—Minimum subscriptions Rs. 5,000.)*

			Rs.
Delhi 1911	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala	50,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Indore	50,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Rewa	50,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar	50,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala	25,000
Delhi 1914	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir	50,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner	30,000
	.	H. H. the Maharao of Kota	25,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur	50,000

**The donations subscribed by Indian Princes towards the Club.**

**(2) ABOVE 10,000 BUT BELOW 25,000.**

*(Note—Minimum subscriptions Rs. 5,000.)*

			Rs.
Delhi 1911	.	H. H. the Jam of Jamnagar	15,000
	.	H. H. the Raja of Rutlam	10,000
	.	H. H. the Nawab of Jaora	10,000
	.	H. H. the Raj Rana of Jhalawar	10,000
Delhi 1914	.	H. H. the Rao of Cutch	10,000
	.	H. H. the Nawab of Malerkotla	10,000
	.	H. H. the Raja of Dhar	10,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Kishangarh	10,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Cooch Behar	20,000

**The donations subscribed by Indian Princes towards the Club.**

**(3) SUBSCRIPTIONS BELOW TEN THOUSAND.**

*(Note—Minimum subscriptions Rs. 5,000.)*

			Rs.
Delhi 1911	.	H. H. the Maharawat of Partabgarh	5,000
	.	H. H. the Thakur Sahib of Limbdi	5,000
	.	H. H. the Maharawal of Banswara	5,000
Delhi 1914	.	H. H. the Raja of Dewas (Senior)	5,000
	.	H. H. the Raja of Nahau	5,000
	.	H. H. the Raja of Sitamau	5,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Idar	5,000
	.	H. H. the Maharaja of Datia	5,000

**Minutes by Ruling Princes and Chiefs received by the Chairman, but not read at the Conference.**

*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore on the proposed formation of a Council of Princes.*

In connection with the forthcoming Conference of Princes at Delhi, a number of questions naturally strike the mind. The one that claims our first attention is whether this Conference is to be held this year only or whether it is going to become, as an informal Conference, a periodical affair or take the shape of a Council. If the former is the case, the matter would not be worthy of the same careful consideration as in the latter cases in which the institution would be of a permanent nature. In the absence of any information as to the intentions of the Government of India in this connection it is not possible to formulate any definite ideas as to the nature, purpose and constitution of this body. Till such time as the Government's intentions are known, the following questions must remain unanswered :—

- (1) Would this body, if formed into a Council, be constituted by any special Act of Parliament or would it be only an informal gathering having no official status ?
- (2) What would be its functions, *i.e.*, would it be purely advisory or otherwise ?
- (3) Will all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India be eligible for membership of this body, or would membership be restricted to any particular class ?
- (4) Would membership depend upon nomination by the Government of India or on election by the Princes themselves or on both ?
- (5) If there are both elected and nominated members, what would be the number of each class and what would be the procedure for their election or nomination ?
- (6) Would membership of this body be open to any persons other than Ruling Princes such as eminent Indians from British India and the Native States, and British Officers ?
- (7) Who would preside at the meetings ?
- (8) How would questions of precedence be decided among the Princes present at the meetings ?
- (9) Would the members be able to introduce any questions they like for discussion, or would the subjects for discussion be only those which the Government of India have selected for reference to this body ?
- (10) What would be the effect of the resolutions of the Council in the case of those Princes who either have not attended the meeting at which the resolutions in question were passed, or who, having attended the meeting, are not in favour of those particular resolutions ?
- (11) If any Prince, who has in the Council, supported any resolution passed by the Council, finds, on further consideration and consultation with his advisers, that the resolution was not worthy of his support, would that resolution be binding on him ?
- (12) Would the proceedings be public or confidential ?

- (13) Would attendance be compulsory or optional ?
- (14) What would be the nature of questions likely to be referred to this body ?

On account of the difference in the education, training, methods of thought, status and position of the Indian Princes it would be almost impossible to secure any unanimity of opinion on any subject placed before the Council. To accept in all cases the views of the majority of the members as the representative opinion of the Indian States would not be a safe or commendable course as full regard will have to be paid to the status and the views of the Princes composing the minority. It would distinctly be unfair and improper to drown the opinion of a Prince of the first rank by the opinions of a number of Chiefs who may in no way compare with him in territory, prestige and political status.

Another reason for not taking a "majority" resolution as a representative resolution is that the conditions, requirements and circumstances of Indian States are so varied and divergent that what is beneficial to one may well be ruinous to another.

It is likely that the views formed by a Prince on any subject before attending any meeting of the Council or Conference may undergo modification in the light of the views expressed by his brother Princes at the meeting. These modified opinions are liable to further modification by the Prince on return to his dominions after consultation with his advisers and on looking up his records.

For these reasons the safest and soundest method for ascertaining the views of any Indian State is to consult its Government individually by letter. To try to ascertain his views by putting him in a Council is not a satisfactory method as it has been shown above to be open to objections of a serious nature.

Looking at the question from the political point of view, the effect of the creation of a Council of Princes would be to bring them all, irrespective of the diversity in the magnitude of their dominions and their political status, as determined by their Treaty relations with the British Government to one common level. This would hardly be appreciated by the Indian Princes who would not like to surrender their own individuality for the doubtful benefits of a Council which, like a chain, would be judged by the strength of its weakest link. Besides when once such a body is formed either informally or by express legislation, there is no knowing what modification it might undergo in course of time. These changes may leave it in a shape not foreseen by its staunchest supporters and only dimly perceived by its opponents.

In view of these considerations it seems unnecessary and undesirable to have any Council of Princes. The Government of India can consult the States individually and this would be the safest method of obtaining the real views of the State concerned.

If, notwithstanding all that has been said above, it is decided by the Ruling Princes and Government of India to institute a Conference or a Council of Princes, it would be desirable to see that it is in the least objectionable form. An unwieldy Council, composed of Princes and all Chiefs of all ranks and others, would, by its very size and composition, defeat the object of its creation.

The following principles must be strictly observed, if it is decided to have a Council of Princes :—

- (1) Membership of the Council should be restricted to such Ruling Princes as are styled "Highness" and receive a salute of 15 guns.

- (2) The Council should be independent and should have no member except the Princes described above. No Political Officers should be eligible for membership of the Council. The work of the Council should be conducted entirely by the Princes.
- (3) The Princes should elect one of themselves to be the president.
- (4) The Council should have no formal constitution laid down, and no legislation should be undertaken for this purpose.
- (5) The Council should meet at a time and place convenient to the majority of the members, not necessarily at the seat of the Government of India.
- (6) If there is any difference of opinion on any point, the Council should request the Government of India to consult the members individually by letter.
- (7) Views expressed by the Princes in the Council or Conference should not be binding on the Princes concerned, until subsequently confirmed by them on an official reference to them individually by the Government of India.
- (8) Attendance should be optional
- (9) The proceedings should be entirely confidential.
- (10) No questions of a technical nature should be discussed. Such questions can be better dealt with by separate references to the States concerned.
- (11) No question, which may have the effect of varying or modifying the character or substance of Treaty engagements or important documents of any kind, should be discussed in the Council.
- (12) The Council should appoint its own Secretary for correspondence and ministerial work,

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*Minute by His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch).*

When I decided to attend the Conference this year, I had no idea whatever of its present character, aim, meaning and scope; and hence I thought it better to commit my views about the subjects, on the Agenda after getting acquainted with the Conference's object, mode and workings. I have been watching Your Highnesses' deliberations for the last two days, and must, I am very sorry, confess my unreadiness to meet Your Highnesses' wishes to the fullest extent. I rather understood from His Excellency the Viceroy's address of welcome that the Conference bids fair, some day in the future, to be a constitutional advisory body. Whereas unless I am mistaken, I find from the way in which matters are being handled, that the Conference has to-day already assumed that character. I may be permitted to invite your attention to the discussion on the Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi, in the course of which it was urged not to throw away the resolutions of earlier Conferences. In my opinion, the Conference can become an advisory body, worth its name and value, only when its constitution and workings are settled. And, so long as these are not settled by Your Highnesses, and so long as it is optional to Ruling Princes to attend the same, it is of no use and liable to misunderstanding, to run our deliberations into resolutions and give the resolutions a representative character. I must not for a moment be understood to throw cold water upon the enthusiasm and earnestness of Your Highnesses' deliberations. What I want Your

Highnesses to consider is that if Your Highnesses think that the time has arrived for turning the Conference into a constitutional body in regard to its deliberations, the said constitution be settled at the outset, so that there may be no room for misunderstandings and fears and we can all participate in it to our fullest measure.

Hence I understand that till Your Highnesses form yourselves into some constitutional body with a clear knowledge as to your responsibilities as members of the said constitution, the resolutions moved and passed by the Conference may not carry any sanction with them.

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**Item No. I of the Agenda.***Minute by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhore.*

It is submitted that the precedents and immemorial customs in each State about the ceremonial in question should be ascertained and defined separately in conformity with the terms of its treaty with Government and they should be invariably and uniformly followed in future in the case of each particular State, as it will not be practicable to decide upon a uniform procedure in this respect on account of the great diversity of custom prevailing about it. Moreover no State will be willing to consent to dispense with some of its precedents of long standing and accept new ones in their stead simply for the sake of uniformity.

2. Before the annexation of the Satara Raj the Maharaja of Satara used to give marks of honour to the Prince to be installed on the *gadi* after his installation and investiture were performed.

3. The marks that were given by him to the Pant Sachiv of Bhore as ensigns of regality were as under :

- (1) Pearl necklace, (2) plume and aigrette of jewels, (3) chowrie (tail of bos grunuiens), (4) golden stick (chob), (5) pen and ink case, (6) head-dress, (7) large sheet of embroidered white cloth (agabani), (8) royal band of 4 kettledrums, (9) signet and dagger, (10) shield and sword, (11) elephant and horse, (12) valuable clothes and ornaments.

4. It is a long-established custom among the Ruling Princes and Chiefs to hold a Darbar to personally announce their investiture and installation and to express their joy at these important events to their subjects, at the time of assuming the royal powers.

*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.*

Succession in Indian States either by direct descent or by adoption is the only means for the preservation of their political existence. The proclamation of 1858 and the subsequent assurances by the King-Emperors have acknowledged this principle. Succession then comes as a birth-right which should be looked upon as the gift of the supreme Providence and cannot be held subject to the approval or sanction of the Government of India. A *gadi* can never remain vacant and as soon as one Ruler vacates it, all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of a Ruler devolve automatically on his rightful successor by heritage and he comes to assume them being placed in that position by the High Providence.

The ceremony of accession to the *gadi* in every State is performed in accordance with the old customs of the State and the traditions of the house. The Viceroy as Representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor has only to recognise the event of this succession and as such he has no ceremony to perform save offering greetings and presents, if any, and the good wishes to the new Ruler on behalf of His Majesty.

The accession Darbar is by its nature the Darbar of the Ruler and not of the Representative of the Government of India.

In the case of the new Ruler being a minor at the time of his coming to the *gadi*, the assumption by him of the Ruling Powers necessarily forms an

important event in the administration of his State. When such Prince has grown out of the age of minority, the minority Administration should *ipso facto* terminate and the responsible members of the minority Administration should, at a public Darbar, lay down their charge before the Prince who will assume the same; the event being recognised by the representative of the British Government who shall be invited to attend such a Darbar.

The ceremony to be observed by the representative of the King-Emperor on the occasion of the assumption by a Prince of the Ruling powers should be the same as on the occasion of his accession to the *gadi*. Such representative (the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor) should when attending such Darbars be received by the Prince as his honoured guest with the usual formal ceremonies as were observed in the early days and such as have not been altered by an innovation not duly recognised by a Ruler of that State. Innovations introduced into procedures during the period of minority of a Prince or by the minority Administration at the time of his assuming Ruling Powers should not be taken to form a recognised practice or precedent, because the Ruler cannot be held responsible for them and any approval given by him during minority cannot be taken to be a willing consent.

It would be desirable to form Provincial Councils of selected Princes who should be invariably consulted by the Government of India in case any deviation from the ordinary course of accession to the *gadi* or of the assumption of powers by a Prince in that Province is contemplated, and their advice should form the guiding principle for decisions in such matters.

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*Minute by His Highness the Jam of Navanagar.*

Prominence is given to this question in the Agenda of the Conference, which, in my opinion, it does not really deserve. A draft memorandum is attached and "remarks" or "criticisms" of the Ruling Princes are invited on the subject.

Thanks are due to Government for affording us this opportunity of expressing our views—I presume our genuine and frank views and sentiments—and I trust the commendable spirit in which the exchange of ideas is invited will dominate the subsequent reception of our views and nothing will mar the confidence with which we approach Government—and open our hearts—it may be with some reserve and hesitation, not because we have any misgivings or doubts regarding our position, but because we find that our views do not coincide and square with the principles and theories, that have apparently found favour with Government, but diverge strongly and markedly from past tradition, custom and precedent and have no support, either of previous treaties and engagements, or of any subsequent agreement.

The whole of this question admits of an easy and simple solution. What is required is an elastic and all embracing formula of a general character, which might receive such additions or undergo such alterations as the circumstances of each individual State demands.

The Ruler succeeds, immediately the *gadi* becomes vacant, except in cases of disputed or doubtful succession. Even in these cases when the question about the successor is settled, his succession is retrospectively held to date from the day of the late Ruler's demise, so that in theory, the *gadi* does not remain unoccupied for a moment. *Shastric* ceremonies of *abhishek* or investiture are performed even to this day amongst Hindu Rajas on the 13th day after the

funeral, without reference to the Government Darbar of which I will speak later on, and *poshaks* and *nazars* are received from connected States and friends and subjects on that day. To Sardars, Bhayats, or junior cadets, officials and subjects as well as to friends and relatives, the son becomes the Ruler, the day his father dies—but the idea of pollution that the death in the family entails, renders the religious investiture impossible till after the post-funeral ceremonies are over. This is why the *Rajya-bhishek* or installation ceremony takes place on the 13th day. This day varies according to the different customs, following on different castes and nationalities and different precedents and habits in various States.

The central Government are duly informed of the demise of the Ruling Prince and supplied with all particulars regarding the successor; which is a duty from the Agents to Government, to the governing Head. A few days naturally elapse before His Excellency the Governor or Viceroy is informed and a formal *Kharita* of congratulation is received by the Political Officer accredited to the State. This process, I think, does not touch or affect the fact that the successor has assumed rule according to the custom of his house. There is a vast difference between the formal recognition of an established event and the necessity of previous sanction before the event is established, which the word "approval" connotes.

Regarding the Darbar ceremonial, I think the installation should be a function got up, arranged, controlled and carried out by the Ruler himself and that the Imperial or Provincial Government should be represented by their Political officers, who would attend the Darbar, as highly honoured guests of the Ruler and would offer congratulations and hand over formal letters of recognition and congratulations on behalf of the Sovereign.

The adoption of this simple process would do away with many difficulties and save embarrassing situations, which changes and innovations, often undertaken without regard to the wishes of the Ruler or the sentiments and customs of his subjects, generally give rise to. The Darbar should naturally be held by the Ruler himself and nothing prevents him from welcoming in the most becoming manner and from giving the highest honour to the Representative of his Sovereign. Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Alwar and Bikaner who started the proceedings on this subject have spoken so exhaustively on this subject that it only remains for me to add that I entirely concur with their views. I have refrained from criticising the contentious paragraph after the Chairman's very satisfactory and able explanation.

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*Minute by His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla.*

Succession in Indian States comes as a birth-right. A *gadi* can never remain vacant and as soon as a Ruler dies all the rights and privileges of a Ruler devolve on the rightful heir by inheritance. In case there being no direct heir, adoption is made according to *sanads* of adoption given to the Ruling Princes by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria. Even in the case of adoption, there is no condition laid down in the adoption *sanads* as to the approval and sanction of the adoption by Government.

The accession of a new Ruler to a *gadi* takes place in Muhammadan States at once and on the third day the ceremony of *dastarbandi* is performed on which occasion the high priest of the Ruling Family ties a *dastar* on the head of the new Ruler who is seated on a *masnad*. As soon as the *dastar* is put on the head

a salute of guns is fired announcing the accession to the *masnad* of the new Ruler, after which *dastars* are presented by members of the family, other nobles of the State and other Indian States and relatives; jagirdars and officials present *nazars*. From that very date the name of the new Ruler is inserted in the new coin (wherever there is the mint of the State as is the case in my State).

After the installation ceremony (*masnad nashini*) is performed as mentioned above, a *kharita* is sent to Government announcing the above ceremony and in reply a *kharita* of congratulations and good wishes is received from His Excellency the Viceroy or Lieutenant-Governor or Political Agent. And after this on a suitable occasion the representative of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, whether His Excellency the Viceroy himself or Lieutenant-Governor or a Political Agent—visits the State to offer greetings and presents (*khilat*) on behalf of the King-Emperor and this ceremony is performed in a public Darbar. This Darbar is really a Darbar of the Ruling Prince to receive the representative of His Imperial Majesty and not the Darbar of the representative. Though now-a-days it is regarded to be the Darbar held by the representative of His Imperial Majesty, which I think is not correct. The Investiture Darbar is quite different to the "Accession to the *gadi*" or the Installation Darbar. The new Ruler having already ascended to the *gadi* and having been greeted by the representative of His Imperial Majesty in a Darbar as stated above, there is no special ceremony required at the investiture, except that the representative of His Imperial Majesty as an honoured guest of the new Ruler comes to the Darbar to be held by the new Ruler, on his assumption of the reins of Government on his attaining majority, to offer greetings to the new Ruler. No presents need be presented on this occasion, the recent practice of the representative of His Imperial Majesty holding his own Darbar in an Indian State and investing him with full powers by the following procedure, *i.e.*, putting two chairs in front and two chairs at the back a little higher than the one in the front and then conducting the new Ruler to the above chairs and seating him on his right and then announcing his assumption of power seems to me to be an innovation and I think it should be corrected and that as said above, on the new Ruler coming to age and assuming his full powers, the minority discontinues and to offer greetings to the new Ruler the representative of His Imperial Majesty should come to the State as a guest of the Ruling Prince and greet the new Ruler on behalf of His Majesty at the Darbar to be held by the Ruling Prince. The representative to sit on the right of the Ruling Prince and after the termination of the announcement *atar* and *pan* to be given by the Ruling Prince to the representative of His Imperial Majesty. The practice in regard to present ceremonies during the minority of a Ruling Prince should not form precedents.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.*

My friends, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bikaner and Alwar have gone very carefully into the matters of the ceremonials to be observed at what are called installation and investiture Darbars and I fully agree with them. In my own State I have a similar experience and that also, I venture to say, may be the case in some other principalities. No *peshkash* was asked for or paid on the occasions of the installation and investiture of my predecessors. Nor was the question of *nazarana* raised on those occasions. On the occasion of my investiture, however, *peshkash* had to be paid and in the speech made by the Governor it was observed that the right to levy a *nazar* was waived. These are looked upon as innovations taking away from the prestige of the

State. These innovations are introduced on the occasions of the installation of minors under the guardianship of Government, because possibly the Darbar's customary rights and privileges are not carefully looked into and represented. I feel, however, sure that as soon as they are brought to the notice of the British Government the mistakes will be rectified and there will be no infringement of the customary rights and privileges and also of those safeguarded under treaties and *sanads* and guaranteed by Government. We know Government are very scrupulous in their observance of the treaties but matters have to be placed before them in their proper light.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.*

The ceremonies in connection with installation and investiture must vary accordingly to the local customs, tradition and treaty rights of the States concerned.

1. In the Jammu and Kashmir State, as soon as a Ruler vacates the *gadi* his successors, under the provision of the *Dastur-ul-amal* of the family, by the rights inherent in him succeeds the *gadi*. The fact is that the *gadi* never remains unoccupied.

A few days after the death of my father, His Highness Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh, I received His Excellency the Viceroy's *kharita* in which it was stated that—

“It is my duty to inform you on behalf of the Queen-Empress of India that I recognize and confirm your succession to the Chiefship of Jammu and Kashmir,”

and the Resident in Kashmir on the *Dastarbandi* ceremony Darbar had made a speech and said—

“I beg to offer my congratulations on your accession to the place occupied by your father and grandfather.....”

In view of the procedure that was observed on my succession I should state that the succession to the *gadi* does not require the sanction of the Government and that His Excellency the Viceroy, in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, conveys His Majesty's recognition of the succession and his congratulations.

2. The ceremonies in connection with the installation, which are very elaborate, are required to be observed, and these are performed some time after the succession in accordance with the auspicious time which is fixed in consultation with the priest.

In 1885 on my installation the following ceremonies were observed :—

- (a) A *Bedi* was set up in the *Diwan Khana* and with that the performance of *Prayog* and *Hawan* for which earth and water of all the sacred places was brought in, and ceremonies performed according to the *Dharm Shastras*.
- (b) The auspicious ceremony of *Raj Tilak* was performed on the fixed day in the *Thakurdwara* inside the Palace and on its conclusion a Darbar was held in the Central *Mandi*, in which a golden *sanghasan* was placed for the Chief and chairs were arranged for guests.

- (c) The Resident was received in the Darbar and seated on the right of the Chief. He brought with him *khilat* for the Chief and presented the same to him and also *khilats* to nine Sardars. He delivered a speech conveying congratulations of the Government, at the conclusion of which a salute of 31 guns was fired.

I am of opinion that the same procedure as was adopted on my installation should be observed and followed in future.

3. As regards the investiture at the termination of the minority, there has happened no such occasion in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

In view, however, of the necessity that after the termination of the minority of a Chief, some ceremonies in connection with the assumption of power should be performed, I am of opinion that on an auspicious day to be fixed a Darbar should be held by the Chief in which the Political Officer should be invited to convey a *kharita* or congratulation of the Government on the same day as on the installation. But no *khilat* should be given.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Indore.*

India is such a vast country and the diversity of manners, customs and religious observances in the different parts of it is so marked that it is difficult, almost impossible, to draw up any fixed set of rules for the universal regulation of Installation and Investiture ceremonies in all the Indian States. These ceremonies must of necessity vary according to the local customs, traditions and treaty rights of the States concerned. The one fundamental idea that is of universal applicability is that succession in a Native State either by direct descent or by adoption is the only means for the preservation of that State's political existence, national manners and customs. The principle has been recognised in India from times immemorial and defies Time and Innovation. In India the maxim "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi*" is the accepted creed of the people so much so that people never say "The Maharaja is dead"; they say "Hari Rao Holkar is dead" and thus imply that the person is dead but the Maharaja is living. According to Indian ideas the *gadi* can never remain vacant. As soon as a Ruler vacates the *gadi* his successor ascends it and assumes all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the Ruler.

The truth of the above remarks is of general applicability. Here at Indore, history and tradition prove that the Maharaja Holkar derives his right to rule by heritage, *i.e.*, by the rights inherent in him as the son of his father, natural or adoptive, the late Ruler of Indore. For this reason succession to the Indore *gadi* by the natural or adopted heir of the late Ruler does not require the approval or sanction of the Government of India. Such approval or sanction was not considered necessary in the past and no fresh treaties or engagements have been entered into between the Holkar Government on the one part and the Government of India on the other, to make such approval and sanction necessary now. The Government of India can send their representative to His Highness' Darbar, to convey to His Highness the congratulations of the Government of India and their formal recognition of his accession to the *gadi*.

In India certain religious ceremonies form the most important and vital part of the whole ceremony of accession to the *gadi* or *rajyabhishek*. These may be briefly described as follows :—

The new monarch after being anointed performs his ablutions with one thousand *gharas* of water brought from all sides of his capital. The waters

of the sacred rivers like the Ganges are also used. After his ablutions the Sovereign adorns himself in his regal robes and proceeds to the Darbar where the ceremonies of *Tilak*, *Abhishek* and *Mantrakshat* are performed. The *Tilak* is marked by all the privileged persons in succession, the *Abhishek* and *Mantrakshat* being performed by the State High Priest. At the time of the accession of His late Highness Maharaja Shivaji Rao Holkar to the *gadi* in 1886, the ceremonies in connection with the accession commenced with a religious service. The new Prince and the members of his family were for some time engaged in *puja*. From the family temple the Prince was conducted by the male members of his family and the priests who had officiated at the preliminary ceremony to the chief Darbar Hall of the Palace. At the entrance to the Darbar Hall the new Maharaja was received by the hereditary Grand Diwan and other chief nobles and was conducted by them to a place in front of the *gadi*. Here the Maharaja repeated some sacred passages and then he was taken five times round the *gadi* on which he was placed by the hereditary Grand Diwan after the fifth round was completed. This was the signal for the people in the Hall to approach His Highness and to shower on him real flowers and flowers of gold. After this the Brahmins offered cocoanuts and others presented *nazars*. This brought the ceremony to an end. Eight days afterwards a Darbar was held at which Sir Lepel Griffin was present. He was received by the Maharaja at the entrance of the Hall and then both of them took seats on chairs. After this the Viceregal *kharita* was read and Sir Lepel addressed the Maharaja on the duties that awaited him. With the presentation of the Viceregal presents the function came to an end.

The installation to the *gadi* of the present Maharaja Holkar took place with exactly the same ceremonies—the only difference being that instead of the Maharaja being put on the *gadi* by the Grand Diwan he was placed on the *gadi* by his father, Maharaja Shivaji Rao.

Going further back we find that the same principle was followed, and given effect to at the time of the accession of Maharaja Hari Rao Holkar. The Government of India neither “confirmed” or “sanctioned” the succession, nor claimed that the “Darbar” was held by their representative. The following may be usefully quoted:—

- (1) *Kharita dated the 31st May 1834, from Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, to His Highness Maharaja Hari Rao Holkar.*

“Although I derive much gratification from the intelligence of Your Highness’s accession to the Government of Indore, I have delayed for some days to offer you my congratulations on that auspicious event in the hope of being able at the same time to notice the amelioration of the state of public affairs in that country consequent thereupon.

“God be praised that I have now learnt the glad tidings of a slight improvement having been effected in the condition of the Indore Territories. This has afforded me the greatest happiness and it rejoices me that I am able to address you in terms of congratulation. I pray that the Supreme Disposer of events may cause this auspicious change to be productive of happiness to yourself and your dependents and that the people committed to your charge may long enjoy the blessings of justice and protection under the shadow of your beneficent rule.

“Attention to the affairs of his Government is the paramount object of every wise Ruler. It has indeed become a proverb that ‘an hour occupied in dispensing justice is better than a year passed in devotion’. I feel the

firmest conviction that Your Highness keeping steadily in view your own temporal and eternal welfare, will, to the utmost of your power, relieve the distresses of your suffering people and will repair those manifold disorders which have been entailed upon the country by the irregularities of former Rulers. You may rely upon it that by exerting yourself for this virtuous purpose Your Highness will strengthen the bond of union and friendship between your own Government and that of the Honourable Company. That you will establish the strongest claim to my approbation and that you will best consult the welfare and prosperity of your own dominions.

"I beg you will believe me your sincere well-wisher and that you will gratify me occasionally with accounts of your health and happiness."

(2) *Translation of a Persian kharita from Lord Ellenborough to His Highness Maharaja Khande Rao Holkar on his accession to the Holkar gadi.*

"Maharaja Sahib, kind friend of the faithful always remain healthy. Your kind favour, the strengthener of friendship, referring to the heartrending event that is the demise of my friend Maharaja Sahib Maharaja Hari Rao Holkar Bahadur from this unstable world and the accession of your goodself on the *masnad* (Sovereign's seat of the State) occupied by the deceased Maharaja Sahib (living above in paradise) has been received. Primarily the heartrending news caused grief and sorrow unbounded but by knowing the glad tidings of your goodself's giving honour to Sovereign seat of the Indore State, pleasure and happiness came in view. God Almighty bless your goodself in your health and wealth and this installation be blessed. May the public in general and the subjects of the State and all other people remain contented and obliged to the good administration and righteous Government of your goodself. As a corollary to the gratitude of this greatest of the great kindness and unique gift from the Holy Almighty on your goodself, it is meet that your goodself should regard yourself as a cradle for the protection, preservation and peace of your people who are in trust as choicest materials from the High Providence and the determination of whose causes in a just way is incumbent on you for ever. Your goodself would always be attentive to discriminate and determine between good and evil and between friend and foe.

"It is hoped that your goodself would always regard this faithful friend to be the well-wisher of your personal welfare and well-wisher for the prosperity of your State. Please be giving me the pleasure of your letters of welfare. What more should I write?"

Going back still further it is found that in 1811 Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, who was a minor was placed on the *gadi* at Bhanpura by Maharani Tulsabai immediately after the death of his father Maharaja Jaswant Rao. His title was universally acknowledged. Raj Rana Zalim Singh of Kota came to Bhanpura in person to pay his homage to the new Maharaja. Maharaja Malhar Rao was succeeded by Maharaja Martand Rao, a child of about three years who was publicly installed by Maharani Gautambai in 1834 under the style and title of "Maharaja Martand Rao Holkar" the management of the State continuing as before under the direction of the Ma Sahiba.

At the investiture of His Highness the present Maharaja with ruling powers, a number of innovations were introduced that were resented both by His Highness and his subjects. That this occasion should have been taken for the introduction of these objectionable innovations is a matter for great regret, because the Prince could not at that time defend his rights and privileges as he would have done later on when he had had time to make himself well acquainted with the traditions of his house and the local customs of Indore.



On this occasion a programme of the ceremonies was drawn up by the Agent to the Governor-General in strict accordance with local precedents and was sent to the Minister for comments. He accepted the proposed programme, but it was subsequently revised. The revised programme contained important changes and innovations. On receipt of a copy of this revised programme the Minister was very greatly perturbed as these changes had been made without any explanation being given for the proposed departure from local custom and precedents. His Highness though a minor was greatly pained and upset. How keenly he felt on the subject may be gathered from the fact that, after receiving the news of these changes at the railway station as he was about to board the train for Bombay to meet Her Highness on her return from Europe, he at once decided to cancel his departure and remained at Indore to try to set things right.

His Highness and his Government entertained very strong feelings in the matter. One can't help feeling that their sentiments were not likely to be altered by the fact mentioned by the Government of India that similar precedents had been followed in other States. It is all the more so as the procedure was not followed on the occasion of the Investiture of His Highness's father, His late Highness Maharaja Shivaji Rao, and it is believed in any other States of Central India. From the local point of view there were strong grounds for avoiding a departure from precedents. This departure was regarded as a severe grievance by the nobles, officers and subjects of the State at the outset of the career of their young Ruler. The Minister put in an emphatic protest as the changes were objectionable not only because they adversely affected the rights and privileges of His Highness but also because they militated against the feelings of His Highness' subjects.

The Government of India have often made it clear that they consider the preparation of a uniform code of ceremonials a matter of difficulties and objections. They have said, "Not only does the practice differ in various parts of India but the rules followed at Darbars of the Viceroy himself are modified according to place and occasion at which and on which the ceremonies are held".

It is a matter for regret that, in spite of the above professions, the Government persisted in a form of ceremony unsupported by local traditions and precedents simply because similar ceremony had been performed in other parts of India.

The main points for protest were :—

- (1) The Darbar was considered to be the Agent to the Governor-General's Darbar and not that of His Highness.
- (2) His Highness was assigned the third place in the procession, the first being given to the Agent to the Governor-General and the second to the General Officer Commanding, Mhow.
- (3) The ceremony of conducting the Maharaja to a Chair representing the *gadi* in token of being formally invested.
- (4) The place assigned to the Peshwai Sardars in the procession from the Residency to the Darbar.

As regards the first point, it is interesting to note the procedure suggested in the memorandum regarding the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of Installation and Investiture Darbars in Native States, received with the Resident's letter No. 2424/305-16, dated the 18th September 1916.

This memorandum says :—

“ When His Excellency the Viceroy or the Head of a Local Government is present at an Installation Ceremony, the Darbar is held by him throughout, the *gadi* (or *masnad*) of the Prince or Chief being placed on the right of the seat occupied by the Viceroy, Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, as the case may be. When the Head of a Local Administration is present at an Installation ceremony the question whether the Darbar is held by him or not is decided in each case with reference to local custom.

“ When the Political Officer accredited to the State represents the British Government at the Installation, the Darbar is not held by him, and his seat is placed to the right of the *gadi* or *masnad*”.

The above quotation shows quite clearly that the Government of India wish to decide this question not on any sound principle but merely by the status of the officer who represents the Government of India at the function. That such a decision is entirely wrong and likely to cause much grief and anxiety to Rulers of Native States is a truth that cannot be doubted. It is maintained that any Darbar held on the occasion of an accession at Indore is purely the Darbar of His Highness irrespective of whether the Viceroy or the Agent to the Governor-General is present thereat to represent the Government of India. Such a function can in no way be regarded as the Darbar of the Viceroy or the Agent to the Governor-General, because the idea underlying the whole function is that the Prince having ascended the *gadi* the Government of India send their representative to the Court of Maharaja Holkar to offer their congratulations to the Maharaja on his accession and to convey their formal recognition of him as Ruler of the State. If the Darbar is regarded as the Viceroy's Darbar, it means that the Maharaja leaves his own territory and jurisdiction and goes to British territory for the ceremony. This principle once accepted is capable of much extension. In course of time it is conceivable that all Maharajas may be required to proceed to the Capital of the Indian Empire to undergo the ceremony of Investiture or Installation as the case may be, as it sometimes happens when they are to be invested with British Orders. What would be the effect of such a course on the feelings and sentiments of the subjects of the Princes concerned? Would they relish at all the performance of those ceremonies away from them and their homes? Would this course meet with the approbation of the peoples of India? There can be but one answer and that such a procedure could make those interested in the welfare of Indian States feel that the Government disregards their cherished ideas, traditions and customs. As regards the position given to the Maharaja in the procession, the Government of India have written as follows in reply to the protest :—

“ As regards the general arrangements of the procession, the Government of India observe that at Mysore, Patiala, and in Rajputana, the Viceroy and the Chief to be invested have taken the last positions in the procession without any objections, and have decided that the procedure laid down be adhered to”.

In view of the repeated declarations of the Government of India that one uniform procedure cannot be laid down for observance in all parts of India, His Highness feels that the decision of the Government of India in this case was not in accordance with established principles. The treaties and engagements that bind the Government of India and Maharaja Holkar give the Holkar State a dignity and political status peculiarly its own. Decisions affecting the rights and privileges of the Rulers of Indore cannot be influenced by consideration of what has or has not been done in the States of Mysore, Patiala, or any

other States. Such questions can be decided only by considering local traditions, precedents, and customs, and by a minute study of the terms of the treaties that bind the two Governments. Even apart from these general truths there remains the deplorable fact that the precedent of Mysore, Patiala and the Rajputana States quoted as applicable to Indore, was not followed herein so far that, whereas in Mysore, Patiala and the Rajputana States the Viceroy and the Ruler took the last place in the procession together, here at Indore his Highness was asked to occupy the third place.

The ceremony of conducting His Highness to a chair representing the *gadi* has been recognised by the Government of India to have been an error. Had this conclusion been arrived at earlier, His Highness and his subjects would have been saved much grief.

It is well known that at Indore the real Darbar is a *gadi* Darbar and that Chairs Darbars have not the same solemnity as the former, as the *gadi* at Indore is the throne of the Ruler. It would appear ridiculous in the eyes of those who understand Indore customs and ceremonial to make a chair represent the *gadi*. A *gadi* can never be approached by a person with shoes on, and it has to be saluted even when His Highness is not sitting on it, honours that are never paid and can never be paid to any chair.

Lastly the place assigned to the Peshwai Sardars in the procession from the Residency. As a matter of fact these Peshwai Sardars ought to have been allowed to return to the Darbar after conveying to the Agent to the Governor-General the invitation of His Highness to attend his Darbar. Instead of this being done, they were asked to keep their carriages behind those of the staff of the Agent to the Governor-General. After a great deal of correspondence, these four Sardars and officers were given the front seats in the second and third carriages of the procession. Considering the high social and official position of these gentlemen such treatment could not but be resented by the officers themselves and the Government of His Highness.

His Highness the Maharaja Holkar is fully prepared to honourably observe all the obligations that his ancestors accepted by the treaties entered into by them with the Government of India. He fully relies on the assurances repeatedly given in unmistakeable terms by His Majesty the King-Emperor and his august predecessors that the dignity, rights and privileges of the Indian Princes would be scrupulously respected by them. He trusts that the Government of India would always keep in view the noble spirit of His Majesty's words and never give cause to the Princes of India to feel that their dignity, honour or privileges are in jeopardy.

To sum up then :—

1. Accession to the *gadi* does not in the case of all States require either the approval, confirmation or sanction of the Government of India.
2. The Accession Darbar is the Darbar of the Ruler concerned and can in no case be regarded as the Darbar of the representative of the Government of India whatever his official status may be.
3. The rôle of the representative of the Government of India, if present at the Accession Darbar, is purely to convey the congratulations of the Government of India to the Prince concerned and their recognition of him as the Ruler of the State. The ceremony of fastening on the *sarpech* or sword or both and placing a necklace round the neck of the Ruler is an innovation and against the rite and customs of the State.

4. The investiture Darbar is an innovation and should be done away with. All that is required at the termination of the Minority Administration is the presence of the Members of the Minority Administration at the Darbar to be held by the Prince on his assumption of ruling powers. The political Officer, if connected with the Minority Administration may also be present.

No other ceremony is warranted by the customs of this State and its treaties with the British Government.

The question relating to the grant or assumption of ruling powers and restrictions placed on them are separate ones and consequently have not been dealt with in this Note.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.*

As regards this question, the views of the Government of India are given in memorandum setting forth the object of the proposals and stating the general principles with brief instructions as to procedure on which discussion is invited.

The clause (1) of the draft memorandum declares that every succession requires the sanction and approval of Government, and clause (2) is to the effect that such sanction and approval should be announced in a formal installation Darbar by a representative of the British Government.

The relationship between the British Government and the Native Princes and Chiefs is now, in most cases, more than a hundred years old, and so far there has been no difficulty in matters of succession in the ordinary course, but now as the question of formal approval and sanction by Government has been raised, it deserves special treatment and should be settled once for all before going into details of ceremonies.

It need not be said that the authority which the Rulers of States wield over their territories is inherent in them and the question of sanction now raised in the case of a son succeeding his father to the *gadi* seems quite a new notion to the Ruling Princes whose rights and obligations towards the Government are governed by treaties and other engagements. The message from the Supreme Power, as is announced on the occasion of the installation Darbars, is a mere formality of recognition of the new Ruler.

It must also be stated that when a Ruler dies, leaving sons, the eldest one by right of Primogeniture and the Hindu custom, is *ipso facto* his successor according to his inborn right for which no sanction or approval is required. It will be observed that as a *gadi* can never remain vacant, he is recognised and Raj-Tilak ceremony is performed according to the religious rights before the remains of the late Ruler are moved to the cremation ground. The installation Darbar is held to announce the breaking of mourning for the death of the late Ruler and the celebration of rejoicings for the accession of the new Ruler to the *gadi*.

The installation Darbar should always be held by the new Ruler at which he receives the representative of the Government as a guest of the State when he comes to congratulate him as the Ruler on behalf of Government.

Even in the case of a Ruler dying without a male issue, the adopted son who becomes the heir-apparent has the same right and status as the natural born son of a Ruler, because most of the States have right of adoption confirmed by Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria in the *sanad* of 1862 A. D. Such adoption is usually made in the life-time of a Chief or by his widow, Patwi Maharani, after his death.

After the above points are thoroughly discussed and settled, the remaining clauses as to details of ceremonies can be easily settled. As to the age at which a minor Ruler attains majority, it is clearly manifest from the past history, Hindu law and traditions of Indian States that the proper age for the performance of investiture ceremonies is 18 years, at which age it would be highly desirable that he should be associated with the administration of his State.

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*Minute by His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.*

In my opinion, the diversity of custom in connection with the procedure observed on the occasion of the installation and investiture of Ruling Princes and Chiefs can be cleared by adopting certain well-defined principles which may be made applicable to every case and thereby establishing uniformity of procedure on such occasions for all States.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.*

The Political Officers know beforehand who is heir to the *gadi*, and correspondence is always going on between them and the Government. What this correspondence should be is not a subject for discussion by the Princes and Chiefs.

Every State has its own precedents as to the ceremonial connected with installation. That precedent must be fully followed in respect to that State.

For an installation among us an auspicious date is found and fixed, and on it the installation ceremony is performed by the family priest and learned Brahmins with *Vedamantras* and strictly according to religion, and this is obligatory. For presenting Government's *kharita* and *khilat* the high officers come on the date which suits convenience and urgent duties, and then the Darbar is held. This procedure should be maintained and adhered to.

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**Item No. II of the Agenda.***Minute by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.*

1. The Provincial Insolvency Act (No. III of 1908) has been introduced in this State on the 15th of June 1910 subject to the immemorial customs, traditions and rights of the State.

2. There is no objection to agree to the terms contained in paragraph 2, page 8, of the Agenda provided that the State is allowed to make a like order (subject to proper safeguards) as the same right is being reserved by Government and that reciprocal protection as afforded to the State in respect of the property situated in British territory of a person who may be adjudged an insolvent by the State Courts. It is further submitted that the decrees and orders of the State regarding insolvents should be by a special provision made recognisable by the Courts in British India and the official assignees.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.*

The proposal in question is innocent from legal point of view, but the relations between Native States and British India are governed by International Jurisprudence. The laws in some of the Native States are far behind those of British India. So long as civil laws and procedure are not on the same level, much difficulty would be experienced in practical working of the theory. In liabilities of the sons for father's debts periods of limitation, registration and stamp checks and laws of mortgage and other transfers, the laws of British India and Native States are quite different. There would, however, be no harm if the property of the insolvent be attached on presentation of the order of the liquidation from British India, and *vice versa*, and then the matter may be decided in civil courts, as at present on its merits according to *Lex Fori*.

Both the suggestions made by the Government of India as regards adopting some form of insolvency procedure in Native States appear to be unsuited to local conditions.

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*Minute by His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.*

Before giving any opinion it would be necessary to make a careful and detailed study of the law in force on the subject in British India, and it will require time. Personally, however, I am inclined to think that, instead of extending the scope of civil law in the matter of exchange of offenders, it would be more agreeable to Darbars if attention were bestowed upon granting facilities to Native States in the matter of extradition of criminals and establishing the Indian Extradition Law on a basis of equal and perfect reciprocity between Government and the Darbars.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.*

If accused in cases of serious crimes are extradited, that is another thing. For if such offenders were not extradited authority would lose its force. The case of insolvents is quite different from this. In the first place, bankers and merchants lend money and allow credit after carefully ascertaining the security, and so they ought to do. In the second place, different States

have very different Civil Laws and business rules. In these matters, whatever rules may be in force in a particular State the same ought to continue there. A general agreement or law should not be made. Of course, if between two adjacent States or a State and British territory such cases frequently arise, and such agreement as is suggested is considered necessary and likely to give facility, those two might enter into an agreement themselves.

This matter is rather one to be settled between the Diwans of the States and the courts.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Jind.*

Really no adequate provision can be made in the law of British India or of the Indian States for the full realisation of the assets of the insolvent debtors until and unless the Government of India and the States co-operate in the matter.

To get hold of the full assets of an insolvent and to distribute them fairly and justly among all the creditors such co-operation is necessary. With this object in view I am quite willing to accept the suggestions mentioned in paragraph 2, although under the present arrangement in the administration of Civil Justice nothing more is done nor is expected of an Indian State by the Government, and *vice versa*, than the service of summons. But I am sorry, I find myself quite unable to give my support to the words "subject to proper safeguards" in paragraph 1(a). I am for entire reciprocity in the matter. These words imply that Courts in British India may sometimes refuse to recognise the adjudication order made by a Court in an Indian State.

If that is the intention, I think it may not ensure the dealing out of fair justice to the parties. In my opinion, the adjudication order of an Indian State Court ought to be recognised as such by the Insolvency Courts in British India having the same force as in that Indian State, and should not be open to any objection in the British Tribunal and *vice versa*.

Such arrangements will give full reciprocity.

I also endorse the view that if this procedure be introduced among the Indian States themselves it will be still more useful and effective.

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**Items Nos. III and IX of the Agenda.**

*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.*

In considering this question I should be excused for giving my views about Government Colleges for Chiefs.

My idea is that there should be three institutions for the education of minor Princes. They should attend them after they have done their elementary vernacular education, the first should teach anglo-vernacular standards I to III. It will be the English primary school for minor Princes. The second should take them from English standards IV to VII and the third should be a college for Princes for receiving higher and scientific education where subjects like agriculture and (practical and industrial) chemistry, political economy should be taught.

I make this suggestion now that the funds available for the Princes' College may be distributed among all these institutions and should not be spent on one institution only.

My object is that all Indian minor Princes should be educated together in the different institutions from beginning to end ; (2) that, as far as possible, boys nearly of the same age should be together in one school. After finishing their course in the English primary school, they should join the secondary school for standards IV to VII and their education should be finished in the Princes' College where they should learn scientific subjects, knowledge of which will be of use to them in their respective States. This education in science will be of service both to the heirs-apparent and second sons. During the rule of their fathers the former will be spending their time usefully in the further study of the scientific subjects learned at the College, and the latter will turn to useful account their scientific knowledge in helping to promote industries in their States. But to gain the end the schools and colleges must be well-manned and well-equipped. They should have efficient European teachers and must be provided with all the latest appliances of education. It is not that at present parents are unwilling to part with their boys. They have their education at heart and are ready to send them to colleges like the Deccan or Elphinstone College, or even to England and America. But they are not sent to our present Chiefs' Colleges. This is because these colleges are not properly equipped and manned. If they were manned by European masters and European boys of good family were admitted into them (which is another suggestion I would make), the minor Chiefs would be immensely benefitted. The present institutions at Rajkot, Ajmere and Indore will be of use and the question of the Delhi College may be taken up after these institutions are properly equipped and well-manned as suggested above.

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*Minute by His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch).*

Next about the Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi, my suggestion is to raise a Central College at Delhi, which would instruct the nobility from the earliest stage up to the highest possible and hence would attract the entire nobility of India. In this view the present four colleges become superfluous and ought to go. Now that Delhi is going to be the capital and headquarters of the Government of India, what more in the fitness of things than that the education of the nobility should be imparted in a college also to be located in Delhi. The advantages in such a step being taken are manifold, the foremost being



that the Government of India will have before its very eyes the future Rulers of the Indian States and thus will have more intimate contact of them, a result of which cannot fail to be of unmeasurable importance and effect on the well-being of both the Ruler as well as the ruled of every State.

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*Minute by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.*

The view of the State regarding this question can be conveniently laid before Government after examining the designs and plans in this connection. Nothing can be done about this for the present as the designs and plans are not now available for inspection.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.*

Mutual intimacy and affection between a Rajkumar and his State and subjects are as necessary as good education in him. Youth is already attained while in the existing Colleges, and a decent amount of education is also received there. Thereafter, it would be best for the Rajkumar to pass the greater part of his time in the State in understanding the causes of weal and woe of the people, and, by working with the Chief, or with the Administrative Head if he is himself a Minor Chief, acquire experience in the administration, which is the real education. Time passed at the Higher College while adding to their general knowledge will leave them so much less opportunity for this real and essential education. The growing to manhood mostly away from the State will gradually alienate them from their people; and it will prove irksome and a burden to them to be suddenly thrown among the people to take up the administration. There seems to be no necessity for a Higher College. At any rate it does not seem proper to hurry it at such a time. If and when after sufficiently long experience it is proved that the existing Colleges, which in themselves have cost considerable sums to establish them, have failed to attain the object, there will be time to consider the desirability of supplying the deficiency by creating another and a Higher College.

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# Item No. IV. of the Agenda.

## *Minute by His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch).*

As to the best form of a minority administration, my view is that it all depends upon the form of government prevailing at the commencement of the minority and during the lifetime of the previous Ruler. If that was strictly a personal rule then during minority *ipso facto* there is none to carry it on and we must necessarily have to devise some form, whatever the name it will be a small body with the voice of the majority prevailing. If on the other hand, the previous form of government was of this very type, there is no necessity to change it simply because the Ruler happened to be a minor. The nearest elderly relative of the minor (male or female) will step in as regent and the administration can very well go on—where there is neither of the above two forms but a rule with an advisory body of councillors whose advice was being followed by the late Ruler at his option, there the fact of minority would necessitate the introduction of an arrangement attended by the best safeguards. In the absence of the late Ruler's express wishes and although the nearest elderly relative (male or female) would step in as a regent, the situation is such that it is fraught with possibilities of mischief to the interests of the Ruler as well as the ruled. Hence it is very necessary that the Government of India should through the Political Officer accredited to the State take on itself the responsibility and burden of looking to the interests of the Ruler as well as the ruled by exercising an effective supervision.

However much we may be in favour of any of these modes of rule they do not possess the necessary attributes of stability and efficiency characteristic of wise and good Government, while history proves that the best form of government which has stood the test of time for a State is that which obtains with the British Nation. By the grace of Providence we have been brought into bondship with the said British people, and is it not to be wondered at that we should be taxing our brains about the form of government best suited to a minority when we have clearly the example of British art of government. It is but in the fitness of things that we should emulate them in this respect, knowing and feeling as we do that our fates and future are indissolubly connected with theirs.

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## *Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.*

There should be a Regency Council, the Dowager Ranee being the regent and in her absence some near relation, if available, or a hereditary Sardar or nobleman of the State. The wishes of the late Ruler, if he has left any in writing, should be respected. My natural father was Regent-in-Council at Kolhapur and his sympathetic administration was very highly appreciated by the Kolhapur people. They all remember it with gratitude. My suggestion is based on this experience.

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## *Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.*

The question before the Conference just now is whether during the minority of a Chief it is more desirable to have the administration conducted by a regent, where a suitable one was available, or by a Council presided over by

the Political Officer in political charge of the State ; and in the former case whether it is preferable that the regent should conduct the administration alone or by the help of a Council.

From the discussions of this morning I gather that nearly all the Chiefs present agree to the following points :—

- (a) It is more desirable to appoint a regent if a suitable person from amongst the nearest relations of the deceased Chief or out of the principal Sardars of the State was available.
- (b) The regent, if appointed, ought not to have unrestricted powers but should be assisted by a small Council, each member of which should hold a portfolio of a Department of Administration.
- (c) The Council should be recruited from amongst the Sardars and subjects of the State so long as fit persons were available. If fit persons were not available, experienced persons from British India might be appointed.
- (d) The question whether a suitable person fit to be appointed a regent or a member of the Council is or is not available must be decided by the Government of India. They ought to be the sole judge in these respects. As trustees of the State, the Government of India ought to be responsible for good government during the minority.
- (e) In case a fit person is not available for being appointed a regent, the administration ought to be conducted by a Council presided over by the Political officer in political charge of the State.
- (f) The composition of the Council ought to be as much indigenous as possible. The Political officer should also have at least 12 years' experience behind him, and should have sufficiently long association with the State itself or at least with the province in which the State was situated.
- (g) In any case, in all questions of importance touching family matters or deviation from long established customs, rituals or ceremonials the opinion of the nearest members of the family of the deceased Prince must be taken in writing and fully considered before any decision is arrived at. Also, any question touching the finances of the State materially or involving any appreciable change in the existing form of government or of new fiscal and other laws ought to be referred to the nearest relations of the deceased Chief and also to his brother Chiefs of the province, preferably those who are his relations or personal friends, and their opinion fully considered before the measure was carried out.

The opinion of Chiefs may be taken again about the points mentioned above and the Resolution accordingly passed.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaj of Datia.*

One has to go through the rules, expressed or implied, that have been more or less in force in carrying on administration of Native State during the minority of their Rulers to be convinced that the good faith of the Supreme Government in their endeavours to do their best for the good of the people of the State

the Ruling family and the minor Prince, has never been anything but unexceptionable. Mistakes may have occurred, as they do in every administration, but the *bona fides* of the Political Officers in charge of the administrations have always been unquestionable. The memorandum, however, now forming the subject of discussion removes all misgivings on the subject, if any have been entertained in any quarter.

2. The heading of the memorandum stating that the principles thereof are to be observed in the case of the larger States of Rajputana and Central India, has created a fresh and, in my opinion, not altogether unnecessary misgiving or suspicion in the minds of some Ruling Princes and Chiefs, since in the absence of the word 'larger' being properly and fully defined, no Ruler's mind would be at ease as to whether his State will, after his death, fall under the category of this ruling or not.

3. Government have been pleased to reserve, and rightly, the power of relaxing the principles laid down, in special cases where their strict application may be considered inappropriate; this reservation is quite sufficient to meet the difficulties that may crop up in any case and in any State, whether it be big or small; and as the general principles of administration are almost uniform in at least a group of States in each province, there seems to be not the least necessity of favouring the larger States with the assurance conveyed by the memorandum and leaving the smaller States to share worse or better fate now known to the Ruler or its people. Most of these States, though small in extent, have played no mean part in the history of the country and the Rulers of which can trace their descent from families in no way inferior to those of the larger States and who, together with their people, have never been a whit behind in their loyalty to the Sacred Person and Throne of His Imperial Majesty, and are always ready to sacrifice all and everything in the cause of the Empire. This reservation is, therefore, in my opinion, unnecessary and uncalled for, and the principles under discussion may be applied to all States, whether large or small, the Rulers of which possess independent ruling powers.

4. The principles of administration laid down for the guidance of the Political Officers and Darbars in rules 1 to 15 in the memorandum contain all that foresight and experience can suggest except the question of the appointment of a regent, the consideration of which has now been suggested in the Agenda. The question is an important one and cannot be treated on an uniform basis, since owing to the strict *pardah* system still observed in Rajputana and the Rajput States in Central India, almost insurmountable difficulties would be encountered in associating any of the Palace ladies with the administration of the State, but this is no reason why no trial should be given in States where the *pardah* system has been sufficiently relaxed to admit of the administrator coming in direct contact with the regent whenever that is needed. In the cases of a male member being appointed, no difficulty need be anticipated. The powers of a regent may, however, vary according to her or his administrative abilities, but there can be no difference of opinion that her or his advice in all matters of domestic occurrences, the observance of customs, usages and ceremonials, the minor Ruler's education, marriage, etc., will be of utmost importance, and above all the administration will be shorn of the tinge of foreign authority which rightly or wrongly is generally resented. In the appointment of the regent the wishes of the late Chief, if any left on record, may be respected and in their absence the appointment may be made with the opinion of the majority consisting of the Palace ladies concerned and the leading nobility of the State, so that the administrative machinery can have at its back the unanimous support of the Chief's household and his nobility.

5. I may also take the liberty of mentioning, though any mention is hardly needed, that the administration, in whatever shape or form it may be, will be personal, the dangers of which can only be avoided and the benefits consequent thereon reaped by appointing officers of special training and experience whose local knowledge of men and things, acquaintance of people, broad sympathy with the aims and aspirations of those committed to their care, and whose tried aptitude for ruling a Native State will secure its progress and prosperity. This precautionary measure when taken, will, I am sure, banish the necessity of tightly tying up an officer's hands in the details of administration, since it is an admitted fact, that unless the man on the spot is trusted, and given a fairly free hand in his work, he cannot be expected to work with that zeal, vigour, and energy, with which a Political Officer generally identifies himself with the interests of the administration and carries it through ; moreover, the absence of red tape in the administration of Native States is one of the elements contributing to its success, and its introduction should be avoided as far as possible. Another important point in this connection is the necessity of avoiding the changes and transfers of Political Officers in charge of minority administrations, since such changes, if constant, tell seriously upon its efficacy.

6. We must all be grateful to Government for its assurance of keeping its mind open to consider separately requests by individual Ruling Princes and Chiefs regarding any special principles which they may wish to be adopted in the case of their States or families, but it would, in my opinion, be more assuring if the request made from any quarter is acknowledged and after discussion assurance is given of its being acted upon when the time comes. By this I do not mean that the Government as Trustees must accept a policy that would, on the face of it, appear prejudicial to the interests of the future Ruler or his people, nor would, I think, such request ever be made, but there are often in Native States, small or big, matters which appear to the then Ruler to be of some importance to the welfare of his people or family and the continuity of the present policy regarding which he would insist upon, and so an assurance given on the subject would ease his mind and would contribute, not in a small degree, to his happiness in the last moments of his existence.

7. These are the few suggestions which I make bold to put forward for the consideration of the meeting, and they may be taken for what they are worth.

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*Minute by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.*

The administration of the State during the minority of a Prince, should in general be entrusted to the experienced, honest and able officers of the State who may have been found to have had the interest of the State at their hearts at the time of the previous Ruler, subject to the general control of the Resident or other Political Officers accredited to the State as the case may be.

It is a long-established custom to include the names of the mother or other near relatives of the minor in the Council of the officers entrusted with the charge of the State administration and to take their advice in all important matters. It is submitted that this is a very good custom, and due consideration should be shown to it at the time of formulating a scheme for the minority administration.

*Minute by His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.*

The best and the most appropriate guardian of the person and interest of the Ruler and the dignity and traditions of the State during minority is the widow of the late Ruler and mother of the minor, where one is alive.

As to the executive and administrative Government during the period, the best mode is to carry on the Government on the lines laid down by the previous Ruler, this can be done by the formal institution and formation of a Council consisting of responsible Sardars (whose interests do not clash against those of the State) and high local officials and prominent and intelligent citizens who have served under the late Ruler and won his confidence. The nearest relations of the Ruler, if one is available, and who is not disliked by the members of the Ruling family should be made a regent, failing which a suitable upright local person, as far as possible, versed in matters of administration and who can have weight upon the public should be appointed regent to carry on the administration under the eye of the Political Officer.

As soon as the minor arrives at an age when he can understand his interest, the best course would be to associate him with the Regent or President of the Regency Council.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.*

It would be best to have a Diwan or Superintendent who should be a native of the State, and over him a Council of three members consisting of the Political Officer and two neighbouring Chiefs whose successful administration of their own States is admitted, and who are known to have been on good terms with the late Chief. The Council should have the right to delegate such of its powers to the Diwan or the Superintendent as it may think fit, and to withdraw them when it considers it no longer necessary.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Jind.*

The most suitable form of administration to be adopted in an Indian State during the minority of its Ruler seems to me to be a Council of Regency, which should consist of the old and trusted ministers of the particular State, as is done in the case of Phulkian States in accordance with the decision arrived at in 1850 (*vide* page 175 of Aitchison's Treaties, 4th Edition, Volume VIII). This form of administration has proved quite successful in the case of my State and other Punjab States. The Council should, of course, take advice from the Political Agent in important matters.

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*Minute by His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.*

The best form of administration for a Native State during the minority of its Ruler would be that of a Council of Regency consisting of at least four experienced members, two of whom may be outsiders, while the remaining must be residents of the State. The old traditions of the State and the policy of the late Chief and the mode in which he carried on the administration would, as far as possible, be followed by the Council of Regency. Any new scheme which may involve large expenditure of money, or modification of old treaties and customs, should not be taken in hand during the minority of the Ruler.

*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Indore.*

The question of the administration of a State during a minority has already been considered by the Ruling Princes and the Government of India and certain definite principles have been laid down for future guidance. In view, however, of the diversity of opinions that have been expressed by the Princes who were consulted, no general rule applicable to all the States has been formulated, nor has a fixed policy been declared by the Government of India on the question of the form of administration which should be adopted during a minority, *e.g.*—

- (1) whether the administration should be conducted by a Regent where one is available, either alone or assisted by a Council, or
- (2) whether the administration should be that of a Council presided over by the Political Officer accredited to that State,

and this is one of the points which the Ruling Princes have now to discuss and decide. To deal adequately with a question which presents so many difficulties and is so complex, it is very necessary to have a clear conception of the unique and important position which the Ruling Princes occupy in their relations with the Government of India in particular and the British Empire as a whole. Although the variety and diversity of circumstances of the various States may preclude the possibility of formulating a set of hard and fast rules regulating the relations between the Government of India and the Indian States as a whole, yet most of the important Ruling Princes have one common right which forms a basis on which it is possible to build up a policy common to them, *viz.*, the absolute right to administer the internal affairs of their States. This right is one of the attributes of sovereignty which is ensured by their treaties and engagements with the British Government. The Indian Princes naturally and rightfully cling tenaciously to this right on which their very existence as Independent Rulers depends. In the treaties which have been concluded with the Ruling Princes a solemn undertaking has been given that there shall be no interference in the internal affairs of their States, and this undertaking has received further guarantee from the famous Proclamation of 1858 and from the Parliamentary Statute which accepted as binding the obligations entered into by the East India Company. Yet of late the tendency to interfere with the internal affairs of States has been observed. Whatever the causes which have led to the gradual encroachment upon the recognised rights and privileges of the Ruling Princes, the remedy is not difficult to seek, if they will but conjointly ask the Government of India for it, with a clear knowledge of their rights and obligations and sincere desire and determination to accept their responsibilities in full. The Government of India will, if assured of their sincerity of purpose, undoubtedly give them every encouragement to administer their own affairs and thus maintain the position of Sovereign Princes with absolute rights. This leads up to the question now under consideration, *viz.*, the actual form of administration during a minority, and there can be no doubt that the form which will be most acceptable to the Rulers is that of a regent either alone or assisted by a Council of local Sardars and officials, without any interference on the part of the Political Officer.

The administration of a State during a minority is essentially an internal affair of the State, and any interference by the Government of India in the local machinery of administration would be an unwarranted infringement of the recognised treaty rights of the State. The methods of administration which are based on the traditions of the State are well adapted to the needs and requirements of the State and its people. It would be impolitic to introduce any changes in the established system to which the Prince and the people

have been accustomed. The loyalty of the people to their Ruler is personal and is, to a large extent, built up on the established traditions, customs and usages of the State handed down from father to son for generations. Any sudden or drastic changes in the established system must, therefore, of necessity be inexplicable and entirely disconcerting to the people, and if persisted it must inevitably react on their allegiance and loyalty to the Prince. In the natural course all reforms should emanate from within the State and grow up in harmony with local traditions. The authority and control exercised by the Ruler over his subjects would practically cease to exist if the administration of the State were run entirely on non-indigenous ideas and methods, and by men imported from outside during the minority, without local experience or knowledge, and devoid of sympathy with local sentiment. The inevitable result would be that from his present position of strength and independence the Ruler would fall to the level of the ordinary aristocracy.

The alternative of placing the Political Officer to preside over the Council practically means taking over the State by the Government of India, and, however beneficial such a form of administration may be from a material point of view it would be distasteful to the people, who would be suspicious and misjudge the real intention of the Government of India. Local traditions and customs which interfere with the preconceived ideas of reform held by the Political Officers are ruthlessly swept away. The Councillors are as a rule foreigners and mere figure-heads who respond all too readily to political baton, while the Political Officer in his zeal and anxiety to accomplish as much as possible during his tenure of office tries to rush reforms through and attempts to do in a day what should be spread over a year. It is however unnecessary and can serve no useful purpose to attempt a detailed criticism of the advantages and disadvantages of such a form of administration. Events are now moving rapidly, and the Rulers of the State realise that if they are to move with the times and fulfil the high obligations of their exalted position, they must bestir themselves and work in unity for the preservation of their ancient rights and the common weal of their State. To this end they must have full and complete latitude in the administration of their internal affairs, and there must be no interference in the full exercise of their treaty rights and prerogatives.

For the reasons enumerated above, the best form of administration during minority is to have the Dowager Maharani as regent assisted by a Council of local Sardars and officers. In her absence any other relative of the Ruler or an Officer or Sardar nominated by the late Ruler may be appointed regent. In case a Council existed at the time of the demise of the late Ruler, the same members should continue. Appointments to and dismissal from the Council will be made by the regent with the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy. In important matters, the advice of brother Princes, who may have been specially mentioned by the late Ruler in the instructions left by him for the administration of his State, should be obtained by the regent and given due consideration.



**Item No. V of the Agenda.**

*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.*

As regards the education of the minor Prince or Chief, I think he should receive his primary education in the State under a fully qualified and experienced native tutor, who has knowledge of English, Hindi and Urdu, until he attains the age of 13 or 14. In the selection of a tutor, I would urge the advisability of appointing one of the same faith as the Chief's family. He should not only initiate him into the rudiments of knowledge but inculcate in him the necessity of observing the religious practices followed by his ancestors. He should also, from time to time, point out to his pupil the incalculable benefits of peace, security and progress conferred upon the Ruling Princes by the Paramount Power and also his obligations to the Supreme Government, and his duty towards his own community and his subjects. The impression imbibed during the early years of a child are never effaced, and I believe, if the tutor will instil in him such ideas as I have referred to above, the Prince or Chief will turn out a loyal feudatory of the British Crown and a just Ruler of his subjects.

*Chiefs' College.*—After he has attained the age of 13 or 14, he should be sent with the consent of his mother or in her absence the Chiefs' nearest relations or the minister, to one of the Chiefs' Colleges for his education.

*Cadet Corps.*—In my opinion a course in the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun, is essential for the all-round education of a minor Prince or Chief, as it gives the requisite military training to him, who would not only be at the head of the Civil Administration of the State he belongs to, but also be the Commander-in-Chief of his army. It is for this reason that I advocate a course of study at Dehra Dun. The minor Prince or Chief, if he comes from one of the larger States, should be allowed to bring with him retinue commensurate with his dignity and to stay in a separate house with his guardian, tutor and his servants. I believe the only objection to this procedure is that it would be rather expensive to the State concerned, but I think it will not be a heavy drain on the State's treasury. In the case of Chiefs coming from small principalities who will remain in the boarding house attached to the College, common messing should not be insisted on, if any of them wish to conform to orthodox rules and board separately.

*Physical Education.*—I have not touched on the subject of physical education as the matter has received the careful attention of the Councils of Chiefs' Colleges in India and the course includes almost everything necessary for the development of the boys' physique. I have observed with satisfaction that those of the young Princes who have had the benefit of a training in one of the Chiefs' Colleges, are active in their habits and have turned out generally good sportsmen.

*Administrative training.*—I think it will be a great advantage if the Chief were given opportunities to work with the Regency Council with a view to his getting an insight into the administration, whenever he returns to his capital to enjoy his vacations. After having served his probation for some time in this manner, he should be given powers to dispose of petty Judicial and Revenue cases independently.

*Indian tour.*—I deem it advisable that the minor Chief before he attains his majority and after completing his collegiate education and his special training at the Imperial Cadet Corps, should make an extended tour in India under the guidance of his guardian and tutor, with a view to supplement his knowledge of men, their manners, customs and their institutions. Such of the Princes as

can afford it, should travel in State and should have a suitable retinue and be accompanied by the Political Officer. In the case of small States the above may be modified according to the special circumstances of the case. The Native States of India should claim his special attention and he should study the principle on which the administration of Native States is conducted, so that when he comes of age and finds opportunity to administer his own State, he may utilise the experience thus gained.

I also beg to point out the inadvisability of sending the minor Prince or Chief out on a European tour until such time as his marriage has not taken place and he has had experience of administering his own State for a couple of years or so. It is probable that a European tour at such an impressionable age, when he lacks proper judgment, may be detrimental to himself and his State, in this way that the higher civilization of the West and the progress of Science and Arts and great commercial undertakings, may turn his head and he may on his return to his capital, engage himself in costly experiments which are not only unsuitable but unprofitable owing to cheap labour available in this country and therefore doomed to failure. The European tour may at this age do harm in another way. The minor Prince or Chief may grow up to entertain a dislike for his State and visit Europe every year, and thus engender corruption and maladministration of every kind owing to absentee landlordism, and burden to the State with debts due to extravagant expenditure unavoidable on a foreign tour.

*Religion.*—The Government of India should also see that the Prince or Chief conforms to his ancestral religion and observes the practices enjoined by it during the period of minority. The Ruling Chief may, on his attaining majority, if he chooses, subscribe to some other faith, but as long as he is a minor he must remain true to his ancestral faith. The practice of appointing a European guardian to a minor Prince or Chief is of doubtful utility and, I believe, it is subversive of the principles enunciated above, since, however able and conscientious an officer he may be, he is not supposed to be fully acquainted with the manners and customs of the State. The constant companionship of a European officer, while keeping the young Prince or Chief truthful, manly and straightforward engenders in him not only loss of faith in the religious practices of his ancestors, but makes him sceptical of the very doctrines of the religion, a result deplorable in the extreme.

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*Minute by His Highness the Raja of Dhar.*

As for question V in the Agenda I wish to state my views as briefly as possible. The question under discussion is most important, as it affects not only the future of the Chiefs themselves but also the future of their States and so of India, and perhaps I may add of the British Empire even.

It is I think a recognised fact that the form of administration in the East must for many years to come depend, as in the past, on the personal rôle played by the Chief in the administration of his State. But with the advance of the times the Chiefs will have to make themselves fit for the greater responsibilities which will fall on them and a day may not be distant when some of them may even be given opportunities of serving the Empire directly though no doubt this will depend upon individual ability. Therefore, their education must be such as to enable them to meet these large responsibilities and heavier burdens. Every member of this august assembly is fully alive to the fact that the responsibility of imparting the best general education and administrative and moral training during the period of minority lies ultimately with Government,

who, I can say from my own personal experience, never leave a single stone unturned in the discharge of this sacred duty. Perhaps the Government may not have been able to turn out many platform-speakers amongst us, but we have every reason to know that they have succeeded in producing many practical administrators who have not failed, I am proud to say, to give demonstration of their abilities and administrative capacities in the cause of our Mighty Empire at this particular juncture when it is fighting for righteousness the greatest war that the world has ever known.

All the Chiefs now take a more direct share in the responsibilities of the administration of their State than they used to do before. But times are advancing and their subjects no longer worship them as superior beings who can do no wrong, but look to them for the promotion and protection of their interests and welfare along the modern lines they see in neighbouring British India. In short, they will not remain content to let their interest be focussed through the medium of officialdom, but want their Chiefs to look into affairs for themselves. In the present age the position of a Chief is not that of a bed of roses and the fulfilment of his lofty duties by the successful running of the administrative machinery when entrusted with the reins of the administration at the age of 21 presents us with a very difficult problem in the imparting to him of fitting education and administrative training before that age. By this I do not mean to advocate in the least the raising of the age for investing minor Chiefs with ruling powers. In this connection I may be allowed to point out that even a member of the Indian Civil Service at that age of 21, however clever he might be or, however brilliant his career might have been, is not entrusted with an independent charge when he first joins the service, nor until he has had a grounding for years in routine under many an experienced superior and is able to hack out a path for himself to an independent charge. I do not, however, deny that exceptions may be found to this rule, and I venture to say that some Chiefs might make a name at that age, but such cases will be rare.

Before attempting to outline any scheme for education and administrative and moral training for minor Chiefs, a subject of increasing magnitude and complexity, it must be presumed that the Ruling Chiefs of the modern times who have received the advantage of a Western education, have had sufficient practical experience of administration, and are fully alive to the supreme importance of sound education, will have left nothing undone before they lay down the reins of administration, to provide their heirs with adequate means for a proper education, at the same time chalking out the lines on which their training should continue until they attain majority.

I would now venture to lay before the august assembly the following suggestions with regard to the education and administrative and moral training. In my humble opinion there should be two periods or stages in the education of a young Chief.

In his very early years he should be brought up where proper arrangements can be made for it without making him too much of a home bird and where there is no danger of his coming in contact with bad associates. He should then receive the best all-round general education possible, an education which will enable him to grasp, later on, all the essential points of administration. He does not require to be a specialist in one subject, but he must have the power of sifting a proposal, of setting aside the excess of zeal a minister may show in pushing the needs of his particular department, so as to give each branch its due share, and he must also be alive to the changes in the administrative atmosphere and able to control and direct the stream of new ideas, so that it does not overwhelm him and his State.

His further or higher education must consist of administrative training, giving him an insight into different branches of administration, and travelling should also form a part of the programme for such training. But such travelling should be for the opening up of his mind, the broadening of his ideas, and to teach him the different principles of administration adopted in various States and in British India, and to enable him to assimilate modern means and methods. It must not consist of mere pleasure-trips, which, I fear, are generally resorted to at present. How far the spending of a portion of the period of his training in Europe will be successful is yet a question to be decided. I personally think travel to Europe and other countries outside India should be left to the option of the Chief after he attains his majority and is entrusted with the reins of Government and after he has settled down in his State.

But for all purposes it is essential that a minor Chief should have much time at his disposal to acquaint himself with practical administration and to study local conditions in his own State. I entirely agreed with my esteemed friend, the Maharaja of Bikaner, when he said in his note at the Conference held in March 1914 on the Higher Chiefs' College that "It will not be sufficient in itself to enable a Ruling Chief or even a Sardar of a particular State to take up administrative work in earnest after he leaves such an institution. The land revenue, finance and the various other technical branches of the administration will hardly be found to be the same in any two States. It might, therefore, be taken as certain that after finishing off their education on the lines suggested, such boys, and especially young Ruling Chiefs, will certainly have to have special training in the various branches in their own States". His Highness is also perfectly right in observing that, apart from practical administrative training, the main essential qualification is that such a Ruling Chief should in these days have a thorough and sound knowledge of English so that he can deal with all the work that he will have to do in English, including recording his orders and writing important notes and minutes, etc. Such administrative training should, I consider, be given in the Chief's own home under the guidance of able Political or Educational Officers whom the majority of the States can well afford to employ. As I am convinced that administration cannot be effectively taught in schools and colleges, and far more is learnt in the administrative atmosphere of the State in a few months than in years of book and theory study in school and college, the foundation on which such knowledge is built is a sound general education. I would, however, urge that young Englishmen coming straight from England should not be appointed as guardians to young Chiefs, as the appointment of such an officer who has no experience or knowledge of the peculiar conditions of Indian States can hardly be of much help to the Chief.

I would also suggest that, along with a European guardian, there should always be an Indian guardian, preferably one from amongst the local Sardars through whose medium touch will be kept with the customs and traditions of the State. I am sure there will not be any difficulty in finding a Sardar for this responsible trust, since the education of the Chiefs and the aristocracy is now going on hand in hand. It is very essential that a young Chief be brought up in his own State and amongst his own people and never be kept aloof from the State under the charge of European guardians or brought up with no local man to look after him. For, in the former case, he not only absolutely loses touch with his State but he even becomes estranged from the members of his own family. The Chief has to spend all his life in his State and this sort of gross ignorance of the State and its people can never be conducive to good and I view this practice with great suspicion. Here the argument may be advanced of the likelihood of the undesirable local atmosphere, and that

such a thing does exist, I regret, must be admitted, which may vitiate the healthy formation of the character of the young Chief. But if, as I propose, the guardian and Political Agent are men of experience and tact they will always be careful to keep the Chief out of the reach of those undesirable influences. If the Chief is thus brought up in a healthy atmosphere and so taught to distinguish the desirable from the undesirable from the very beginning there is little danger of his going astray. As for myself, I would insist on the Political Officer in charge of the State being made primarily responsible for the bringing up of the young Chief in general, no matter how experienced a tutor or guardian may be in charge of the actual education of the young ward. It is the training and the constant association with an experienced Political Officer that will give him real insight into the affairs of his State during his future career. By this arrangement I believe that a young Chief will be so thoroughly grounded in the routine of good administration that matters administrative will not, later on, dazzle his eyes, but on the contrary he will be able to look calmly at them and treat them as familiar questions to which he has been accustomed during the whole of his education, to be dealt with when the time comes.

The next difficulty is in providing a proper and experienced chief adviser such as a Diwan, Secretary, or Councillor whatever his name, to guide a young Chief in matters of administration after he gets his powers, and to see that the Chief grasps the situation himself on right lines and follows the proper path. He must not keep the power in his own hands and leave the young Chief in ignorance. I well remember once reading the speeches of my esteemed friends, the Hon'ble Mr. Bosanquet and the Hon'ble Sir Elliot Colvin, in which they, too, entertained the same view to a certain extent and laid great stress in their respective speeches at the time of the investiture of Chiefs with full Ruling powers, on making a careful selection of officers for high posts in the State. The surest means for the young Chief to make a name on the threshold of his career is to have near him men of liberal and straightforward ideas. This is one of the ways by which young Chiefs can save themselves from getting into many a pitfall. The young Chief can with advantage often appoint the Superintendent of the minority administration to be his first Diwan, if there exists a good understanding between him and that official. If a necessity for a change is clearly indicated it would be best to make it, say, a year or so before powers are granted, the young Chief being during that time closely associated with the new Minister and having his Political Agent still by him to advise, for frequent change of this highest adviser is more harmful than useful to the progress of the State, and I will even go to the extent of asserting that a change of Diwans should as far as possible be discouraged until the Chief has a full grasp of the affairs of his State.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.*

The education of the sons of Rulers should be entirely in their hands. There should be no interference, direct or indirect, from outside. If the Rulers are considered fit to administer their States, they should be trusted to look after the education of their sons. Any interference against the wishes of the Rulers does more harm than good. If there be such interference, the Rulers will try to counteract it and in this tussle, the education of the minors is sure to suffer.

When the minor Chief is under the guardianship of Government, the latter no doubt takes every possible care of his education. But in this respect there are certain things which are apt to be lost sight of. The minor is sometimes removed altogether from his State and is handed over out and out to a European lady or gentleman. When he is thus brought up from his childhood, he has no respect for his religion, manners and customs. He has no sympathy with ways of life of his people. He dislikes their food, their manners, their way of living and everything about them. This is not at all desirable. He must now and then come in contact with his family, his relations and subjects, and know from childhood the traditions of the family and State and the manners and customs of the people.

The course of studies should be settled by a committee of three educationists, two Europeans and one Indian, of experience in teaching Indian boys. Their tutors also should be men having a similar experience. This is very necessary as teaching English boys is quite different to teaching Indian boys, whose mother tongue is not English. Military and civil officers have no experience of the art of teaching and cannot be expected to understand how to teach Indian boys. They may prove good companions after the boys are of full age.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.*

The early training of a minor must necessarily be conducted at home.

In providing this, due regard should in my opinion be had to the following points :—

1. A guardian or a tutor should be selected and appointed after a careful sifting. He should possess the following necessary qualifications :—

- (a) Previous successful experience of looking after boys of tender age.
- (b) He must be of good birth, well educated and of approved ideas from the points of view of the minor's parents and failing any instructions from the parents, according to the traditions of the house.
- (c) He must possess an exemplary moral character and must be of sober habits and of affable nature.
- (d) Preferably of fairly advanced age.
- (e) Interested in sports but not addicted to them to the extent of making them a vice.
- (f) A self-respecting man and one of independent views and strong character not easily influenced by intrigue or party feelings but at the same time deeply loyal in spirit, thoughts and actions.

2. While of tender age, and where possible, a good governess might come useful for a short time.

3. Playmates must be provided but very great care and discretion should be employed in their selection. Associations with the menial class should be altogether avoided.

4. Care should be taken not to allow the minor to be in the company of young boys in the absence of the guardian.

5. Servants and attendants should be carefully selected, and as far as possible elderly persons of proved character and habits should alone be employed.

Superfluous number of servants should not be allowed.

6. The physical and the intellectual culture should go hand in hand. One should not be developed at the expense of the other.

7. There should be a moral and religious teacher, whose duty it should be to impart necessary knowledge and instructions to the boy and to see in his every day life that the same are duly practised and observed so as to become a part of the boy's nature. The selection of such a teacher, extremely important as it is, should be made with great care. Religious teaching should be imparted in a congenial manner and should not be overdone so as to produce a feeling of repulsion and dislike towards it in the boy, nor should it tend to make him bigoted.

II. The above applies to *minor* Rulers. The case of the smaller Chiefs would necessarily be different but the principles to be observed in this connection should be the same. After a minor has attained an age when he can be sent to a Chiefs' school he must be allowed to attend it in order to have some experience of a public school life but even so, great care must be taken by the guardian that he does not contract evil influences or undesirable company. In the case of would-be Rulers the minor need not be sent to school till such advanced age when he has developed a character and can resist the temptation, under proper supervision and guidance, of the evil associations at a school.

It is, in my humble opinion, a mistake to send minors to Europe at an early age for education at a public school. For a visit to Europe either for purposes of completing higher education or for generally widening their angle of vision, it would be much more preferable to let them do so after they have grown to form their character, realise their relations at home and their responsibilities to their would-be charge and their motherland. They might with advantage take a tour to Europe or other foreign countries a few years after assuming powers. It is extremely important that young boys should be made to develop in them a sympathy for their people, sense of duty and responsibility to all classes of humanity whose care Providence has placed in their charge, and above all their duty to themselves and God.

The education and moral training of boys at the existing Chiefs' Schools and Colleges fall short of the expectations and if these institutions are to continue with any hope of success and good results, it will be necessary to introduce suitable reform and improvements.

Character is the one important element in the training of a young Prince or Chief and this is always formed in tender age. Hence, the extreme importance of this question about which guardians cannot be too careful. The guardians must not crush the spirit in the young boy. They should not drive but lead the boy and develop him on the lines best suited to his natural temperament.

In the case of Ruling Princes and Chiefs, mere literary education and training in sports cannot be looked upon as the goal of perfection. It is education intellectual, moral and physical, coupled with administrative training properly imparted that can be considered to form his proper bringing up. As soon as a minor has completed his course of education up to a standard of efficiency as laid down above, whether it be at a school or by private tuition, and is of a sound age, say, 16 years, he should be taken through a course of regular training in all departments of administration either in his own State, if it can provide the same or in another Indian State where administration is efficient and its Ruler is inclined to take interest in the minor; or failing that,

in British districts, under special arrangements for following the general principles of administration in law, justice, revenue and finance, so that he may be able to develop upon them and apply them suitably to the government of his State.

Military training is also essential in case of Ruling Princes. The Cadet Corps has not been quite a success, and it appears essential to adopt measures to provide more satisfactory means towards the end ; and after His Majesty's gracious message there is every hope on this point.

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*Minute by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhore.*

The minor Princes under fifteen should be allowed to study their mother tongue in their own States under a properly qualified tutor. Side by side they should be taught riding and shooting during this period ; moral education should also be given to them in conformity with the religion of their birth.

2. Every minor Prince must also have a sufficient knowledge of English so as to enable him to read and write as well as to carry on a discussion in that language excellently. This qualification should be attained under the tutor and, if his guardians so desire, the minor may be permitted to study in the nearer Government high or middle schools if there be no high school in the State.

3. After finishing the high school education, the minor Princes may be allowed to join any Raj Kumar College in the vicinity according to the views of their guardians and then they may be asked to spend a few days in the proposed Delhi College for the higher education.

4. After finishing the above curriculum the Princes should take a round over India, visiting important States and places with a view to obtain the necessary administrative insight and, on the completion of their touring here, they may be permitted to visit Europe with the same object if his guardians have no objection to it.

5. It is submitted that no compulsion of any kind should be imposed on the States regarding the matter of sending their Princes to Europe.

6. After all this is accomplished, the Princes should be asked to study the working of the administration with the help and under the guidance of the experienced officers of the State. In fact this qualification should be made compulsory before investiture, as thereby all the Princes will be learned and able to carry on the administration of their States efficiently.

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*Minute by His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch).*

On the subject of the early bringing up of Ruling Princes, the main points to be provided for are (1) association, (2) studies. It is much to be regretted that the present Indian policy being what it is, the boyhood of the Rulers has too many temptations open to it and the absence of parents makes the situation still worse, hence it is very essential that the young Ruler is placed and brought up in safe and healthy surroundings. In the midst of the temptations and in the certainty that he is a Ruler, his studies are neglected and the consequences are more easily imagined than said. It is to remedy this that the four Raj Kumar Colleges came into being. I think that the young Prince should not



stop with the training received in a Raj Kumar College, and to have some knowledge of the round about world the young Prince must needs have foreign travel. Especially a tour and short sojourn amidst English life and country under proper supervision and safeguards.

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*Minute by His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla.*

The question of the education of minor Rulers, as also of all heirs-apparent of the Rulers, merits most careful consideration.

In my opinion, a minor Ruler, or an heir-apparent must be taught in his own home till he is about 6 years of age. At the end of that period he should be sent to one of the institutions specially provided for the training of Indian Princes. At such an institution he must not be kept for more than 5 years, during which period he may be given sound knowledge of English and general subjects as would lay for him the foundation for a course of training in Europe. He must be sent to Europe at an age of not more than 11 or 12 years and should be kept there for at least 5 or 6 years. I consider that Europe with its very enlightened atmosphere and associations is a very suitable place for the higher education of the Princes.

After a minor Ruler or heir-apparent has finished his course of training as above he must be given military training. It would be very much in the interest of the Prince to require this disciplinary instruction.

After this he must be given administrative work under experienced officers of the State, or a specially appointed officer of proved ability and experience. This knowledge of administrative work should, as far as possible, be given in the Prince's own State as that would also acquaint him with the local conditions of his own State.

Care should also be taken to send the Prince on travels in different part of the world, for travelling is one of the best modes of education.

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*Minute by Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.*

The question of the education and administrative training of the minor Princes and Chiefs is a very important one. My own views are that after finishing his literary education at one of the Chiefs' Colleges or elsewhere, the minor Prince should receive practical administrative training in his own State. This training should embrace the entire field of administration and the minor Ruler should have first-hand knowledge of all the details of every day work in the various offices. Revenue work transacted at the Minister's office down to the Patwari's work in the mofussil, judicial work in the lower courts up to the work of the highest court of justice, the work of Customs, Public Works, Accounts, Military and all the big as well as small departments of the State should form part of his course of study. For my part I do not approve of the Prince spending any part of his student days in Europe. India and such experience as is possible to acquire here, can alone be the best of teachers. It may be desirable for the Prince to spend some time in Europe after he has attained his majority but of that he alone can be the best judge, and he can use his discretion after he has assumed the reins of Government.

*Minute by His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.*

This is a very important subject. The training required of a minor Chief should be such as to enable him to carry out the work of government according to the modern enlightened expectations of the people, and in consonance with the history and traditions of his family.

2. As far as literary attainments are concerned, all that is being done in the Chiefs' Colleges towards the education of young Princes and Chiefs is quite satisfactory and to all practical purposes sufficient. In the Diploma Course greater attention must be paid towards an Administrative course than a Literary one, for it is necessary for the minor Princes to be fit for the management of their States on attaining majority. It is essential that on leaving the College they should be placed under the guardianship of such officers who are conscientious and likely to be sympathetic with their wards. These should be selected with the greatest care suited in every way for the appointment.

3. It would be well if the minor Prince is shown the practical working of every department in the State, which he will be called upon to administer on his attaining majority. Similarly, arrangements should be made for the religious and moral training of these minor Rulers according to the custom of the family.

4. As regards the desirability of spending any period of training in Europe, I think it is preferable that he should receive his education in India rather than in Europe, and it is most important that he should receive as thorough a training as possible in all branches of administration in order to fit him for his future duties. For this no other place would afford greater beneficial results than his own State, and periodical tour in some other States with a view to get an insight as to the working of the various departments there. Unless he is familiar with the local customs of his own States, and of other neighbouring States, any period of training spent in Europe will be simply a waste of time and energy because having spent the best years of training under conditions prevailing in Europe he will lose the best opportunity of studying the ideals and traditions of his family and it is possible his feelings might become greatly estranged from the customs and manners of his own people, and he might at his immature age imbibe wrong notions and ideas of living which may not suit his means or the circumstances of his State and be distasteful to the feelings of his subjects. He must first of all be thoroughly conversant with the manners, customs and conditions of the people with whom he has to deal and among whom he has to work for the whole of his life. It would be much better if, after wielding full ruling powers for say five or seven years, he makes a trip to Europe and stays there for some time studying the institutions and conditions of different countries. This would highly increase his vision and knowledge of the world, beneficial both to himself and to his State and people. After that he would be able to correctly judge and compare the conditions of his own country with those of Europe and see for himself how far it is possible to adapt any of the latest improvements he finds there to the conditions prevailing in his own State, and there will then be no danger of his arriving at hasty conclusions as regards European methods which might not suit local conditions and end in failure.

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*Minute by His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.*

The minor Rulers should receive their education and training in their own States. If they are sent out they become strangers to the customs and life

of their people ; special teaching staff can be appointed. Particular care should be taken of their religious education. Trip to Europe need not form part of the education of the minor Chief. He can go later on attainment of his majority. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia stands out as an example amongst the Chiefs as a successful Ruler who received his entire training in his own State.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.*

Regarding education and training in administrative work, opinion has been expressed in connection with the Resolutions Nos. III and IX.

A Chief can certainly benefit from a visit to England ; but only when he has attained majority and has administered his State, or seen it administered, for some time, can such a visit prove instructive. In a visit to England during minority there seems great possibility of harm instead of, or along with, good.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Jind.*

I think it is generally recognised that the best method of educating a minor Prince is to send him to one of the Chiefs' Colleges in India, as soon as he arrives at the suitable age. The appointment of a guardian-tutor is often considered a necessity, and very rightly so.

One sometimes feels that boys attending Chiefs' Colleges might be only Ruling Princes and their near relatives and those belonging to leading aristocratic families in British India. But as it is considered desirable to admit petty Jagirdars to such Colleges, it seems to me that the sons of Sardars (nobles and high officers) of such States as enjoy salutes, should be admitted equally freely, provided, of course, they are recommended by the Ruler or his representative.

As regards higher education, I recognise that the proposed Higher Chiefs College at Delhi is an obvious necessity.

The teaching of higher administration and law should particularly receive great attention of the Managing Committee of the College, and in my opinion even such young Princes as have received their education in a College in England, instead of the Higher Chiefs' College, may be admitted to the Special Class for higher administrative training. In my opinion one year's practical training in Settlement and Revenue work, in Treasury work and law courts will be sufficient.

It is understood, of course, that one year's training at the Imperial Cadet Corps will be necessary for such Princes as desire a military training.

On the completion of this training, an organised tour in India for 3 or 4 months will be most useful to be followed, if possible, by a tour in Europe extending over a period of from 9 to 12 months for those who have not been to Europe before.

# Item No. VI of the Agenda.

## *Minute by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.*

1. The State has no objection to introduce the Motor Vehicles Act (No. VIII of 1914) into the State, subject to its immemorial rights, usages and customs, provided reciprocity is granted to the motor vehicles licensed and registered in the State as it subsists between the different provinces of British India, while entering or passing through British territory as promised.

2. There will be no objection to make the rules made by Government under section 14 of the said Act, applicable to the State as far as possible when the Act itself is introduced into the State.

3. Rule No. 6 excepting the motors of the Rulers of States from the operation of the Act is desirable and should remain in force as a standing rule.

4. The suggestion to use some crest or emblem in the case of Darbar motors when entering British territory in order to facilitate their recognition by British officials, is approved and will be followed.

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## *Minute by His Highness the Raja of Cochin.*

The two points calling for remarks here are : (1) the best method of facilitating recognition of State motor vehicles by British officials, and (2) the reciprocal recognition of licenses and registration. As regards the first the most obvious suggestion is that State vehicles should bear in a prominent place the crest of the Chief. As regards the second, in the interests of general convenience reciprocity in recognising registration and licenses is no doubt advisable.

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## *Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.*

Under section 14 of the Government of India Act, VIII of 1914 (The Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1914), the Governor-General in Council has powers to make rules, prescribing the conditions subject to which motor vehicles brought temporarily into British India by persons intending to make temporary stay there may be possessed, used and driven. Under section 15 of the same Act such motor vehicles are exempt from the application of the provisions relating to :—

- (a) the registration of vehicles,
- (b) requirements as to construction, identification or equipment of such vehicles, or
- (c) the licensing or qualifications of drivers of such vehicles.

Under section 14, referred to above, the Government of India have recently (*vide* Home Department Notification No. 627, dated the 6th July 1916) made a set of rules, prescribing the conditions to which motor vehicles from Native States may be brought temporarily into British India and used and driven there. These rules provide for marks of identification, prescribed by the Political Officer concerned, being borne by the vehicles belonging to residents of Native States and for a permit being obtained from the District Magistrate. if the vehicle is kept in British India for a period exceeding 10 days at any one time.

These rules do not, however, apply to Rulers of Native States or to motor vehicles owned by them. Ruling Princes and Chiefs are, it is understood, advised to have some crest or emblem affixed to their motor vehicles, when entering British India, so as to facilitate their recognition by British Officials.

There thus exists now ample provision for motor vehicles taken temporarily from Native States to British India, which permits of their being used and driven there subject to a procedure which is very simple. The exemption of such vehicles from registration or driving license fees in British India is a concession which is much appreciable, and which effectually removes what would otherwise have been a serious obstacle in the way of temporarily taking out to British India of motor vehicles from Native States.

The Native States' Rules referred to above, do not define the period within which a vehicle may be considered to be temporarily in British India, nor are they clear as to the procedure to be followed if a driver is not possessed of a driving license or if the license granted by the Darbar concerned expires during the course of the temporary stay of the vehicle in British India.

As regards the former, a period of two months suggest itself to me to be sufficient for the present.

As for cases where a driver is not equipped with a license from a Native State concerned or that license expires, it appears to be necessary that drivers should not be without proper licenses and such licenses may, therefore, be issued or renewed for a short time by the local licensing authority in British India on a nominal fee of say Re. 1.

As regards motor vehicles brought from British India temporarily to Native States, a reciprocity of treatment would be fair.

About three years ago a set of rules was brought into operation in this State which provided for no vehicle, irrespective of its coming from a British Province or not, being allowed to ply within the State territory unless and until it had been registered under the State Rules and the driver had been furnished with a license under them. Only a short time after this, sufficient experience was gained to show that the provision was felt as vexatious by the public, and that the small amount of revenue realised in the shape of registration and driving license fees was counterbalanced by various disadvantages. Therefore, long before Act VIII of 1914 was passed by the Government of India, the Darbar was considering the question as to what modifications were needed in the rules to afford relief to owners of motor vehicles coming temporarily from British India where they are already registered. At first exemption from the payment of fees for the first few days and a graduated scale afterwards were suggested, but later on it was felt that radical change in the system was needed in order to give full measure of relief to those persons, who, coming mostly from the Punjab for a few months of the summer, have already had to pay registration and license fees in that province. It was therefore proposed to abolish altogether the elaborate Motor Vehicles Rules of the State and to substitute therefor a set of simple bye-laws for the regulation of traffic which would require the registration only of such cars as had not been registered in a British province. Similarly a driving license would in future be issued to only those persons who had not already obtained one from a recognised authority in British India. A road toll would, however, continue to be levied, but it would be fixed at a rate more analogous to that levied in British India. The Darbar also proposed to register motor vehicles which have escaped the registration in the Punjab, and to issue driving licenses in similar cases and to remit the amount collected on account of fees to the Punjab Government.

Before, however, legislating on the lines indicated, the Darbar wanted to ascertain if the Punjab Government would accept the principle upon which the proposal was based, and if it would be prepared to adopt a policy of reciprocity in the matter of registration of vehicles and the issue of driving licenses. This matter had not yet proceeded much, before the Native State rules referred to above appeared in the Government of India Gazette and made it clear that in British India vehicles of Native States would not be subjected to fresh registration, etc.

Therefore, so far as the registration and issuing of driving licenses are concerned, it will obviously be simple as well as in the interests of all concerned to have reciprocal arrangement between the Government of India and Native States, according to which the registration and driving licenses of the one will be recognised by the other in respect of vehicles coming in for a short period, which period, as has been stated above, should be limited to two months at one time. It will much facilitate matters and will secure a uniformity of procedure and action if the rules and rates for registration and driving licenses which are from time to time in force in British India are, so far as possible, adopted by the Native States also, *mutatis mutandis*.

As regards the marks of the identification and emblems, these may be notified to the various registration offices by the Political Officer concerned, and he may in the same manner inform the Registration Office of the Native State of the distinguishing mark of the various provinces of British India.

Motor vehicles, as also the holders of driving licenses, of one territory will however continue to be subject in the other territory to all rules and orders which are in force in the latter in respect of controlling traffic and guarding against dangers and accidents. Owners and drivers should similarly be liable to punishment for infringement of these rules, and the fact of such punishment besides being endorsed on the driving licenses should also be communicated to the Registration Office of the British province or the Native State, as the case may be, which granted the license.

It would appear desirable to arrange for similar reciprocity between the various Native States among themselves, or at least among such of them as adjoin each other. The Indian Act VIII of 1914 would, with necessary changes, be adopted by all Native States and the motor vehicles coming temporarily from one Native State to another or to British India or from British India to a Native State would be treated much in the same manner as vehicles registered in one province of British India would be treated in another province. Such reciprocity is much desirable in view of the fact that motor cars are growing in popularity and owners in a great majority of cases take their cars while going even temporarily to other places.

The concessions in regard to registration and driving license should apply to motor vehicles brought by owners from one territory to another for their *bona fide* personal use and not for plying on hire.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.*

The object of this suggestion is to facilitate the use of the motors of Native States' subjects into British India temporarily and *vice versa*. The motors of the Rulers of the Native States are to be exempted and only a mark or crest or any other sign would only be required to distinguish them.

The circumstances when motors of the subjects of Native States go into British territories are very rare, and generally tourists from British India pass through Native States, and so far there has been no friction. But there is no harm if amicable arrangements are made between States and the Government by which mutual facilities be given free of any charge or tax. In Municipal cities like Bombay fees are charged by the Commissioner of Police and also by the Municipality, but after the mutual arrangements the same should be countermanded.

From the above it would appear that there is no need of introducing any Motor Act or Regulation and rules of British India *seriatim*, but separate agreements embodying those conditions that may be agreed to by both parties should be made where it may be necessary. The agreements should provide that the arrangement should be reciprocal and for mutual benefit.

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*Minute by His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.*

The best method of facilitating recognition by British officials of motor vehicles brought into British India by Ruling Princes would be for them to affix their flag on the cars, or some other distinctive mark. As regards cars owned by private individuals in a Native State, the Darbars may have the choice to either adopt the principles of the Indian Motor Vehicles Act as law, or follow the rules laid down by Government.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.*

The directions issued to the Political Officers, a printed copy of which has been provided to Chiefs with Agenda No. VI, are proper, and they had better be acted upon.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Jind.*

The best method of facilitating recognition, by British officials, of motor vehicles brought into British India by Ruling Princes is that such motor vehicles should have the Coat-of-Arms or the Crest of the State affixed to them in a conspicuous manner. Of course, this method of identification being recognised, the motor cars owned by the Princes will be free to move in any part of British India subject to no conditions of Registration and Licensing, as per paragraph (a) of enclosure 2 of No. VI.

In my opinion the States should enforce an Act generally on the principles of the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1914, in which case the rules framed in exercise of the powers conferred by section 14 of the Motor Vehicles Act, 1914, and published by a Notification of the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 627, dated the 6th July 1916, shall not be enforced against motor vehicles owned by subjects of the Darbar and the reciprocity in the matter of registration and licensing will be granted, thus eliminating\* the condition of 10 days as laid down in rule 4 of the above mentioned notification. Every State, in that case, will keep necessary registers for licensing and registration and in case of necessity reference will be made to the number recorded in those registers. A motor vehicle owned by a person, ordinarily resident

in an Indian State, will exhibit conspicuously the first letter of the name of the State and the number of registration in that State as marks of identification, which will be recognised in British India and *vice versa*.

For my State, the Rules and Regulations on the lines of Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1914, are being framed and the copies of it will be supplied to the various Local Governments and Administrations, and then it shall be entirely reciprocal as per paragraph (b) of enclosure 2 of No. 6.



**Item No. VII of the Agenda.***Minute by His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.*

When land will be acquired from a Native State for preparing a railway or for quarrying or excavating for railway purposes, compensation should be given to the individual owners, for the loss of land acquired and the State should be compensated for loss of revenue and territory by the grant of territory of equal value, so that the magnitude of the State will never be diminished. If the magnitude of the territory is not likely to be kept up, jurisdiction over the land under the railway should be reserved for the State

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.*

The subject is divided into two parts—(1) payment of compensation for land, and (2) explaining rights and obligations of both parties in the matter of quarrying and excavation of stone and other material for railway purposes.

As regards (1) when the Rajputana-Malwa Railway was constructed land was assigned for the purpose by the States concerned, Jagirdars and other landholders having interests in the land were given compensation but State lands were taken up free for *bona fide* railway purposes. The railway Company now exceeds the rights given to it and has erected shops, etc., within the railway premises and makes revenue by sale of grass grown within its limits which they have no right to do, as it is not *bona fide* railway purpose.

It is much desirable if the principle is settled once for all that compensation would be given in future, but it is not advisable to form any hard-and-fast rule. Such instances of grant are very few indeed in individual States, and the amount of compensation can more conveniently be settled by discussion in each case. If once it is conceded that compensation is to be given, there would be no difficulty in fixing the amount on the merits of each case.

As regards (2) it would be more convenient if mutual agreement is made for benefit of both parties for charge of royalty or any other levy which can be fixed after mutual consideration and discussion in each case. If any party has strong reasonable grounds against allowing excavations the matter may be discussed and decided on its merits.

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*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.*

In the first place, in return for any land required a plot of land equal in area and similar in nature should be given. When special circumstances render this impossible, the transaction may be arranged thus :

For land to be taken up permanently the compensation must be fixed not only in consideration of the nature of the surface but also with due regard for the subterranean nature. When only the ballast or sand or stone is to be excavated, or when for some other purpose the land is to be occupied temporarily, it should be laid down beforehand for what period and for what purpose it is to be occupied, and, in some cases, to what depth it will be excavated and other necessary conditions concerning it must be settled. Then with due regard to the period, the purpose and those conditions, the compensation should be fixed.

*Minute by His Highness the Maharaja of Jind.*

With regard to the statement of principles governing the payment of compensation for lands required for railway purposes in British India and in Native States, I have already made a representation on the subject (*vide* my Foreign Minister's letter No. 746, dated the 15th September 1916, copy attached herewith for ready reference) expressing my regret at my inability to see any advantage in bringing the principles into force and that I was quite prepared to provide free of cost all lands required within the State for railway purposes as at present, on the understanding that the Government will do the same when land is required in British territory for Railway constructed by the Darbar. But I wish to make it clear that only such lands will be made over free of cost as are actually necessary for the Railway and the works appertaining thereto. Suppose a hill is situated near the alignment of the Railway, and Railway wants quarrying stone from that hill and wants a part of the hill for that purpose such portion of the hill cannot be made over as it is not really required for the Railway alignment. If the Railway wants such quarrying or excavation this matter can be settled by mutual agreement between the Darbar and the Railway, as the Darbar will, no doubt, levy royalty in such cases.

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*Copy of a letter No. 746, dated the 15th September 1916, from the Foreign Minister, Jind State, to L. M. Crump, Esq., Political Agent, Phulkian States.*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2924, dated 3rd July 1915, forwarding three copies of the revised rules governing the payment of compensation for lands, required for Railway purposes in British India and in Indian States.

I am directed by His Highness to state that, having now been in a position to consider the rules, as a whole, in their revised form His Highness regrets that he is unable to see any advantage in bringing them into force. As matters now stand, any land required for Railways in Indian States is given to the Government free of cost, and the British Government reciprocates when land in British India is required for Railways constructed by an Indian State. His Highness would much prefer to leave this simple rule untouched as regards his State.

He views with apprehension the procedure which the rules now sent proposes to introduce under which there will not merely be negotiations of various kinds between the Political Agent and the Darbar, but enquiries and references to arbitration in fixing compensation, and these may lead to frictions and other inconveniences which would appear to be unnecessary and undesirable.

The Darbar is quite prepared to continue to provide free of cost all lands required within the State for Railway purposes, as at present, on the understanding that the Government will do the same when land is required in British territory for a Railway constructed by the Darbar.

I am to express the hope that you will be good enough to explain that, while His Highness is desirous to meet the wishes of the Government in every way, he feels that he would prefer neither to take nor to give compensation for lands required for Railway purposes,

With reference to your letter No. 2508, dated 18th June 1915, I am directed to add that His Highness still thinks that it is desirable, in order to ensure full reciprocity, that a clause corresponding to the last sentence of rule 3 should be added to rule 1. At the same time, in view of his objection to the rules as a whole, this point need not be further referred to,

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CONFERENCE OF RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS,  
*Held at Delhi on the 5th November 1917 and following days.*



**The Conference was opened and its proceedings conducted by His Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council Chamber.**

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The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

**Kashmir.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

**Bombay.**

His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.  
His Highness the Rao of Cutch.  
His Highness the Raj Sahib of Dhrangadhra.  
His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.  
His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Morvi.  
His Highness the Jam Sahib of Navanagar.  
His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla.  
The Nawabzada of Palanpur.

**Bengal.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. | His Highness the Raja of Hill Tippra.

**Punjab.**

His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur.  
His Highness the Raja of Chamba.  
His Highness the Raja of Faridkot.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.  
His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

**Central Provinces.**

The Raja of Khairagarh.

| The Raja of Saragaha

**Central India.**

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.  
His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Senior Br.).  
His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch).

His Highness the Raja of Dhar.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Indore.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.  
His Highness the Raja of Rajgarh.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.  
His Highness the Raja of Sailana.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

**Rajputana.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.  
His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi.  
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.  
His Highness the Maharawal of Dungarpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.  
His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.  
His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Karauli.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Kishan-  
garh.

His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.

**Sikkim.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim.

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# AGENDA.

- I.—To consider the question of allowing the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges to be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, and of recognising the college, to that extent, as one of the Chiefs' Colleges.
- II.—To discuss generally the question of agricultural development in Native States.
- III.—To consider the question of horse-breeding operations in Native States.
- IV.—To consider the question of the improvement of agricultural statistics, crop forecasts, and cotton press returns furnished by Native States.
- V.—To consider a suggestion that, for settling the precedence *inter se* for purely social purposes of Ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different Provinces or Administrations, a rule might be adopted  

*Personal salutes to rank with, but below, permanent salutes.	that all Ruling Princes and Chiefs having a certain number of guns* should rank <i>inter se</i> according to the date of succession to the <i>gadi</i> or <i>masnad</i> .
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- VI.—To consider whether any, and if so, what further marks of identification should be added to the letters R. P. M. C. on the motor cars of Ruling Princes and Chiefs when brought into British India.
- VII†.—To discuss any suggestions that may be made in connection with the rules for conducting the business of the Conference.

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†This was included as supplementary agendum.



## Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. I.

### *Rajkumar College, Raipur.*

In January 1917 the Central Provinces Administration asked that a pass in the final examination of the Rajkumar College, Raipur, might be recognised as a qualification for the diploma which is granted to passed students of the existing Chiefs' Colleges. The Educational Commissioner with the Govern-

ment of India, who inspected the college, reported\*  
 \*A copy of his re- very favourably on its financial position, build-  
 port is attached. ings, grounds, staff, discipline and general educational  
 standard. During his inspection he explained to the authorities  
 that the diploma could only be given if the college were inspected regularly  
 and the pupils submitted to the diploma examination.

The Government of India would be glad of the opinion of the Conference on the proposal made by the Central Provinces Administration.

### ENCLOSURE OF NO. I.

#### REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSIONER WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AFTER HIS INSPECTION OF THE RAJKUMAR COLLEGE, RAIPUR, ON THE 2ND JULY 1917.

The recurring income of the college is about Rs. 79,000 a year. The cost is Rs. 65,500, so that there is a saving of Rs. 13,500. The chief items in the balance sheet are as follows, the figures being those of the budget of 1917-18 :—

	Rs.		Rs.
Principal's salary and pension and leave contribution .	16,412	Principal's pay and contributions	16,412
Endowments . . . . .	18,875	Increase of Principal's allowance	1,800
Fees . . . . .	24,380	Indian staff . . . . .	25,220
Central Provinces Government grant . . . . .	11,735	Other staff and provident fund .	5,339
Bihar and Orissa Government grant . . . . .	5,000		
Minor items . . . . .	2,535		
		Total Staff .	48,771
		Contingencies . . . . .	16,795
		Balance . . . . .	13,371
TOTAL .	78,937	TOTAL .	78,937

The amount paid for the Principal's salary and contributions is found by Government. In future the college will have to find Rs. 12,000 for the pay of the Vice-Principal (the post is sanctioned but not filled), and also for the enhanced pay of the staff as their increments arise. It is anticipated that the total increase, which will amount to Rs. 12,600, will be reduced to Rs. 11,600 by a return to normal prices, so that a small balance of between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000 will still be left. Furthermore, it is expected that the endowment will bring in a larger interest. At present 2½ lakhs are invested in the Central Provinces light railways and one lakh in the Provincial Bank at 6 per cent. and a further saving of Rs. 20,000 in three-year war bonds. Owing to

shortage of freight, etc., the railways are paying at present only  $4\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., but ordinarily they would certainly pay 6 per cent., or more. The financial position of the college may accordingly be considered as sound for present requirements. An increase in the number of boys, or in the amount of investment, will enable it to meet further recurring expenditure, should there be need for such. The recent contribution of 5 lakhs made by the Raja of Nandgaon State has been expended partly on the new buildings, to which Government also gave a subsidy, and partly in enhancing the investment.

The building has been greatly improved. The compound is enclosed within a ring fence of over three miles. Wings have been added to the old building so as to form two hostels. The class rooms are excellent and there are special class rooms for drawing and geography work. The hostels consist of the boys' sitting rooms on the ground floor and bed rooms on the top floor. Save for the dormitories for small boys the rooms measure 30 ft. by 16 ft. and hold normally four boys. Bathing rooms are attached on the upper storey in small wings running back from the main building. The hostel arrangement struck me as particularly good. The only thing in the main building which is lacking is a large hall, which is such a pleasing feature of other Chiefs' Colleges. There is an excellent bungalow for the Principal and a site for the Vice-Principal's bungalow. The whole of the staff also reside in houses on the premises, some of which are rather old but not unsightly. The cook-houses and eating rooms are excellent. So are the lines of servants' quarters and the stables with stabling for 24 horses. There is a good cricket pavilion. It remains to add to the main building a clock tower and domes. When this is finished and the drives are fully laid out, the college will have an imposing appearance.

There are 56 students in the college. They may be classified as follows. Twenty-one are Chiefs or relatives of Chiefs; of these 21, seven are minor Chiefs, two are presumptive heirs (being brothers), the remainder are younger sons, brothers, grandsons, uncles or cousins. Thirty-five are zemindars, or relatives of zemindars. Some of these are important zemindars, such as

\*This is the branch Dumraon,\* Khariar, Rajim, Matin, Uprora, Lafa, that was ejected Dompara, Darpan, Panabaras, Harai Pagara, the from the zemindari. Nagpur Bhonsla, etc. As to caste, one student is a Brahmin, 30 are Khatriyas, 15 Raj-Gonds, four Marathas, four Bairagis and two Lodhis.

According to the last year's report the contributing States were Nandgaon, Korea, Raigarh, Bastar and Sirguja in Chhattisgarh and Patna, Narsingpur, Pallahara, Daspalla, Keonjhar, Baud and Bonai in Orissa. The zemindars come mainly from the Raipur, Bilaspur and Drug districts, though a few come from Cuttack, Puri and several districts in the Central Provinces. The youngest son of the Bhonsla Raja is reading in the college.

The staff is as follows:—

Name.	Designation.	Qualification.	Pay. Rs.	Age.
Mr. V. A. S. Stow	Principal	M. A. (Oxon.)	1,110	34
Mr. Rashid-ul-Malik	Senior Assistant	B. Sc.	225—10—275	29
Mr. Ishar Singh	„ „	M. A.	225—10—275	25½

Name.	Designation.	Qualification.	Pay.	Age.
			Rs.	
Mr. Abdus Shakur .	Assistant Master	B.A. . .	150—10—200	31
Mr. S. R. Pinge . .	„ „	B.A. . .	125—10—175	28
Mr. S. R. Tiwari . .	„ „	B. A., L. T. .	125—10—175	26
Mr. H. C. Chakravarti .	„ „	F. A., L. T. .	100—10—150	29
Mr. B. E. Dadachanji (temporary).	„ „	M. A. . .	150	26
Mr. G. G. Kanitkar .	Drawing Master	3rd grade Special Drawing Teachers' and Painting certificates.	60—5—70	29
Mr. D. D. Driver .	House Master .	B. A. . .	125—5—150	26
Mr. Khan Mohd. Khan.	„ „	Matric . .	125—5—150	24
Mr. P. M. Razdan .	Games Master .	..	75—5—85	27
Mr. Kartar Singh .	Motor Instructor	.	75	26
Subedar Mohamed Burhan.	Riding Instruc- tor.	.	35	52
Havildar Jawahir Singh	Drill Instructor	..	30	45
Havildar Dal Singh .	Gymnastic Ins- tructor.	..	30	46

And two clerks on Rs. 39 and Rs. 25, respectively.

A post of Vice-Principal has also been sanctioned in the Indian Educational Service. The staff may be considered a good one. The masters are generally young and have been specially selected for their social and athletic qualifications. They struck me as being alert and up-to-date.

The college is divided into 10 classes ranging from class VIII C to class I. But there is at present no student in class I. In class II the instruction comprises English, vernacular, history and geography, mathematics, science and object-lessons and drawing, and approximates to that of the Chiefs' Colleges. I went round all the classes and conversed with the boys. I was pleased with what I saw. I examined some of the written work and set vernacular translation into English to the boys in the 2nd and 3rd classes. The result was quite good, with one exception, among the five boys who comprise those classes. I am of opinion that, when a first class is formed, the boys who go through it will be able to compete on equal terms with those of the Chiefs' Colleges. I explained generally to Mr. Stow what would be the features of the new course for the diploma and he considered that the boys would be able to take it. English is taken in the lowest class. Drawing is done on a very fair system. I would suggest that lines be constructed by the boys for history, and that use might be made of the present war for constructing some narrative of current events, possibly illustrated with pictures from the papers.

Great attention is paid to games. The boys commence with drill and various kinds of exercise at 6-30 A.M. I found some drilling, others riding (including riding without stirrups or reins), and others practising at the nets. There are compulsory games every evening save Thursday. The games comprise football, hockey, cricket and tennis. I found some 22 ponies in the stable, belonging (with the exception of two which are college property) to Kumars. Those who have no ponies ride the college ponies or those belonging to other boys. A retired subedar teaches riding. The drilling is taught by two retired havildars. A feature of the college is the rifle range, on which boys are taught to shoot with a small rifle, the extreme range being 200 yards. And there is also clay pigeon shooting, and motor-driving and repairing are taught. The elder Kumars play polo and hunt in the cold weather. There is as yet no swimming bath nor are there any fives courts.

Discipline is excellently maintained. I was glad to see that the class teachers are told off on each morning to superintend the three-quarters of an hour physical exercise which starts every day. Some of them were bowling at the nets. The boys are extremely well behaved. They wear different coloured *safas* according to their houses, whether they have their colours, or whether they are prefects, and they are all dressed in plain white.

As stated above, the hostel arrangements are very good. The boys work on the ground floor rooms and sleep in corresponding rooms on the first floor. A house master lives inside each of the houses assisted by the private tutors of some of the Kumars, and in each house there are two prefects. The downstairs rooms are very tastefully got up by the Kumars themselves. (The ornamentation of the class rooms with excellent pictures is quite a feature of the college). The upstairs rooms are kept very clean and neat and provide ample room, save in those cases where there are four boys in a room *plus* the private tutor who looks after them. In these cases the rooms struck me as rather crowded. The boys bring their own servants and cooks, who, however, live in the servants' quarters quite apart from the Kumars and out of bounds to them. The private tutors are superior men who are able to assist materially in the work of the college and no system of Mutamids is allowed. The small boys are collected in two larger rooms, which serve as a dormitory, and the house masters sleep in these rooms in both cases. There is a hospital, and a sub-assistant surgeon lives on the spot, while the civil surgeon also receives an allowance for treating any serious cases. In addition to this each hostel has a sick room, as well as an excellent reading room.

The fees paid by the Kumars are Rs. 480 *per annum* exclusive of food and personal expenses, for which each receives an allowance controlled by the Principal.

The college staff enjoys a provident fund, to which each member contributes one-twelfth of his salary, while the college funds contribute a similar amount.

It has been decided not to build any temples in connection with the college. But religious instruction is given by the teachers at 9 A. M. daily.

The governing body of the college consists of the Commissioner of the Chhattisgarh Division, President, the Political Agents of the Chhattisgarh Feudatory States and the Orissa Feudatory States, the Deputy Commissioners of the Chhattisgarh Division, the Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces and the Chhattisgarh Agency Inspector of Schools, the Civil Surgeon, Raipur, the Executive Engineer and a number of Feudatory Chiefs elected from time to time by the whole of the governing body with the Chief

Commissioner's sanction. The term of appointment of an elected member is five years. It is now proposed to create a general council to decide important matters and to leave the executive authority to a smaller governing body consisting of those who are intimately connected with the college.

From the educational point of view the college is quite worthy to rank with the Daly College or the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. I was particularly struck with the air of smartness about everything, even including the small army of permanent ground men, etc., who keep the extensive grounds in order and who are neatly attired in uniforms. The college is undoubtedly working very great improvements in the physique and mental capacity of the Chiefs and the general atmosphere thoroughly approximates to that which is found in the Chiefs' Colleges. As regards the examination, I have no hesitation in saying that the college can, so far as the attainments of the staff and of the students are concerned, participate in the diploma examination.

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### Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. II.

#### QUESTION OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NATIVE STATES.

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##### *Memorandum by the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India.*

I have been asked to attend the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs for the purpose of holding an informal discussion of agricultural questions connected with the various States.

I think I may assume that every member of the Conference is keenly interested in agricultural development. The peace and prosperity of all States is inseparably bound up with the content which successful husbandry brings to the rural population; and any measures which can be devised to better the economic conditions of the people are reflected at once in the general welfare of a State or country. Agriculture, in fact, is the back-bone of India and no scheme or system of Government can claim to be sympathetic or successful, if the responsible heads of Government shut their eyes to the claims of agriculture and of agriculturists. Fortunately in India a charge of this kind cannot be brought against us, and although progress has been slow—much slower than we would wish—the development of the last decade has been very marked and augurs well for the future. In every province of India there is now an agricultural department which forms an integral part of the administration, and I hope the day is not far distant when every distinct agricultural tract of India will have its band of workers solving the agricultural problems connected with it.

I am aware that in many of the States, in fact I might say, in most of the States, a very considerable amount of attention is being devoted to the improvement of agriculture. My function in attending the Conference is, therefore, only to give to Their Highnesses, the members of the Conference, the benefit of any advice which my experience of agricultural conditions throughout India may have enabled me to acquire, and to discuss with individual members quite informally, any points in connection with the development of their agricultural departments on which they may desire advice.

In the various provinces of India, the organization of the agricultural departments is somewhat as follows. There is a central research institute

with laboratories and a central farm. In the laboratories the chemical and other problems connected with agriculture are worked out; on the central farm the botanist, by selection, obtains a better strain of plants for seed or produces better varieties by plant-breeding, while the agriculturist grows this selected seed on a large scale and so makes it available for the cultivators at large. Apart from the central institute, which is the headquarters of the department, our aim is (I must admit we have not yet achieved it) to have an officer with a central farm in each main agricultural tract. At his central farm investigations are carried out on the main crops of the circle much on the same lines as at the main central farm.

At this stage I may remark that the principal requirement of India, and the line along which the greatest and most rapid improvement in its agriculture will be made, is the provision of good seed. There can be little doubt that there are in India numerous crops of high quality, if they are grown pure to the best type. But by carelessness they have all become hopelessly mixed. Innumerable varieties and deteriorated samples are found, and it is first necessary to determine by selection what are the best. This is done by an examination of the plants growing in the field. What appear best are selected and grown side by side, and when the superiority of one or two types is demonstrated and proved, the seed is multiplied and distributed. This is the method of improvement by selection, and any well-trained agriculturist can do it.

The other method of plant improvement is by plant-breeding; but this is a somewhat technical process and I need not go into its details. When by either of these processes, *i.e.*, by selection or plant-breeding, a better variety of seed has been obtained, or when any improvement in agricultural method has been worked out at the central farm, some means must be devised to bring these to the notice and within the reach of the cultivators. The best method of disseminating improved seed is to open seed farms (which may also be demonstration farms) at numerous centres. At these farms, the cultivator will buy the improved seed, and an opportunity will also be given of demonstrating to him any improved methods of agriculture or improved implements that the agricultural officer may desire to recommend.

Once research has paved the way, and by this I mean when enquiry has given us something really better in the way of seeds or implements, demonstration must be relied on to make our discoveries available to the general mass of cultivators. In the States, as in the provinces of British India, there are two ways in which this can be done. Special demonstration farms can be set aside on which improved seed will be grown by the department, and improved methods of cultivation or improved implements demonstrated. But perhaps even a more satisfactory method is to get one or more reliable cultivators in a village to undertake to grow the improved seed or to try improved methods on their own fields. At the beginning and to inspire confidence, it might be advisable to guarantee them against loss. But if the improvement recommended has been thoroughly proved before it is suggested for adoption, there is little fear of any claim for compensation being made. Once an experiment succeeds on a cultivator's land, it will be rapidly taken up by his neighbours. The original experimenter becomes a seed seller to his neighbours, and in due course the village will attain a reputation for its improved seed and become a centre of demonstration for other villages round about. The first village which takes up an improved variety will become a recognised, though unofficial, seed and demonstration farm. To sum up this question of demonstration, I cannot do better than quote the eloquent words of His Excellency

the Viceroy at a Darbar at Lahore in April this year. His Excellency's words referred particularly to the Punjab, but they are generally applicable.

"Only a comparatively small number of people are able to visit the Government farms, and those who do go are not always satisfied that they could produce the same results themselves. But when they see their neighbour adopting some reform, growing better crops, and getting more money for them, then they are readily converted and in their turn become apostles. It is by this means that I hope to see prosperity increase and spread in the fields of this fair province. First the research of the scientists; second, demonstration by Government officers; and last, the intelligent activity of the cultivator bringing the seed sown by science to fruition in the field. A municipality or a company can generate electricity at a power station and light the streets with it, but numberless wires are required to convey it to the houses of the people. It is the same with scientific agriculture. The discoveries of the laboratory are sterile until they are applied to practical cultivation. It is the privilege and the duty of the large landholder to pioneer the distributary wires that will bring the light of science to shine on the labours of the humble tiller of the soil." As it happens, the problem of the improvement of agriculture has, I think, been considerably simplified for the departments of agriculture in the States by the fact that a large amount of work has already been done in the staple crops of State territories by the officers of the imperial and provincial departments of agriculture. Thus the imperial economic botanist has produced improved strains of wheat, tobacco and other crops. The Punjab department has successfully introduced American cotton. Improved sugar-canes have been introduced in the United Provinces, Punjab, Madras and Bombay; better qualities of rice in Bengal and Madras. Very great improvement could, therefore, at once be introduced by the trial of those improved varieties of the crops which at present are grown in State territories, and if, after trial, they are found to succeed, then multiplication through seed farms would be a rapid process. In this connection I need hardly say that the officers of the Pusa staff will always be most willing to advise, and, if requested to visit the States, while I am sure that provincial officers will also be willing to give any help they can. I would also suggest the advisability of agricultural officers from the States paying frequent visits to Pusa and to other provincial agricultural departments. In these circumstances I think a discussion of how we can be mutually helpful to each other would be advantageous.

There is one specific point which I should like to bring before the notice of the members of the Conference. As Their Highnesses are probably aware, a committee is at present touring in India to enquire into the possibility of extending the cultivation of long staple cotton. I notice that the present average area under cotton in Hyderabad is no less than 2½ million acres: while in Indore it is over 400,000 acres and in Gwalior over 350,000 acres. If, as a result of their enquiries, the committee are of opinion that there are possibilities for the extension of long staple cotton in these tracts, and that it would be to the economic interest of the States that such cultivation should be encouraged, I trust that we shall have the concurrence of the Rulers of these States to include them in any scheme for the development of long staple cotton that we may recommend.

One more aspect of the development of agriculture is the vexed question of agricultural education. In pursuance of the recommendations of last year's meeting of the Principals of the Chiefs' Colleges in India my department, in consultation with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, has prepared a syllabus extending over three years and leading to the matriculation standard. The syllabus, while extensive and comprehensive, is graduated and well balanced

and will not demand a disproportionate amount of time so that the general education given at the Chiefs' Colleges will not be interfered with to any appreciable extent. The scheme contemplates a demonstration farm attached to the Mayo and Aitchison Colleges, and I feel confident that the result will be a welcome and useful widening of the usual educational curriculum. I hope that the future Rulers of the States will, in large numbers, avail themselves of the optional course.

For primary and middle agricultural education, I cannot do better than refer to the proceedings of a conference on agricultural education, held at Simla under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill in June 1917. The general lines which should be followed in any scheme of agricultural education were then very clearly laid down, and these principles should be of great help in framing schemes of education for the various States.

The last point, which I should like to discuss, is what steps can be taken to stop the deterioration in the quality of our Indian horses and to increase the numbers available for cavalry and for sport. On this point a separate memorandum has been prepared by the Director-General, Army Remounts in India, to which attention is invited.

I think, therefore, that we might summarise our informal discussions as follows :—

- (a) An informal discussion of the manner in which the agricultural departments of the various States can be developed : and the assistance which the imperial department of agriculture can give..
- (b) A general consideration of agricultural education.
- (c) A scheme for the development of horse-breeding on systematic lines.

SIMLA ;

J. MacKENNA,

The 20th July 1917.

*Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India.*

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### **Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. III.**

#### **HORSE-BREEDING OPERATIONS IN NATIVE STATES.**

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*Memorandum by the Director-General, Army Remount Department.*

The present war has very clearly demonstrated the great disadvantage under which India is placed by being so dependent on the oversea supply of horses from Australia to meet its requirements for army purposes, and, in a lesser degree, to meet the economic needs of this country.

The large demand on sea freights has practically prohibited the importation into India of all animals other than those for army purposes, and there is little doubt that these restrictions have operated hardly on many of the Native States of India, which relied appreciably on importations during prewar times.



As a consequence of the circumstances created by the war the Government of India are closely considering measures for improving the standard of riding horses and ponies and for largely increasing their output throughout those areas where conditions of climate and soil are favourable to the success of these operations.

Some of the territories governed by the Ruling Princes of India have, for several hundreds of years, been famous for their indigenous breeds of hardy horses; but unfortunately during the last 100 or so years a marked decline has taken place in the quality and numbers of these breeds, in the homes of their origin, though the Government of India have, during the past 14 years, been actively concerned in resuscitating two of these breeds, *viz.*, the Marwari and Kathiawari, in the operations of the Ahmednagar stud.

There are other States where much could be done in producing a riding horse suitable for their State forces, and, in those territories where conditions of climate and soil do not justify the hope of breeding anything better than small ponies, much could be done towards grading them up to a higher standard.

For many generations past the Government of India and local administrations have carried on measures for the encouragement of horse and pony-breeding in selected districts, and with these measures have prohibited the purchase of approved and branded brood mares by army buyers, but this prohibition has not precluded the purchase of these mares for working (not breeding) purposes by the agents of Native States, whereby many good brood mares have been lost to the machinery of production.

In almost all areas outside British India, opportunities in some form or other exist for co-operation with Government in improving and increasing the output of riding horses or ponies, while some States enjoy very special facilities for fostering the production of horses of such a standard as would constitute a most valuable asset to the resources of the Empire for army purposes.

Any operations undertaken in Native States might with advantage be governed by the same principles as those which govern the operations under British administration, and may be briefly summarised as follows :—

- (a) Establishment of studs for the provision of stallions. The type and standard aimed at being decided by the local conditions.
- (b) The control of privately-owned stallions, *i.e.*, the subsidising of the suitable and elimination of the undesirable.
- (c) Rewards, prizes, or premiums to the owners of suitable mares maintained for breeding, and proved in foal to selected stallions.
- (d) The offer of a sufficiently remunerative market for the progeny of mares at (c), and prizes for such progeny, as an incentive to the breeders to devote proper attention to their development.

We now come to the most important consideration where measures such as those indicated are to be undertaken and that is *the control of all equine diseases*. Without this control, carefully, efficiently and energetically exercised, under constant and expert supervision and inspection, time and money spent on breeding operations are wasted, and the fruits of many generations of labour and experience may be obliterated by an epidemic in a few weeks.

# Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. IV.

## QUESTION OF THE SUPPLY OF AGRICULTURAL, COTTON OR OTHER STATISTICS BY NATIVE STATES.

### *Memorandum by the Director of Statistics.*

The object of this memorandum is to place before the Conference of Ruling Chiefs some facts relating to certain statistics of Native States, and to obtain the views of the Conference thereon.

2. The statistics dealt with in the memorandum relate to the principal industry of the States, *viz.*, agriculture. These returns are very useful commercially as well as agriculturally not only to the Darbars themselves, but also to the trading population of these States and to business men in India generally. These are, it may be noted, purely voluntary, and are supplied by the Darbars to the Government of India which publish the returns, as the case may be, weekly, half-monthly, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, or annually. These statistics are given full publicity, and are widely circulated in and out of India.

3. The Government of India note with much satisfaction that the Darbars of many of the Native States have been voluntarily co-operating in this respect by furnishing various returns for their respective States for incorporation in the returns for All-India by the department of statistics, and that the assistance thus ungrudgingly rendered by the Darbars (especially since the outbreak of war with its consequent demands for commercial information regarding products of national importance) has invariably been helpful to that department. It is, however, considered that these returns are susceptible of improvement as they are not always as comprehensive and as dependable, all things considered, as they might be. The most important returns that come under present consideration are (1) agricultural statistics; (2) forecasts of crops of commercial importance; and (3) cotton press returns.

4. The returns of agricultural statistics furnished by Native States are published in volume II of the agricultural statistics of India, and the crop forecasts furnished by Darbars are incorporated in the All-India forecasts periodically issued during each season by the department of statistics. Two lists are appended showing (i) States which furnish returns of agricultural statistics, and (ii) States which furnish crop forecasts. The forecasts of cotton and wheat are the most complete so far as reporting areas are concerned, a comparison of the areas given in the All-India cotton and wheat forecasts with those given in Volume II of the agricultural statistics will illustrate the incompleteness of the agricultural statistics relating to Native States.

### *Area under cotton and wheat in 1914-15.*

		British territory. (a)	Native States. (b)	Percentage ratio of (b) to (a).
		Acres.	Acres.	
Cotton	forecast	15,124,000	9,471,000	63
	agricultural statistics.	15,222,000	1,716,000	11
Wheat	forecast	25,283,000	7,192,000	28
	agricultural statistics.	25,451,000	4,176,000	16

The percentages in the last column of the above statement speak for themselves. It will be seen that the area now excluded from the agricultural statistics is considerable. The States at present furnishing return of agricultural statistics represent only about 38 per cent. of the total area, and 43 per cent. of the total population, of all the Native States in India.

5. Next with regard to the accuracy of the estimates of outturn given in forecasts of crops. On an examination of the reported estimates of outturn per acre in the different provinces and States, it would appear that the reported estimates are ordinarily too low in the case of some of the Native States, as in the case of some of the British provinces, as will be seen from the following statement which shows the yield per acre reported in the wheat and cotton forecasts, for which returns are furnished by all the important wheat and cotton-growing provinces and States in India.

*Yield per acre of wheat and cotton in each province.*

	WHEAT.				COTTON.			
	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
United Provinces . . . .	891	777	933	918	148	122	125	126
Madras . . . . .	..	..	..	..	78	45	46	65
Bihar and Orissa . . . .	933	973	638	979	83	93	91	94
Bombay . . . . .	701	539	602	542	89	88	91	84
Sind . . . . .	938	901	987	636	166	158	138	121
Bengal . . . . .	782	793	535	669	165	110	151	136
Punjab . . . . .	719	745	736	543	95	119	105	85
Central Provinces and Berar	636	455	514	603	81	81	93	109
Burma . . . . .	..	..	..	..	79	74	62	57
Assam . . . . .	..	..	..	..	114	145	141	125
North-West Frontier Province	497	585	627	553	93	95	93	92
Ajmer-Merwara . . . .	..	896	589	373	208	105	111	35
Central India States . . .	731	412	464	490	63	77	77	86
Rajputana States . . . .	539	439	549	400	127	112	158	108
Hyderabad . . . . .	126	137	127	161	42	44	44	56
Mysore . . . . .	459	461	363	328	49	47	51	61
AVERAGE . . . . .	735	657	696	633	84	81	85	85

Incorrect estimates are as misleading as incomplete returns; and although steps have been taken from time to time to improve the returns, the estimates, as shown above, appear to be still defective. With a view to effect improvements in the estimates for British provinces, the Government of India have recently issued a circular (No. 1083—252-1, dated 5th December 1916), to Local Governments in British India, a copy of which is appended (Appendix III).

6. With regard to cotton press returns the position may be briefly summarised as follows :—In 1914 the Government of India instituted half-monthly returns showing the quantity of cotton pressed in the pressing factories and of cotton (unpressed) received in the spinning mills in India. The primary object of these half-monthly returns was to check the accuracy of the estimates of outturn given in the cotton forecasts, referred to in the preceding paragraph. The total of all the half-monthly returns of the season would, if the returns were complete and accurate, approximately represent the total quantity of cotton handled during the season. This would serve as a check on the forecast estimate of outturn. The secondary object of the returns was to assist the cotton trade with information regarding the amount of cotton available for the market in each month. The collection of these returns from the presses and mills in the States of Hyderabad, Central India, Rajputana, and Mysore was undertaken by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce under a private arrangement with the presses in these States. The Government of India, it may be mentioned, undertook to collect returns from presses and mills in British provinces and in Native States situated within the boundaries of British provinces. It would appear from the consolidated returns for All-India hitherto published by the department of statistics, and also from the statement below, that the Bombay Chamber of Commerce has wholly failed to procure returns, except, perhaps, in the case of presses and mills in the Mysore State.

	TOTAL NUMBER OF PRESSES AND MILLS IN EXIS- TENCE.		HIGHEST NUMBER OF PRESSES AND MILLS FROM WHICH RETURNS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED.			
	Presses.	Mills.	1915-16.		1916-17.	
			Presses.	Mills.	Presses.	Mills.
Hyderabad . . .	41	3	2	3	1	2
Central India . . .	32	3	<i>Nil</i>	2	<i>Nil</i>	1
Rajputana . . .	10	1	2	<i>Nil</i>	2	<i>Nil</i>
Mysore . . .	3	2	3	2	2	2

In Appendix IV will be found a list of cotton presses and mills in Native States. It is needless to say that, if complete returns are not received from all presses and mills in India, the objects of the returns will be frustrated. The returns belong to the group of simple statistics which can be collected without difficulty. They are useful for the cotton conspectus of India as a whole.

7. In the circumstances explained in the preceding paragraphs, the Government of India will be glad to have the views of the Conference on the several

points mentioned. The end in view, in short, is to secure complete and accurate returns, and the views of the Conference, the Government of India feel confident, will be essentially helpful towards attaining that end. In war time the importance of obtaining returns of commercial crops, especially of wheat and cotton, is obvious. In the next few years after the conclusion of peace, the statistics of Native States—which form an important part of the total—will be of increasingly great importance, not only to the trade, but to the Darbars themselves. The points for consideration may be briefly grouped under three heads :—

(a) To what extent, in the opinion of this Conference, is it practicable to obtain statistical returns from Native States in cases in which they are not at present furnished? It should be noted in this connection that the returns are, of course, entirely voluntary, and that whenever any State finds difficulties in the way of preparing a return the department of statistics will always be prepared to give all possible assistance to Darbars in the preparation of the returns, *e.g.*, by sending printed forms in the vernacular of the State, etc.

(b) What steps should, in the opinion of the Conference, be taken to improve the accuracy of the estimates of outturn given in the forecasts of crops?

(c) Whether, in the opinion of the Conference, it would be feasible to procure by some other method than that at present in vogue the half-monthly returns from cotton presses and mills situated in Native States.

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## APPENDIX I.

*List of Native States in India.*

States from which agricultural statistics are received.	States which do not furnish agricultural statistics.
<i>Native States having direct political relations with the Government of India.</i>	
Mysore State.	
Kashmir State.	
Rajputana States— Bikaner. Marwar. Jaipur. Kishangarh. Alwar. Bharatpur. Jhalawar. Tonk. Kota.	Rajputana States— Jaisalmer. Mewar. Banswara. Kushalgarh. Partabgarh. Dungarpur. Sirohi. Oholpur. Karauli. Bundi. Shahpura.
Central India States— Gwalior.  Indore.  Bhopal. Rajgarh. Narsingarh.  Barwani.  Nagod.	Central India States— Minor States under the Gwalior Residency. Minor States under the Indore Residency. Minor States under the Bhopal Agency.  Other States of the Southern States Agency. Other States of the Baghelkhand Agency.
	Hyderabad State. Baroda State. Sikkim State. Baluchistan States.
<i>Native States under the control of Local Governments and Administrations.</i>	
Madras— Pudukkottai. Banganapalle. Sandur. Cochin. Travancore.	Madras— (None).
Bombay and Sind— (None).	Bombay and Sind— Khairpur. Gujrat States. Konkan States. Deccan States (Satara Jagirs). Karnatak (Southern Mahratta) States.
Bengal— (None).	Bengal— Cooch Behar. Hill Tippera.

States from which agricultural statistics are received.	States which do not furnish agricultural statistics.
<p>United Provinces— (None).</p> <p>Punjab— Patiala. Jind. Nabha. Bahawalpur. II Simla Hill States (Bashahr, Jubbal, Theog, Kumharsain, Khaneti, Bilaspur, Baghal, Ghund, Mehlog, Baghat and Mauhan).</p> <p>Sirmur (Nahan). Kalsia. Pataudi. Loharu. Dujana. Kapurthala. Maler Kotla. Faridkot.</p> <p>Burma— (None).</p> <p>Assam— (None).</p> <p>Central Provinces— (None).</p> <p>Bihar and Orissa— (None).</p>	<p>United Provinces— Rampur. Tehri Garhwal. Benares States. Banda States. Hamirpur States. Jalaun States.</p> <p>Punjab— Chamba. Mandi. Suket.</p> <p>And a few other petty Hill States.</p> <p>Burma— Shan States. Myitkyina States. Ruby Mines States. Chindwin States. Yamethin States.</p> <p>Assam— Manipur. Khasi and Jaintia Hill States.</p> <p>Central Provinces— Makrai. Bastar. Kanker. Nandgaon. Chhuikhadan. Kawardha. Sakti. Khairagarh. Raigarh. Sarangarh. Chang Bhakhar. Korea. Sarguja. Udaipur. Jashpur.</p> <p>Bihar and Orissa— Chota Nagpur States. Orissa States.</p>

APPENDIX II.

*List of Native States which furnish crop forecast.*

Forecast.	States furnishing returns.
Rice . . . . .	Baroda and States in Bombay and Sind.
Wheat . . . . .	Central India States, Rajputana States, Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore, Punjab States, Bombay and Sind States, and Khairagarh and Nandgaon States (in the Central Provinces).
Sugarcane . . . . .	Baroda and States in Bombay.
Cotton . . . . .	Hyderabad, Central India States, Rajputana States, Baroda, Mysore, Bombay States, Banganapalle and Pucukkottai States (Madras), Punjab States, Rampur State (United Provinces), Khairpur State (Sind), and Hill Tippera State (Bengal).
Winter oilseeds (rape, mustard, and linseed).	Hyderabad, Bombay States, Khairpur State (Sind), and Baroda.
Sesamum (til or jinjili) . . . . .	Baroda, Bombay States, Hyderabad, and Khairpur State (Sind).
Groundnut . . . . .	Bombay States.
Indigo . . . . .	Khairpur State (Sind).



## APPENDIX III.

FROM THE HON'BLE MR. R. A. MANT, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND AGRICULTURE, TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS, NO. 1083—252-1, DATED SIMLA, THE 5TH DECEMBER 1916.

I am directed to address you regarding the method of framing estimates of outturn for the purposes of the forecasts of crops, a subject which, with the development of Indian agriculture, is assuming steadily greater importance.

2. In 1884, when instructions for the preparation of wheat forecasts were first issued by the Government of India, it was prescribed in paragraph 14 of this department circular No. 89-A., dated the 25th July 1884, that the estimate should be made on either the American or the Indian system with reference to an average crop, and that, if the latter were employed, 12 annas should be taken as an average, and 16 annas as a bumper crop. Subsequently, in 1885, it was found that the order was not applicable to all the provinces, and in the same year it was laid down in this department resolution No. 129-A.—7-197, dated the 6th November 1885, that an average crop should be denoted by 16 annas. Local governments were again asked in 1892 to adhere to the above system in paragraph 5 of the memorandum of suggestions appended to this department circular No. 48—9, dated the 21st December 1892, and were also requested to state, when using the anna fraction in published reports for expressing the probable yield, the outturn represented by that fraction. In 1897 a question arose as to whether the anna notation or the American notation should be used in making crop estimates, and it was strongly urged upon the Government of India that, as the cultivators and village officers entrusted with the duty of collecting the data for crop reports, were chiefly accustomed to the anna notation, the adoption of any other system tended to confuse the estimate, with the result that in some provinces the estimates were never pitched so high as 16 annas or an average crop. The Government of India, therefore, decided (*vide* paragraph 4 of their circular No. 9—27-4, dated the 23rd October 1897), to leave it to local governments and administrations to fix the scale of notation for themselves in accordance with local conditions, the object being to secure that the returns should be in terms of a normal crop. In order to secure conformity with the local usage it was thought that it might even be necessary to use different scales in different parts of the same province. But since the anna standard thus adopted would no longer possess any fixed or uniform value and would, therefore, be unsuitable for use in any published forecasts, it was ordered that in the forecasts submitted to the Government of India or the Director of Statistics the use of anna notation should be entirely discontinued, and the American notation used in its stead, 100 being taken to represent a normal crop and the estimated outturn being stated as a percentage of that crop. Under this system the local reporting agency in each province makes an estimate of the relations borne by the season's outturn to the normal crop either in annas or percentages; the provincial director on receiving these estimates converts the annas (where the estimate is given in this form) into percentages and calculates therefrom the quantitative outturn of the season with the help of a register of standard normal outturns per acre which is maintained by him.

3. Experience has shown that the yields of crops thus estimated are generally understated, and it appears to the Government of India that the source of error in the estimates of yield lies mainly in the inaccuracy of the estimates framed by the local reporting agency. This may be due partly to the fact that the Indian cultivators and village officers are generally pessimistic in their crop estimates, and have an ingrained tendency to depreciate the present estimate in comparison with the past, and partly to the fact that the subordinate agency finds it difficult to regard 100 per cent. or 16 annas as representing a normal crop. It appears to the Government of India that the idea of the reporting agency as regards a normal (100 per cent.) crop is very vague. In the circular of 23rd October 1897 referred to in paragraph 2 above, a normal crop was defined as "that crop which past experience has shown to be the most generally recurring crop in a series of years; the typical crop of the local area; the crop which the cultivator has a right (as it were) to expect and with which he is (or should be) content, while if he gets more he has reason to rejoice, and if less he has reason to complain." Later in paragraph 4 of Sir James (then Mr.) Wilson's circular letter No. 13—324-1, dated the 16th October 1905, regarding the preparation of the season and crop reports, the term "normal" was defined as the "figure which in existing circumstances might be expected to be attained in the year if the rainfall and seasons were of a character ordinary for the tract under consideration, that is, neither very favourable nor the reverse." This definition was adhered to in paragraph 3 of the Hon'ble Sir (then Mr.) E. D. MacLagan's circular No. 7—78-1, dated the 13th March 1907, regarding the improvement of the wheat forecasts. The Government of India understand that in the United States of America a 100 per cent. crop represents a condition of perfect healthfulness, unimpaired by drought, hail or other injurious agency and with such growth.

and development as may reasonably be looked for under these favourable conditions. This is described as a "full normal condition," but is obviously a condition above the average. The Government of India have reason to believe that a similar standard is followed by many reporting agencies in India, and that district officers often report 80 or 90 per cent. when the crop reported on is really perhaps a normal (100 per cent.) crop according to the official definition.

4. The Government of India think it desirable that the system should be placed on a sound basis and they will be glad to learn what is the experience of local governments and administrations in the matter, and what measures are considered possible for the improvement of reporting either in annas or in American notation. They desire to know (a) at what stage the anna (if the estimate is returned in annas by the reporting agency) is converted into percentage, that is, by the primary reporting agency, by the district officer, or by the provincial director; (b) what notation is preferred, the anna or the American, and, if the former, how many annas should be taken to represent the normal, or if the latter, what should be taken as the normal; and (c) by what means the meaning of this normal may be impressed on the primary reporting agencies, e.g., by printing in bold type in the vernaculars, etc., on the forms the meaning of normal.

5. I am accordingly to request that you will be so good as to furnish the Government of India with the opinion of the Governor in Council Lieutenant-Governor in Council on the above points.  
Lieutenant-Governor  
your opinion

## APPENDIX IV.

*List of Cotton Pressing Factories in Native States.*

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
RAJPUTANA	(a) TONK.—1.		
	Narayendas Brijmohandas.	Nimbahera .	Seth Narayendas.
	(b) JAIPUR.—3.		
	Bhaktawarmal Indermal P. Factory.	Kheli . .	Indermal.
	Jaipur State P. Factory.	Jaipur . .	Maharaja of Jaipur.
	State Cotton P. Factory.	Hindaun Road	..
	(c) KISHANGARH.—2.		
	Kishangarh State Cotton P. Factory.	Kishangarh .	..
	Maharaja Cotton Press .	Do. .	..
	(d) MEWAR.—2.		
	Mewar Cotton G. and P. Factory.	Bhilwada .	H. H. Sahib of Udepur, C.S.I.
	Mewar State Cotton Press	Kapasin . .	..
CENTRAL INDIA	(e) BUNDI.—2.		
	Khemaraj Gobindram G. and P. Factory.	Khairabad .	P. G. Dongra.
	State Cotton P. Factory.	Bundi . .	..
	(a) GWALIOR.—15.		
	Akbar Manufacturing Gin and Press Co., Ltd.	Ujjain . .	Hajeebhai Laljee & Co.
	The Bhind Cotton Gin and Press Factory.	Bhind . .	Seth Nazaralli.
	Carltons' Gin and Press Factory.	Do. . .	..
	The Central Press and Gin Co.	Ujjain . .	Manchershaw Chandabhai & Co.
	The Cotton Gin and Press Factory.	Neemuch .	Munshee Jeenallal.
	The New Cotton Press Co.	Ujjain . .	Ramgopal Ghasiram.
	The Gwalior State Press	Monera . .	..

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
CENTRAL INDIA —contd.	(a) GWALIOR—15—contd.		
	The Cotton Full Press Factory.	Ujjain . .	Narayandas and others.
	The Mahoo Cotton Press Factory.	Do. . .	Pannallal Ganeshadas.
	The Malwa Cotton Press Factory.	Do. . .	Seth Jagannath.
	Mirzamal Neotia Press and Gin.	Do. . .	Mirzamal Neotia.
	The New Gin and Press Factory.	Mandasaur .	Seth Narayandas.
	Shriram Shetharam Press.	Bhind . .	Shriram Shetharam.
	Sorabjee Framjee Press Factory.	Ujjain . .	Sorabjee Framjee.
	Sunawalla Press Factory.	Do. . .	Ramchander and Sunawalla.
	(b) BHOPAL—1.		
	The Sultana Cotton Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Bhopal . .	Rahimtolla Hajeebhoy & Co.
	(c) INDORE—13.		
	Champalal Hiralal P. Factory.	Barwaha .	Champalal Hiralal.
	Fatepuria Gin and Press Co.	Indore . .	Mirzamal Neotia.
	Haji Ibrahim Hajee Vahidana Factory.	Do. . .	Haji Ibrahim Haji Khadin.
	Ditto .	Sanawad .	..
	Jaikison Gopikison G. Press.	Barwaha .	Jaikison Gopikison.
	Ditto .	Sanawad .	Ditto.
	Jasroop Baijnath .	Do. .	Jasroop Baijnath.
	Currimbhoy G. and P. Co., Ltd.	Indore . .	Currimbhoy Ibrahim & Co.
	Nandram Bhavaniram Press.	Taranna .	Gopaljee Nandram.
	Narbada Cotton Press .	Sanawad .	..
	Nimar Cotton Press .	Khargone .	Dalaporta, Patel & Co.
	Lachhman Keshrimal Cotton Press Factory.	Barwaha .	Lachhman Keshrimal.
	Sorabjee Framjee Cotton Press Factory.	Sanawad .	Sorabjee Framjee.

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
CENTRAL INDIA —concl'd.	(d) BIJAWAR—3.		
	Forbes, Forbes, Campbell & Co., Ltd., P. and G. Factory.	Harpalpore .	..
	Shapurji Dhanjibon's Gin Hand Press.	Kulpahar .	..
	Bijnath Jogilal's Gin (Buffalo) Press.	Karwi . .	..
	(e) JAORA—1.		
	Jaora New Gin Press Factory.	Jaora . .	Ramamydas Ramchand.
	(f) RATLAM—1.		
	Ramdeo Baldeo . .	Ratlam . .	Ramdeo Baldeo.
	(g) DEWAS—1.		
	Sipra Cotton Press Co. .	Sipra . .	Ramdas Dossa Sukhdawalla.
	(a) PARBHANI—11.		
HYDERABAD .	Bezanji Furndunji Press Factory.	Parbhani .	Bezanji Furndunji.
	G. Olcese G. and P. Factory.	Do. . .	G. Olcese.
	Jabarkhan's G. and P. Factory.	Do. . .	Jabarkhan.
	Jaivant Vija Gin and Press Factory Co., Ltd.	Purna . .	Mahadeo Balal.
	Narayendas Chunilal's G. and P. Factory.	Parbhani .	Narayendas Chunilal.
	Ditto .	Manwath .	Ditto.
	Narsingirji Gangirjee Pressing Factory.	Purna . .	Narsingirji Gangirjee.
	Nowroji Jehangirji Gamacia's G. and P. Factory.	Sallu . .	N. J. Gamadia.
	Ditto .	Parbhani .	Ditto.
	Parbhani G. and P. Co., Ltd.	Do. . .	B. D. Petit, Sons & Co.
	Padumsi Mulji Gin and Press Factory.	Sailu . .	Lalji Ramji.

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
HYDERABAD— contd.	(b) NANDER—9.		
	Bhaisa Gini <del>and</del> Press Factory.	Bhaisa . .	Dorabji Bros. & Co.
	Fort Press Co., Ltd. .	Nander . .	D. N. Kharas .
	Imperial G. and P. Co. .	Mukhed . .	N. Gangaram .
	Karkheli Cotton Gin and Press Factory.	Karkheli . .	Bezonjee Byramji & Co.
	Karkheli Cotton Press .	Do. . .	M. B. Dadabhoy
	Karimbhoy G. and P. Factory Co., Ltd.	Nander . .	Fazulbhoy Thawar.
	Nowroji Jehangirji Gamadia's G. and P. Factory.	Do. . .	N. J. Gamadia.
	Raja's Factory . . .	Umari . .	M. Chunilal.
	Raja G. and P. Factory.	Do. . .	Raja M. N. Bahadur.
	(c) OSMANABAD—4.		
	Dayaram Surajmal Press Factory.	Latur . .	Dayaram Surajmal
	Dongarsi Gangji's G. and P. Factory.	Do. . .	Dongarsi Gangji.
	Raoji Sakalchand G. and P. Factory.	Do. . .	Raoji Sakalchand.
	Seth Narayandas Choonilal Pressing Factory.	Do. . .	Seth Narayandas Choonilal.
	(d) AURANGABAD—9.		
	Godavery Valley G. and P. Co., Ltd.	Jalna . .	D. B. Petit Sons & Co.
	Govindji Viram G. and P. Factory.	Aurangabad . .	..
	Jalna Merchants G. and P. Factory.	Jalna . .	..
	Jitmal Fatechand Cotton P. Factory.	Do. . .	J. Fatechand.
	Narayendas Chunilal's G. and P. Factory.	Do. . .	Narayendas Chunnilal.
	Ditto . . .	Lasur . .	Ditto.
	Narhar Seoram Acharya's G. and P. Factory.	Aurangabad . .	N. S. Acharya.

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
HYDERABAD— <i>concl'd.</i>	(d) AURANGABAD—9— <i>cont'd</i>		
	Nowroji Jehangirji Gamacia's G. and P. Factory.	Jalna . .	N. J. Gamadia.
	Pestonji Merwanji G. and P. Factory.	Do. .	Pestonji Merwanji .
	(e) WARRANGAL—2.		
	Pingli Venkataramiared-di Press Factory.	Warrangal .	Pingli Venkataramiared-di Deshmukh.
	Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Shrikisna Press.	Do. .	Rai Bahadur Ramgopal.
	(f) RAICHUR—8.		
	Raichur Press Co. (Dynes).	Raichur . .	Bombay Co., Ltd.
	Yadgiri Gin and Press Co.	Yadgiri . .	C. Phakirappah.
	Chowni Phakirappah Gin and Press Factory.	Raichur . .	Ditto.
	Khimraj Rathi P. Factory.	Do. . .	..
	The Subbapathy Press Co.	Do. . .	Venkatrao.
	Volkart United Press Co., Ltd.	Do. . .	Volkart Bros.
	Chowni Phakirappah Press.	Yadgiri . .	C. Phakirappah.
MYSORE.	Palli Amarappa Gin and Press Co.	Do. . .	G. Amarappa.
	(g) NIZAMABAD—1.		
	Ramchandra Bajanlal's Press.	Nizamabad .	Ramchandra Bajanlal.
	CHITTALDRUG—3.		
MYSORE.	M. Shanmukapal R. Ramappa P. Factory.	Davangere .	A. Shadakshrippa.
	South India and Mysore Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	Do. . .	Nadirshaw H. Belgaum-walls & Co.
	The Talpatri Cotton Press.	Do. . .	Binny & Co.

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
BOMBAY STATES AND BARODA.	(s) KATHIAWAR—29.		
	(Halar Prant.)		
	Morvi State G. P. Factory	Morvi . .	..
	Dhoraji Cotton Press .	Dhoraji . .	Nagor Bros., Bombay.
	Bhayavador Cotton Press	Bhayavador .	Seth Tribhuwandas
	Paneli Cotton Press .	Paneli . .	Dhanji. Harji Dayal & Co.
	Rajkot Press Co.'s Press Factory.	Rajkot . .	Thakar Bhawan Lawji.
	The Rajkot Shri Lakh- jiraj G. and P. Co.	Do. . .	Ditto.
	(Sorath Prant.)		
	Probandar Cotton Fac- tory.	Probandar .	Abdul Latif Kadar Dina.
	Manawadar Cotton Press Factory.	Manawadar .	Sorabji Faramji Kera wala.
	Dewada Press Co.'s Gin and Press.	Dewada . .	Seth Dorabji Nauroji.
	Verawal Press Co. .	Verawal . .	Ravi Shankar Maya Shankar.
	Seth Madhavji Kanji's Gin and Press.	Shahpur . .	Seth Madhavji Kanji.
	Junagad Cotton Press Co.	Junagad . .	Prabhudas Tribhuwan- das Motichand.
	Jiwan Wasta's G. and P. Factory.	Vadal . .	Jiwan Wasta.
	Moti Kunkavav Gin and Press.	Moti Kunkavav	Thakkar Karson Kam- alshi.
	(Gohilwad Prant.)		
	Seth Dinshaji Bomanji .	Bhavnagar .	Rustomji Gambhir.
	Indian Cotton Press .	Do. . .	Merwanji Kharsetji.
	Bhavnagar City Press .	Do. . .	Prabha Shankar Veni Shankar.
	The Albert Press . .	Do. . .	Bora Jutha Sakar Chand.
	The Volkart Press .	Do. . .	R. J. Sathe.
	The Longman Press .	Do. . .	Motilal Gogal.
	Mercantile Press . .	Mahnva . .	..



States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
BOMBAY STATES AND BARODA — <i>contd.</i>	(s) KATHIAWAR—29— <i>contd.</i>		
	(Gohilwad Prant)— <i>contd.</i> The Mahuva Press .	Mahuva . .	Kanjibahi Raghavji.
	The Botad Press Factory (Jhalawad Prant.)	Botad . .	Harilal Maganlal.
	Shri Ghanashyama Cotton Press $\frac{A}{B}$	Dhrangadhra .	Ratilal Khesaval Sitwala.
	Lakhatar Cotton Press .	Lakhatar . .	Keshavlal Kanji Jani.
	Limbdi Cotton Press Factory.	Limbdi . .	Ratanji Nemchand.
	Whittle & Co.'s Pressing Factory.	Wadhwan City.	Whittle & Co.
	Whittle & Co.'s Gin and Press Factory.	Wadhwan Camp	Ditto.
	The New Berar Co., Ltd.	Ditto .	Goddum & Co., Ltd.
	(t) PALANPUR—1. Khuda Vind Jalalu dinkhanji Cotton Press.	Sami, Radhanpur State.	Lalji Narayanji.
	(u) BARODA—16. Mahaliram Lanmandas Press Factory.	Itola . .	..
	Seth Rustomji Fardunji Gin and Press.	Miyagam Karjan	..
	Naranarayan Press Factory.	Karjan . .	Parekh Girdharbhai Dadabhai.
	Pirozshah Darashah & Co.	Sadhali . .	..
	Balaji Vijaya Press Factory.	Karwan . .	Patel Ranchodbhai Jeshangbhai.
	Sekh Adam Esufbhai G. and P. Factory.	Dabhoi . .	..
	Seth Parbhudas Himatal & Co.	Do. . .	..
	Seth Firozshah Baheramji Kama.	Do. . .	..
	Karoli G. and Press Factory.	Do. . .	..
	Seth Himatlal Panjalal Press Factory.	Bahadurpur .	..

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
BOMBAY STATES AND BARODA —concl'd.	(u) BARODA—16—cont'd.		
	Pirozshah Jamsetji and Darashah Rustomji P. Factory.	Nansari .	..
	Mehesana G. and Press Factory.	Mehesana .	..
	Kadi G. P. and Oil Mills Co., Ltd.	Kadi . .	..
	Kalol Pressing Press .	Kalol . .	Seth Mangaldas Gir- dhadas.
	Seth Narayandas Raja- ram & Co.'s Press Factory.	Amreli . .	..
	Seth Chotalal Nagardas Press Factory.	Do. . .	..
	(v) KOLHAPUR AGENCY —6.		
	Dharamsy Damji G. and P. Factory.	Sangli . .	..
	Maharaja G. and P. Fac- tory.	Jamkhandi .	Jamkhandi State.
	Ditto .	Mudhol . .	Mudhol State.
	Pranjivandas Gordhandas G. and P. Factory.	Rudhagaon .	..
	Deccan Ginning and Pres- sing Factory.	Miraj (Senior) .	Rajaklod Imamsaheb.
	Pranjivandas Gordhandas & Co.'s Press.	Miraj (Junior) .	Jivanlal Ranchandlal Shaha.
PUNJAB STATES	(w) DHARWAR AGENCY —1.		
	Mahaboob G. and P. Fac- tory.	Savanur . .	..
	(s) PATIALA—4.		
	Bhupendra Cotton Mills and Press.	Narwana .	L. Prabhudayal.
	Dalas G. and P. Factory	Narnaul . .	Baldeoshai and Nihal Chand.
	Kanhyalal Bishen Lal G. and P. Factory.	Narwana .	Narsingdas.
	Lahore S. and W. Mill Co., Ltd. Press.	Sirhind . .	L. Bishan Das.

States.	Names of Factories.	Situation.	Names of Owners or Agents.
PUNJAB STATES —contd.	(t) NABHA—2.		
	Nanak Press. . .	Nabha . . .	..
	Cotton Press . . .	Mandi Gobindgarh.	..
	(u) JIND—2.		
	Narayan Singh & Co.'s Press.	Jind . . .	Narandas Jalota.
	Ranbir Mills G. and P. Factory.	Sangrur . . .	Chowdinsher Singh & Co.
	(v) MALER KOTLA—2.		
	Lala Gauschand G. F. and Press.	Maler Kotla . . .	..
	Lala Daulat Ram G. F. P.	Ahmadgarh . . .	Daulat Ram.
	RAMPUR STATE.		
UNITED PROVINCES STATE.	The Nawab Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factory.	Shankatali . . .	..

*List of Cotton Spinning Mills in Native States.*

States.	Name of Mill.	Situation.	Name of Agents or Owners.
HYDERABAD	Mahaboobshahi Gulburga Mills.	Gulbarga. .	S. E. Chenai and Sons, Agents.
	Hyderabad (Deccan) Spinning and Weaving Co.	Hyderabad. .	Ramannah Ramgopal and Bhoomiah, Agents.
	Aurangabad Mills .	Aurangabad .	Doraswami Iyar & Co., Agents.
MYSORE .	Mysore Spinning and Manufacturing Co.	Bangalore .	N. Sirur & Co., Agents.
	Bangalore Woollen, Cotton and Silk Mills.	Do. . .	Binny and Co., Agents.
	GWALIOR.		
CENTRAL INDIA	Binod Mills . . .	Ujjain . .	Binodiram Balchand, Agents.
	Cotton Ginning, Spinning and Weaving Mills Co.	Do. . .	Seth Lookmanbhoy Nazareally, Owner.
	INDORE.		
	H. H. the Maharaja Holkar's Spinning and Weaving Mills.	Indore . .	..
	Indore-Malwa United Mills. .	Do. . .	Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Co., Agents.
RAJPUTANA .	Hukumchand Mills .	Do. . .	Sarupchandji Hukumchand & Co.
	Maharaja Kishangarh Somyag Mills Co. (a).	Kishangarh .	Seth Premchand Kothari, Agents.
	Maharaja Mills Co. .	Baroda . .	Hergovindas D. Kantawalla & Co., Agents.
BARODA .	Shri Sayaji Jubilee Cotton and Jute Mills.	Do. . .	Prahladji Sewakram, Agents.
	Baroda Spinning and Weaving Co.	Do. . .	Javerchand Laxmichand, Agents.
	Shree Sayaji Mills .	Do. . .	Samuel Becher & Co., Agents.
BOMBAY STATES	Venishankar Laxmishankar Cotton Mills.	Bhavangar .	Prabha Sanker Venishanker & Co., Agents.
	Sir Bhavsingji Spinning and Weaving Mill.	Do. . .	Monilal Pitamberdas Patel, Proprietor.
	Vora Chaganlal Tribhuvandas Cotton Weaving Factory.	Do. . .	..

(a) Closed.

States	Name of Mill.	Situation.	Name of Agents or Owners,
BOMBAY STATES —contd.	Sir Waghji Wadhwan Camp Manufacturing Co.	Wadhwan .	Motee Jetha & Co., Agents.
	Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Spinning, Weaving and Manufacturing Co. (a)	Kolhapur .	R. R. Shirgavkar, Direc- tor.
	Morvi Spinning and Weaving Mills.	Morvi . .	H. H. the Thakur Sahib of Morvi.
	Shri Gajanan Weaving Mill.	Sangli . .	V. R. Vellankar and R. A. Dravid, Owners.
TRAVANCORE .	Darragh Spinningg Mill .	Quilon . .	T. Sriman Kantimati- nathan, Director.

# Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. V.

*Precedence inter se of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at social functions both in India and in England.*

1. Considerable difficulty has been felt owing to the absence of any rule for determining the precedence *inter se* of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at social functions both in India and in England.

2. For the purposes of official Durbars, at which Ruling Princes and Chiefs from different parts of India are present, the difficulty has been overcome by dividing them into territorial groups, the local order of precedence being observed, so far as it has been determined. This practice it is not proposed to disturb. But in the case of social functions, such as dinner parties, the formal grouping of the guests in territorial divisions would be clearly inappropriate and it is with reference to such functions that the advice of the Conference is desired.

3. There appear to be two alternative courses for solving the difficulty, viz. :—

(1) that a detailed precedence list should be prepared of all Ruling Princes and Chiefs throughout India ;

(2) that for settling the precedence *inter se*, for purely social purposes, of Ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different Provinces or Administrations, a rule should be adopted that all Ruling Princes

\* Personal salute to rank with, but below, permanent salutes.

and Chiefs having a certain number of guns\* should rank *inter se* according to the date of accession to the *gadi* or *masnad*.

The first course presents problems of a delicate character affecting the *izzat* of the States, the solution of which the Government of India would be very loth to attempt. They would be glad, therefore, if the members of the Conference would consider the second alternative.

4. It is recognised that the number of guns in a salute is not necessarily an index of the relative status of the personage concerned, and that the adoption of the principle of deciding precedence according to salutes would conflict in some instances, with the established order of local precedence. But it is hoped that any difficulties that may occur as the result of such discrepancies could be met, when they arise, by special arrangements.

5. The adoption of the rule, if approved, would be subject to the under-standings—

(a) that it would govern merely the personal precedence of the Ruling Prince or Chief for social purposes and would not prejudice the precedence of his State at official Durbars ;

(b) that the relative precedence of isolated States (*i.e.*, those belonging to no territorial group), where it has already been authorita-tively decided, would remain undisturbed.

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. VI.**

*Control and regulation of motor vehicles belonging to Ruling Princes and Chiefs brought temporarily from Native States into British India.*

It has been represented by certain authorities in British India that the letters R. P. M. C. are not sufficient to identify any particular motor car when several Ruling Princes and Chiefs using the same letters on their cars are in one place at the same time. It is possible to imagine cases in which such identification would be necessary in the interests of justice as, for example, when a chauffeur driving an empty car had run over a man and driven off without giving his name and address to the police, or had in other ways infringed the local regulations.

It has been suggested, therefore, that either groups of numbers should be allotted to the various States or the name of the State should be painted above or below the R. P. M. C., together with a separate number indicating its number among the cars of the State concerned. In this way, the cars of the Maharaja of Kolhapur, for example, would be marked—

either	R. P. M. C. 001	&c.
or	R. P. M. C. Kolhapur 1	&c.

while those of the Maharaja of Bikaner would be—

either	R. P. M. C. 102	&c.
or	R. P. M. C. Bikaner 2	&c.

The views of the Members of the Conference are invited on these alternative suggestions.

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. VII.**

*Rules for the conduct of the business of the Conference of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs.*

1. *Appointment of a Chairman.*—At the opening and closing meetings of the Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy will ordinarily preside. When the Viceroy is not present, the business before the Conference will be conducted under the guidance of a chairman who will be selected by the Viceroy.

2. *What matters may be considered by the Conference.*—The Conference will consider only those matters which are included in the *agenda*. Any member desiring to propose any subject for inclusion in the *agenda*, will send it in writing to the Political Secretary to the Government of India at least two months before the date of the meeting.

3. *Duties of the Chairman and points of order.*—The chairman will preserve order, and all points of order will be decided by him.

4. *Members to rise when speaking.*—Every member will rise when he speaks, and will address the chairman.

5. *Members who cannot speak English.*—Speeches will ordinarily be made in English. In the case of a member being unable to express himself in English he may depute another member to deliver his speech, or it may be taken as read and recorded with the proceedings of the Conference.

If the latter procedure is desired, a copy of the speech should be sent to the chairman, if possible, two days before the day fixed for the discussion of the subject in question.

6. *Interruptions and explanations.*—When, for the purpose of explanation during discussion, or for any other sufficient reason, a member has occasion to ask a question of another member on any matter then under the consideration of the Conference, he will ask the question through the chairman. When a member rises to offer an explanation, the speaker must resume his seat until the member offering such an explanation has finished speaking. Interruptions, except for the purpose of explanation or on a point of order, should be avoided.

7. *Resolutions and amendments.*—Any member wishing to propose a resolution or amendment is requested to hand to the chairman a copy in writing of such resolution or amendment.

Amendments will ordinarily be considered in the order of the clauses of the resolution to which they refer, and no amendment can be proposed after the resolution to which it refers has been passed.

8. *Voting.*—On every motion before the Conference the question will be put by the chairman, and will be decided by a majority of votes.

Votes will be taken by a show of hands.

#### *Select Committees.*

9. *Reference to select committees.*—When a subject is being considered by the Conference, any member may propose that it may be referred to a select committee.

10. *Composition of select committees.*—The members of every committee will be selected by the members of the Conference, and at the discretion of the Conference may include persons, not being members of the Conference whose expert advice may be required.

11. *Reports by select committees.*—Select committees will present their reports to the Conference for consideration.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.

*5th November, 1917.*

### HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

YOUR HIGHNESSES,—

I welcome you once more to this Council Chamber in which we meet for the second time to discuss in a friendly and informal manner certain matters as to which the Government of India would be glad to learn your views and to enlist your co-operation. I am glad to find that the Conference has not lost its popularity, and that the number of members attending exceeds that of last year. This shows, I think, that Your Highnesses realize the advantage of such meetings not only as giving an opportunity for bringing your views before the Government of India, but also as drawing you into touch with larger issues affecting the welfare of your States and of India generally. Some of you, I know, contemplate the early establishment of some constitutional assemblage of the nature (to use the words of Your Highnesses' address last year) of a "Council of Princes with specified functions and well-defined powers." That, Your Highnesses, is an ideal which you may well place before yourselves, but which must, I fear, wait for its realisation until further experience indicates the lines on which these informal Conferences may most appropriately be developed in the joint interests of yourselves and of the Empire at large. In the speeches which I delivered at the last Conference I made it clear that its function was to advise the Government of India on certain specific matters concerning yourselves, your States and your people, and I urged that you should give time for development and growth before giving to this assemblage a formal shape in which its functions and powers would be strictly defined. My view was, and is, that, if an institution is to meet a real want and to give real help towards the progress of India, it must evolve gradually on the lines which experience may show are best suited to its healthy growth. I am strengthened in this view by what has happened during the past year. You all know of the notable development in regard to the Imperial Conference; how in 30 years from being an assemblage of Colonial Premiers presided over by the Colonial Secretary, it has now, through gradual stages of growth dictated by the needs of the time, become a body representing the whole Empire, including India and the Indian States, and presided over by the Prime Minister. You know, too, how the Indian representative, including your own able and distinguished representative, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, were admitted to the innermost Councils of the Imperial War Cabinet, and so were in a position to exercise a voice in shaping the policy of the British Empire. Could any more convincing example be found of the advantage of proceeding slowly along the road of natural evolution in preference to building up on paper an artificial structure which, after its completion, may be found altogether unsuited and unadaptable to the needs which it is intended to supply? I say then, once more, let us continue these Conferences in their present informal shape—and I can assure you that for my part I wish them to continue annually during my tenure of office,—and let us carefully and patiently watch the course of events. The constitution of India, as you will have realised from a recent pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State, is itself destined to change, as time goes on, in harmony with the higher political

education of the Indian people and their natural aspirations for a greater share in the administration of this country

To turn to a question of even wider and more pressing interest, I cannot let this occasion pass without thanking Your Highnesses once more for the most generous and loyal support which you have given towards the prosecution of the great war. Since I last addressed you in this chamber, I have called on you for greater efforts in two directions, first, in the matter of providing adequate reserves for the maintenance at full strength of your Imperial Service Troops, which are doing such admirable work on active service at the various theatres of the war; and, secondly, in the matter of raising recruits in your territories for the fighting forces and auxiliary services connected with the army. In both cases, I received from Your Highnesses a most gratifying response to my appeal.

As regards Imperial Service Troops, all the Darbars concerned have given generous concessions for the period of the war, including increases of pay and pension, the grant of *batta* money rewards to recruits on enlistment and special terms of land revenue to the families of men on service. These concessions have been very effective in stimulating recruiting and in most cases the depôts of the Imperial Service Troops have, I am glad to learn, been brought up to the required strength, and arrangements made to secure a steady flow of reserves for the future.

In addition to these measures, certain States have decided to increase the strengths of their Imperial Service units for the period of the war. Thus, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has recently added a complete new battalion of infantry, while the Kapurthala and Bahawalpur Darbars have both increased their units by the strength of a double company. Last, but not least His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has most generously offered to equip and maintain a camel transport and two mule transport corps in India for the same period.

As regards recruiting for the regular army, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner and Patiala have given valuable advice and assistance to the Central Recruiting Board which has been constituted to co-ordinate the efforts which have become necessary both for the formation of new regiments and to maintain existing units, combatant and non-combatant, at their full strength. I have appealed to Your Highnesses, and I am sure that my appeal will not be in vain, to do your utmost to encourage your subjects to come forward at this momentous juncture. The question of the supply of manpower is vital and I know that I can count on you not to slacken your efforts to obtain recruits until victory has been finally achieved.

Before we deal with the agenda on the paper, I should like to refer to two important questions which were discussed at the last Conference. The first of these is the question of the principles to be observed during minority administrations in your States. Your Highnesses will have received before this a copy of the resolution which my Government have recorded on the subject. The resolution follows in the main the memorandum circulated by Lord Hardinge's Government as amplified by the resolutions which Your Highnesses adopted at the last Conference. There are, however, a few points of difference, regarding which it seems desirable that I should give some explanation. In the first place, you will notice that, in the opening clause of the preamble, we have stated that the resolution carries with it the authority of His Majesty's Government. This places our pronouncement on a solid and permanent footing, more appropriate in the case of an important declaration of policy

than an informal communication made to individual Princes. I trust that this alteration of form will commend itself to Your Highnesses. Again, in the final paragraph of the preamble, we have made it plain that while we are prepared to give due weight to wishes expressed by individual Rulers regarding the principles which they desire to be adopted in the case of their own States, we reserve to ourselves full freedom of action in dealing with such representations. The necessity for making this reservation will, I think, be recognized by Your Highnesses, seeing that human nature is fallible, and that there are some requests with which the Government of India would obviously find it impossible to comply with due regard to their responsibilities.

To turn now to the *principles*. Clause (1), regarding the form of administration of the State during a minority, follows Your Highnesses' resolution almost *verbatim* and the modifications are purely matters of drafting. In clause (12), regarding permanent or long-term commercial concessions or monopolies we have added to the original memorandum a warning that the rule prohibiting the grant of such concessions during a minority should be applied with caution with regard to the best interests of the State concerned, in order that the development of important and valuable industries may not be hindered. I think that Your Highnesses will readily admit that such a caution is very desirable. Finally, in clause (17) we have defined broadly the position of our Political Officers in regard to these principles. The wording of the clause is intentionally vague in order to provide for the case of backward States, where some considerable degree of supervision may be necessary in the interests of the Darbar. For the rest, the definition of the Political Officer's position as being "answerable to the Government of India for the maintenance of these principles," coincides closely with your resolution, which recognises that, if the Government of India are to be in reality the trustees and guardians of the interests of your States during a minority, it is most necessary that their representative, resident in the State, should assist them in discharging that responsibility.

Before leaving this subject, I should like to congratulate Your Highnesses on having co-operated with us in producing a really useful piece of constructive work, which should be of great value both to the Government of India and to your States. Our acknowledgments are specially due to Their Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia, the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner, who, when serving on the committee, assembled by Lord Hardinge in February 1916, drew the outlines of the finished product now in your hands.

Another important question which was the subject of lively debate during last year's proceedings was that of the recognition of successions in the Native States and of the ceremonial to be observed at installations and investitures. Your Highnesses will remember that in the original draft memorandum which was placed before you for your criticism and advice, it was mentioned, as an introductory statement to the proposed instructions regarding ceremonial that "every succession requires the approval and sanction of Government". Your Highnesses took exception to that statement and held the view that succession takes place immediately as a matter of inherent right, and is not dependent on the approval or recognition of the Government of India. At the same time you admitted that the British Government has the authority of approval and recognition in cases of disputed succession. Now, in recording these views, Your Highnesses did not in any sense wish to dispute the paramountcy of His Majesty the King-Emperor in relation to your States, on whose loyal co-operation His Majesty's Government have always been able to rely. In fact, you accept it in the fullest manner. It is clear also that

the formal recognition of a new Ruler is, in all cases, a necessary concomitant of the act of succession, since the position of a Ruling Prince who is not recognised by the King-Emperor would clearly be impossible. The point to which you took special exception was the unqualified statement in the memorandum that all successions require the sanction and approval of the Government, no reservation being made of the succession of a direct natural heir, in regard to whose legitimacy or right to succeed no reasonable doubt exists. If I interpret your views correctly, you apprehended that the statement which I have quoted, if left unquestioned, would in some degree cast doubt on the inherent right of the natural heir to succeed. Now, I have no wish to disguise the fact that the statement made in the memorandum was in some respects defective. The function of the Paramount Power is more properly described by the words "recognition and confirmation" than the words "approval and sanction," and it is the former phrase which has commonly been used in the past. Moreover, in the case of the succession of a direct natural heir, such recognition is purely formal, and the obligation on the part of the new ruler to obtain it in no way impairs his inherent right to succeed. This point has been made clear in the revised memorandum which has been approved by His Majesty's Government and which now lies before you. The memorandum, as revised, states that, "where there is a natural heir in the direct line, he succeeds as a matter of course," and I trust that this definite statement, which is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government will remove entirely the apprehensions to which I have alluded. To prevent any misunderstanding however, I should make it clear to you, *first* that recognition by the King-Emperor is necessary in all cases; and, *secondly*, that the formula used in the memorandum is not of course intended to apply to the very rare case of a wholly unsuitable heir whom the Paramount Power would be compelled to depose immediately after succession.

You may ask what is meant by a "wholly unsuitable heir". My answer is, an heir who by disloyal or criminal conduct has shown himself to be unfitted to rule. The enquiry into such conduct would ordinarily be undertaken during the lifetime of the previous Ruler, and the unfitness of the heir if established would be explicitly declared. You may therefore rest assured that in the absence of such declaration (which we may hope may never prove to be necessary) your legitimate heirs in the direct line will succeed to the Rulership as a matter of course. The memorandum, you will observe, makes no mention of the case of an heir who is of unsound mind, and I do not propose to refer to such cases beyond saying that the Government of India have no intention of debarring the succession of such persons, unless, *first* their insanity has been certified by thoroughly competent medical opinion; and, *secondly* the exclusion of such an individual from succession would be in accordance with the law or custom of the particular State.

I may now pass on to the matter of ceremonial. Here you will notice that we have made important concessions to the sentiments expressed by Your Highnesses at the last Conference. We have provided that in the case of direct successions recognition will be conveyed by an exchange of complimentary *Kharitas* between the new Prince and the Viceroy or other high authority concerned, and that the *Kharita* from the latter will be presented by a representative of the British Government at a formal visit. I trust that this modification of the practice, which has generally obtained for so many years, will be found agreeable to Your Highnesses.

We have further provided that, in the case of Darbars held for the purpose of announcing recognition of a succession or of announcing the termination of a minority and the investiture of a Prince or a Chief with ruling powers, the

Durbar will be considered as held by the Prince or Chief, the representative of the British Government sitting at his right hand. In this matter, too, we have been guided by the strong wishes expressed by Your Highnesses, and I think that I may confidently predict that the modification will meet with your approval.

The remaining items in the memorandum call for no special mention, and I would only appeal to Your Highnesses to believe that in framing its terms we have been actuated by an earnest desire to model our procedure on the lines best calculated to meet the sentiments which you have expressed and to maintain to the full the honour and dignity of your Houses.

Your Highnesses will be interested to hear of another recent decision of the Government of India, which affects the comforts of those of you who are accustomed to pay occasional visits to places in British India. Hitherto it has been thought necessary in the interests of yourselves and of the various local authorities in British India that, before paying such visits you should obtain the previous consent of the Local Government concerned. The fulfilment of this requirement has, I understand, in some cases proved irksome in practice and we have now arranged, in consultation with Local Governments, to restrict the obligation to the case of visits to places such as hill stations, where accommodation is limited or where special local conditions render it necessary to maintain the rule. In all other cases, all that is required is that previous intimation should be given, as a matter of courtesy, to the Local Government concerned, and even this intimation will not be expected in the case of casual visits where no prolonged stay is contemplated and where no house is engaged. We have published a resolution to this effect, a copy of which you will find before you. I trust that this modification of the previous rule will conduce to Your Highnesses' comfort and convenience, and I feel confident that Your Highnesses will courteously help Local Governments by giving timely intimation of your projected visits. I need not assure you that we welcome every opportunity of meeting you whether in your own States or in British India and the stipulations made in the resolution are made purely as a matter of mutual convenience.

I now come to the agenda for the present Conference, a list of which, with explanatory memoranda, has been supplied to Your Highnesses. You will observe that the list contains no items of a political character likely to lead to controversial discussion, and this will perhaps be recognised as an advantage. It includes, however, questions such as the development of agriculture and horse-breeding operations in your States the discussion of which, if it leads to improvement in those directions, will have a most important bearing on the prosperity of your States and the well-being of your people and also the development of the resources of the Indian Empire. On these questions and on that relating to the improvement of agricultural and other statistics, I would propose that Your Highnesses should have a brief discussion in full Conference, followed by further individual consultations with the expert officers of my Government who have come to Delhi for the purpose. After those consultations Your Highnesses may be in a position to put forward some useful general suggestions.

The question of allowing the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges to be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, should not, I think, entail more than a brief discussion; since I apprehend that Your Highnesses will readily approve the extension to the Raipur College of the privileges enjoyed by the existing Chiefs' Colleges, which have done such notable service in training young men of princely and aristocratic families for their duties in life.

Then, there is the question of adopting some general rule for settling the precedence, *inter se* for purely social purposes of ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different provinces or administrations. This at first sight appears to be a matter which might lead to discussion of an embarrassing character, but I trust that, if Your Highnesses confine yourselves strictly to the terms of the reference it should be possible by the exercise of mutual forbearance and good-will to arrive at a satisfactory solution.

The last item on the paper, which has been added since the agenda were originally circulated, relates to the provision of additional identification marks for motor cars belonging to Ruling Princes and Chiefs which are brought into British India. Alternative suggestions have been put forward for meeting the difficulty, the solution of which, I think I may safely leave to your ingenuity.

You will notice that the list of agenda does not include a discussion on the rules\* which have been tentatively adopted for regulating the procedure of these Conferences. The reasons for this omission is that the rules have already been seen by number of those now present, some of whom have made most helpful suggestions and criticisms. I shall however, raise no objection whatever to further collective discussion of this subject should any of the members of this Conference so desire.

I would now propose, unless Your Highnesses have any general observations to make, to proceed with the discussion of item 1 of the agenda.

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#### REPLY BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

We offer our grateful thanks to Your Excellency for welcoming us again to this Conference where we meet for the second time during your Viceroyalty.

Your Excellency has rightly observed that the Conference has not lost its popularity with the Ruling Princes of India as is evinced by the increased number of the members who have come to Delhi for the purpose. The Foreign Office list shows that there are 46 Ruling Princes and Chiefs, including His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim from the very borders of the Indian Empire, attending the Conference this year as against 41 who attended last year.

This gratifying feature, in spite of the fact that the agenda is not so important as that of the last year, clearly shows the great importance which we attach to these meetings.

We hope to address Your Excellency at greater length on the concluding day and so we will not take up any further time-to day.

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#### Item No. I of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President :—**Turning then to item No. 1 of the agenda in regard to the Rajkumar College, perhaps, it would be convenient if I were just to read the brief explanatory note which Your Highnesses have before you :—

“ In January 1917 the Central Provinces Administration asked that a pass in the final examination of the Rajkumar College, Raipur,

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\* This was subsequently included as supplementary item of the agenda.

might be recognised as a qualification for the diploma which is granted to passed students of the existing Chiefs' Colleges. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who has recently inspected the college, has reported very favourably on its financial position, buildings, grounds, staff, discipline and general educational standard. During his inspection he explained to the authorities that the diploma could only be given if the college were inspected regularly and the pupils submitted to the diploma examination. The Government of India would be glad of the opinion of the Conference on the proposal made by the Central Provinces Administration."

I hope some member of the Conference will give us a lead in this important question.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**Having given full consideration to the report submitted by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, recommending the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges to be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, and the college to be recognised to that extent as one of the colleges of the Princes, there does not seem to exist any objection against allowing the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges to be given to the successful students of the said college, as it is evident from the said report that as regards financial position, buildings, grounds, staff discipline and general educational standard it is in good order as required for the standard of the Chief's Colleges, but the status of the students needs some consideration.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur :—**From what we learn from the report of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India regarding the Rajkumar College at Raipur, it may be conceded that "from the educational point of view" the college "can, as far as the attainments of the staff and of the students are concerned, participate in the diploma examination." But, in our opinion, considering the political status of the families (excepting a few) from which the students are recruited, it is not desirable that the college should "rak with" other Rajkumar Colleges, as complications may arise when, after passing the diploma examination, the students of the college may claim admission into the Higher Chiefs' College. Such a step will do away with the exclusiveness of the Chiefs' Colleges which, according to the ideas of Ruling Princes and Chiefs in these provinces, should be carefully preserved and jealously guarded.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**To my mind the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who inspected the Rajkumar College at Raipur, was quite right in explaining to the authorities of the institution that the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges could only be given to the students if they submitted to the diploma examination. The financial position, buildings, grounds, staff, discipline and the general educational standard of the college have been reported on very favourably, and I find that the Educational Commissioner has no hesitation in saying that the college can, so far as the attainments of the staff and of the students are concerned, participate in the diploma examination. I therefore see no reason why the Central Provinces authorities should not adopt the diploma curriculum at the Raipur College, if they are desirous of the diploma being granted to the students of that institution. For if without any change in the present curriculum, the pass in the final examination of the Raipur College is recognized as a qualification for the diploma which is granted to the passed students of the existing Chiefs' Colleges, it would mean creating an uncomfortable precedent, and it would be difficult to

refuse similar requests from other institutions whose financial position and general educational standard may approximate to the standard of the Chiefs' Colleges.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**I agree to allowing a diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges to be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, and to recognise the college to that extent as one of the Chiefs' Colleges.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor :—**As the Rajkumar College, Raipur, is situated near the homes of the sons and relations of the Chiefs and Zemindars of the Central Provinces, it is really convenient to have it there. It is in the interests of the young Kumars themselves that they should receive their education in an institution of the kind. There their equals alone are admitted. Besides the control of the institution is in the hands of a responsible European officer of the Educational Department in whose charge the morals and general discipline of the Kumars are never likely to be spoilt. If it is intended to treat the college as a Chief's College, there should not be the slightest objection to it. But that care should be taken to see that the education given there is just on the lines given to the Kumars of the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. That college is a perfect model for one's guidance. If the general educational standard and discipline are maintained, physical, moral and religious training is imparted to the Kumars on sounder basis and annual inspections are held to see that the institution has been keeping up its position with other similar institutions, it may very well be recognised as a Chiefs' College and the Kumars there granted diplomas, if they appear for the diploma examination and come out successful. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India has also discussed this question in his report at full length.

**The Raja of Sarangarh :—**Your Excellency,—As an ex-student of the Rajkumar College of Raipur, I would like to press the claims of that institution to rank equal in status with the Chiefs' Colleges situated elsewhere in India, as strongly as I can, upon the attention of this Conference. We in the Central Provinces who are so keen about having the status of our *alma mater* so raised, have no reason to be dissatisfied with the progress that the proposal has made within the short time that has elapsed since it was first made. It was, I believe, in September 1915 that the governing body of the college first passed a resolution to the effect that a request should be made to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to take steps with a view to getting the college recognized by the Government of India as a Chiefs' College on the same footing as the other four colleges. The Local Government took up the proposal in all earnestness and matters have so far advanced that the report of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, is already in your hands. The report leaves nothing for me to say as regards the claims to be urged. In staff, equipment and discipline the institution is quite an equal of similar institutions elsewhere. The admission of the alumni of this college to the diploma examination will afford a wholesome stimulus to competition and will further enable them to pass on to the proposed Higher Chiefs' College. The acceptance of the proposal made by the Government of India will afford very great satisfaction to all those who are interested in the institution either as students or their guardians or members of its governing body.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**May I, with Your Excellency's permission, ask for an explanation on a point which does not appear to be quite



clear ? It is not very clear to me what extra advantage the Raipur College will derive by being placed on the same footing as the other Rajkumar colleges by this request being granted.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :**—I would suggest tht the Raja of Sarangarh should explain what the advantages are that are expected if this proposal is accepted. I undertand that the desire is mainly sentimental. It is in order to obtain recognition of the Raipur College as a Chiefs' College to the extent of being admitted to take the same diploma.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Your Excellency, —Before the question is discussed at length I would like to bring to the notice of Your Excellency and to the members, Your Highnesses, who are present here a fact which came out when we were discussing the question of our own diploma course at the Ajmer College at a meeting which I attended there on the 31st October. Out of the four Rajkumar colleges the Daly College at Indore has already abandoned the diploma course and gone back to the university course which was the course at Ajmer College, for instance, when I was studying there ; and owing to want of confidence and reasons of that sort, which led to the parents not favouring a diploma course, we have been considering for the last I believe, two years or so as to the advisibility of the diploma course ; and the point I wish to submit now is that the Principal of the Mayo College was aksed by us at the council meeting of the college the other day to give us a comparative statement as to the curriculum of the diploma and the post-diploma courses and the curriculum of the equivalent studies in the university. I believe also that the Rajkumar College at Rajkot has the university training. That at present leaves only two of the existing Rajkumar colleges, the Mayo College at Ajmer and the Aitchison College, which follow the diploma course. If the Mayo College—I do not say it is likely or unlikely—decide to go back to the university course, then it would be a question for the authorities of the Raipur College to consider whether they would like to change now and propose to go back if the other colleges veer back to the view, or whether they would like to wait and go on with the present curriculum till the Rajkumar colleges, in consultation with the Government of India, have come to a final decision on the point.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Your Excellency, I notice from a list that there are altogether about 13 States in the Central Provinces. I am not completely aware of their status and importance, but the question at issue will, I understand primarily be guided by two factors, the first of which will be finance and the second sentiment about putting this college at Raipur on the same footing and status as the existing Chiefs' colleges in the various provinces. As regards the first question, although I understand from the report that the college is well financed at present, the question is when we have, as we hope to have, a Higher College for Chiefs at Delhi, whether the Raipur College, which is supposed to rest on the same footing as the colleges in the other provinces, will be able to take its due share also in financing the new scheme. That is a question that will be of importance of course when the finances of the new college will advance a stage further. In dealing with the second question namely, that of sentiment the first question to be answered is whether this college is only meant for these 13 States, the importance of which, as I say I am not aware of, or whether it will also include any other students from outside that sphere. On that question perhaps either the Political Secretary or the Raja Sahib of Sarangarh may enlighten me.

**The Raja of Sarangarh :**—It is meant for Bihar and Orissa and Bengal too. It is not meant for one province only,

**The Raja of Khairagarh** :—I hope it will include Bengal as well. It will greatly heighten the prestige of the college.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Then it becomes a wider question still as to what provinces will be included eventually in sending their students and boys to the college, and whether they will be prepared to finance the Higher College, and what will be the status of the State and of the students coming to this college. Until this question is decided, to my mind, it is difficult to come to any final decision. We all, I have no doubt, share the hope with the Chiefs of the Central Provinces that education may be well advanced in their college and I have no doubt that we all have full sympathy with them in this respect; but as regards the question of post diploma, which I understand is mainly required for the purposes of placing that college on the same status as the other existing colleges, the question will in my opinion require further consideration from the standpoint which I put forward before the Conference.

**His Excellency the President** :—Your Highnesses, I think it seems perfectly clear from the discussion that has taken place this morning that Your Highnesses are not ready for a decision on this matter. Perhaps I might suggest for the consideration of Your Highnesses whether you would not like to appoint a small sub-committee to go into the question and see whether that sub-committee will be prepared to make any recommendations, either for or against, on the proposal which is before Your Highnesses. I do not know whether that will meet with your wishes?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—That will be a very good idea.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I agree.

**His Excellency the President** :—Will Your Highnesses suggest a committee which should of course represent some of Your Highnesses who have already had the benefit of education at the Rajkumar College, Raipur?

It is always difficult on the spur of the moment to suggest the names, but as no member of the Conference rises to suggest names I throw out a few names for the consideration of Your Highnesses. I think, in the first place, it would be indispensable that the Rajas of Khairagarh and Sarangarh, who come from the Central Provinces and who were concerned in this matter, should of course be on this committee to put the case of the college. Then I have tried to consider the case of Your Highnesses who have had the advantage of education in some of the other colleges. I throw out, for your consideration, from Bombay His Highness the Rao of Cutch, who is interested in this matter, from the Punjab His Highness the Raja of Faridkot, from Central India His Highness the Raja of Sailana and from Rajputana His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar who knows all about the Mayo College. I suggest these names, which are merely tentative, for the sub-committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I fully agree with the names suggested.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—I second the proposal.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** :—I support the proposal.

**His Excellency the President** :—I should like a little opposition on the part of some of Your Highnesses. (Laughter.)

At present the proposal that the names that I have just mentioned should form the committee to consider and report to the Conference with regard to this matter has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, seconded by His Highness the Jam Sahib and supported by His Highness the

Maharaja of Kashmir. May I now put the question to the vote? That is, those who are in favour will signify in the usual manner by saying "Aye" and those against will say "No."

The motion was then put to the Conference and agreed to.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**May I suggest for the consideration of the Conference the time and date for the consideration of this subject by the sub-committee?

**His Excellency the President :—**I think that is a very important matter. I propose that the Sub-Committee should begin its work almost forthwith.

I am afraid that in proposing the names that should form the committee, I omitted to suggest that the Secretary of this Conference, Mr. Wood, should serve on this committee, and perhaps he would communicate with the various members who have just been appointed to the committee and arrange for a suitable time and place.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I support it.

**His Excellency the President :—**Will that meet Your Highness' wishes?

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**Certainly.

#### Item No. V of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President :—**We now come to Item No. V. Precedence *inter se* of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at social functions both in India and in England. May I read to Your Highnesses the memorandum which has been circulated to you?

1. "Considerable difficulty has been felt owing to the absence of any rule for determining the precedence *inter se* of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at social functions both in India and in England.

2. "For the purposes of official Durbars, at which Ruling Princes and Chiefs from different parts of India are present, the difficulty has been overcome by dividing them into territorial groups, the local order of precedence being observed so far as it has been determined. This practice it is not proposed to disturb. But in the case of social functions, such as dinner parties, the formal grouping of the guests in territorial divisions would be clearly inappropriate, and it is with reference to such functions that the advice of the Conference is desired.

3. "There appear to be two alternative courses for solving the difficulty, viz.—

(1) that a detailed precedence list should be prepared of all Ruling Princes and Chiefs throughout India;

(2) that for settling the precedence *inter se* for purely social purposes of Ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different provinces or administrations, a rule should be adopted that all Ruling Princes and Chiefs having a certain number of guns\* should rank *inter se* according to the date of accession to the *gadi* or *masnad*.

\* Personal salutes to rank with, but below, permanent salutes.

The first course presents problems of a delicate character affecting the *izzat* of the States, the solution of which the Government of India would be very loth to attempt. They would be glad, therefore, if the members of the Conference would consider the second alternative.

4. "It is recognised that the number of guns in a salute is not necessarily an index of the relative status of the personage concerned, and that the adoption of the principle of deciding precedence according to salutes would conflict in some instances, with the established order of local precedence. But it is hoped that any difficulties that may occur as the result of such discrepancies could be met, when they arise, by special arrangements.

5. "The adoption of the rule, if approved, would be subject to the under-standings—

(a) that it would govern merely the personal precedence of the Ruling Prince or Chief for social purposes, and would not prejudice the precedence of his State at official Durbars :

(b) that the relative precedence of isolated States (*i.e.*, those belonging to no territorial group), where it has already been authoritatively decided, would remain undisturbed."

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**The question regarding the precedence *inter se* of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at social functions both in India and in England, as described in the agenda, is of such a delicate nature and full of difficulties that it deserves a most careful consideration to arrive at a proper conclusion.

It is quite clear that the *izzat* of the Princes and Chiefs of Native States is inseparably bound with their persons and so they cannot part, I am sure, with this their most valuable legacy, which was established by their honoured ancestors at the great sacrifice of their person and property in the service of the Empire, and which is well protected by the Imperial Government. The *izzat* of the Princes cannot be different in social functions from that of official Durbars which they are bound to maintain to their utmost.

It will not be out of place to state here that a question of this nature, though not of a social function, was raised during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon on the occasion of the Imperial Coronation Durbar in 1903, to which I most respectfully objected, and I am sure the other brother Princes also might have done the same as the matter was of common interest and of great importance, and consequently the order of precedence, both in the procession and the Durbar, was not altered, but was kept what was being observed from time immemorial.

On the occasions where the *izzat* of the States concerned is not desired, and where they are to join as friends without the observance of any formality deserving their rank, there should not arise a question of precedence.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**We had an informal meeting yesterday, I mean a small committee amongst ourselves, to consider whether we could offer any solution of this difficulty to the Conference, but we did not find time enough yesterday to go fully into this question. But if Your Excellency would like to hear the few points which we noted,—(of course we did not get to the stage of the final report), but we have noted a few points, I shall lay them before the Conference ; but if Your Excellency desires that these points may be laid before the Conference after some discussion has taken place, I shall wait till then.

**His Excellency the President :—**I understand Your Highnesses held purely an informal committee, but I think if Your Highness would indicate to the Conference what the points are, it would be of some assistance. Your Highnesses will recognise that we appreciate that this question is a very difficult one and that it bristles with great difficulties. But it is of course, a difficulty which is continually cropping up, and therefore, so far as the Government of India are concerned, we should like some indication of the views of Your Highnesses on this difficult and important question.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**The committee thought that the point involved in item No. V of the agenda, as the Government of India have themselves observed, is one of considerable difficulty and delicacy. But on the other hand the committee appreciated that, if a solution could possibly be found of this complicated question, such as might be acceptable to the Princes, it would be a great advantage in social functions. Here I may be permitted to say something, and I say this entirely for myself not as general secretary of the informal meeting, nor on behalf of the committee, I for one hope that some day, it might even be a very distant day, if we found a solution the decision will help to solve some of the disputed cases of social and other functions. But that is by the way. But the committee felt that, before serious efforts could be concentrated with a view to finding a possible solution of the precedence *inter se* of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, it should be desirable that, in the first instance, there should be a careful revision of the existing salutes and the hereditary titles or designations of the Ruling Princes, a necessity which might also have been apparent to the Government of India.

Then the committee at the same time thought that the question of precedence—although this is not really connected with the question—in titles and distinctions of the sons of Ruling Princes and Chiefs might be considered and the precedence of the Ruling Princes *vis-a-vis* high British officials.

Another suggestion the committee made was that, though we have noted with gratification the reversion by the Government of India to the old established term "Ruling Princes" for our order, it was perhaps necessary in this connection and might help if a line of distinction were drawn on some equitable basis, so that the relative position of Ruling Princes and Ruling Chiefs might also be more fully defined; and the committee expressed the hope, that the term which has been reverted to by the Government of India might be more formally applied also by British officers in general. The committee suggested to the Ruling Princes the advisability of considering whether they would request Your Excellency to consider the formation of a committee now or after the war, as may be convenient to the Government of India, to examine into these questions after which it might be less difficult to see if a solution could be found. If the committee were appointed, till a decision was arrived at, it was thought that the present practice would naturally be continued. They also suggested that, if the committee were appointed, the Political Secretary to the Government of India might be on it as well as some representatives of the Ruling Princes.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**The question of settling the precedence *inter se* for purely social purposes of Ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different provinces bristles with difficulties and is of a singularly delicate character. In regard to this question I am in entire agreement with the views of the committee of Ruling Princes and Chiefs which was appointed to consider this matter.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**In my opinion a Ruler cannot be one in social functions and another in official functions. The

status of a Ruler is indivisible. He occupies and is entitled to the same highest attention and courtesy whether in social or official functions.

Then what about the relative positions of Rulers *inter se* when more than one are present? Broadly speaking, all Rulers are and ought to be one and the same all the world over, and Indian conceptions of a Ruler are in no wise different.

There are two broad classes of Indian Rulers—Treaty and Non-Treaty. In my opinion where Rulers both Treaty and Non-Treaty are present Treaty Rulers should have the precedence, and as between Treaty or Non-Treaty Rulers *inter se* there can and ought to be no distinction. There ought to be perfect equality and the date of accession may fairly be taken to determine the relative rank between Rulers of the same class.

The decorations or salutes of a Ruler are but a corollary of his position as a Ruler. These by themselves do not confer the character of a Ruler. Hence salute or title cannot furnish the key to the respective social status of Ruling Princes.

In the view that I hold above, *viz.*, that there can and should be no distinction drawn between official and social functions in the case of Rulers, there is no alternative but to pursue the course indicated in question 5, paragraph 3, clause (1), although it presents problems of a delicate character and nothing can be further to the cause of the Ruling Princes than the desire to avoid a free and frank exposition on the true status of Indian Princes.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**I have carefully pondered over the question and have come to the conclusion that the principle that seniority of accession to the *gadi* or *masnad* is, generally speaking, a sound basis for settling personal precedence at social functions. But the vital question that arises in this connection is to what class of Ruling Princes should this standard be applied? The Government of India memorandum propounds the equality of salutes as the basis of application of the formula laid down. I am of opinion that the parity of salutes alone would hardly be a legitimate and fair standard.

It would be unnecessary for me to inflict on the Conference a digression into the genesis of the salutes of the various States in India, but I trust I shall carry the members with me in the conviction that these salutes could not be accepted or treated as an index of the relative status of the Princes concerned. Diverse considerations appear to have dominated different cases. I would suggest that the criterion proposed by Government should be supplemented by another factor which cannot be overlooked. In my judgment both the salute and the title should be attached due weight in determining this knotty question.

For example, a Maharaja should take precedence of a Raja, a Maharana of a Rana, and so on. Although there is no counterpart of Ruling Princes of India in England, yet the fact that titular gradation in the English Peerage serves as the basis of precedence may be cited in corroboration of my plea.

I am no lover of the Hun methods, but as a further illustration of the point I am urging, the instance of Germany as the only country which comprises Reigning Dukes, etc., corresponding in some measure to our own Princes may be referred to as a case in point.

The same standard as advocated by me governs the relative precedence of the ruling members of that federated Empire. Emperor, King, Grand Duke and Duke take precedence in the order of gradation.

The absence of a corresponding gradation among the Muhammadan Ruling Princes would appear to mar the general applicability of this criterion in India. But their comparatively small numbers could easily admit of their classification into groups that would answer to the titular distinction among the Hindu Princes. For example, certain Nawabs would be classed as equivalent to Maharajas or Maharanas and others to Rajas or Ranas, etc. But the adoption of these criteria for determining precedence at social functions would, I confess, work hardly in a majority of cases until and unless the larger question of a revision of titles and salutes is definitely taken up and successfully tackled. I do not for a moment underestimate the complexity of this problem, which is bound to necessitate an extensive scrutiny of the circumstances bearing on the relative importance of the numerous States. Nevertheless some final and abiding solution must sooner or later be found. I could have refrained from alluding to this aspect of the case were it not for the fact that it is impossible to divorce the matter under discussion from the features that are so intimately interlaced with it.

I would therefore take the liberty of pointing out the desirability of appointing a committee of Ruling Princes or a joint committee of Ruling Princes and high officials of Government to go into the whole question and place the Government of India in possession of an authoritative statement of their views.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**My Lord, it is not clear what difficulties have been experienced and where, owing to the absence of a rule. Unless these particulars are fully known, it is not easy to judge whether the difficulties experienced could not be met by special arrangements without a rule of a rigid character. The question is personal to the Ruling Princes, and its discussion among them is by no means free from delicacies and difficulties.

The suggestion made in the agenda as to the basis for settling precedence is admitted to be open to two serious objections, viz. (1) "the number of guns in a salute is not necessarily an index of the relative status of the personage concerned," and (2) "the adoption of the principle of deciding precedence according to salutes would conflict, in some instances, with the established order of local precedence." Nevertheless, it is hoped that the resulting difficulties can be met by "special arrangements" which, however, have not been specified in the memorandum.

The proposed basis seems to have no parallel. The Warrant of Precedence, for instance, has no relation to salutes. Those having no salutes are placed above persons entitled to them; and among those having salutes, the order of precedence does not necessarily follow the number of guns. The suggested principle further unsettles what, in many an instance, has been settled after prolonged controversy and causes confusion by the creation of two divergent systems of precedence.

These are, in brief, the more important of the drawbacks of the proposed scheme, the only merit of which is that the grouping of the guests in territorial divisions can thereby be dispensed with. There can, however, be little doubt that the disadvantages far outweigh the advantages of the proposed rule.

Besides, only about one-twelfth of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs in India are assembled here to-day. But the question, which is personal, concerns the entire body of the Ruling Princes. The propriety of only a few discussing and expressing opinion on such a question seems open to doubt, quite apart from the ineffectual character of their advice in the matter.

In these circumstances, my Lord, I venture to submit that the suggestion that the question be discussed among the Ruling Princes should be dropped.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Indore :—**I do not think it is necessary for me to take up much of your valuable time by dilating on the statement, which I regard as axiomatic, that in matters relating to our position it is not possible, having due regard to the unique relations that exist between our States and the British Government, to differentiate between an order of precedence for purely social and purely official purposes. The two are so intimately connected with each other as to preclude the possibility of any difurcation without infringing on some or other of the rights and privileges which we have enjoyed since we entered into treaty relations with the British Government—rights that we greatly value and which Your Excellency, we feel sure, is as anxious to maintain as ourselves. This matter is complex and will necessarily lead to divergence of views. In questions relating to his prestige, it is but natural for every Ruler concerned to adhere to his own point of view, and I for one think that it would be undesirable to approach any subject that might have the least tendency, however remote, to disturb the present feeling of mutual esteem and good-will, especially so when we are at close grips with a powerful enemy and need all our united energy to achieve victory.

For this reason I consider it inexpedient to raise and discuss this question at this meeting, and I respectfully urge that the matter may be dropped.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor :—**We, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, are greatly indebted to Government for the solicitude they have shown in paying due regard to the old traditions, customs, rights and the ranks of the aristocratic families in India.

The suggestion made would unnecessarily create and multiply difficulties. The present system of giving ranks to Chiefs in their territorial groups is undoubtedly good. This system may be maintained even for social functions. Nobody could take objection to the ranks previously fixed. If a new general precedence list for social functions were to be prepared, it would involve an amount of trouble and no satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at. There would be great divergence of opinion among the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of different provinces about their own ranks, and they could not be dislodged from their notions.

The note says, 'personal salutes to rank with, but below, the permanent salutes.' But what about the Ruling Princes, who have no salutes but whose ranks have been previously settled?

Besides the Chiefs, there are certain great personages like the Swami of Chaphal, the Guru of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Bhonslas of Satara in the Bombay Presidency, whose ranks are above those of all the Deccan Chiefs.

The Raja Sahib of Mudhol has a salute of 9 guns, but in the Agent's Durbar he takes his seat accorded to him previously.

If Government at all wish to prepare a general list for social functions alone, they may do so; but they should make it final, after gathering the sense of opinion of all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and personages concerned, by circulating the same to them for opinion.

**His Excellency the President :—**I think it is quite clear, Your Highnesses, from the trend of the discussion which has taken place that Your Highnesses would prefer not to discuss this particular item of the agenda further. But I would point out to Your Highnesses that it leaves the matter where it stood,



and it leaves the Government in a peculiarly difficult position. It was because we had hoped that Your Highnesses would be able to give some indication of some rule or regulation by which we should govern ourselves in this matter that it was put on the agenda. Of course we have attempted to keep the matter, strictly speaking, to a very narrow point, that is settling the precedence *inter se* for purely social purposes. I quite recognise the force of the arguments which have been put forward, especially by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar, that it is difficult to separate that point from the other one of general precedence. But, of course, I do not propose to take upon myself the discussion of that wider point. If this bristles with difficulty, words really fail me to describe to Your Highnesses what is the position of the other question. It is even more bristling with difficulty. But if Your Highnesses prefer—and I think, that is, as I understand it, your general view in regard to this matter—that we should not go on with this discussion, it will be, of course, for one of Your Highnesses to move that we do not proceed with the discussion of this question and I will take the general sense of the Conference upon the motion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I beg to propose that this item be withdrawn.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**Why not appoint a select committee to go into this matter and submit a report, when it will be for His Majesty's Government to decide whether any action should be taken in the matter or whether it should be dropped ?

**His Excellency the President :—**It is entirely for Your Highnesses to say if you would like to appoint a sub-committee on this particular matter, i.e., the question of the precedence *inter se* of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at social functions both in India and in England. If Your Highnesses consider that by appointing a committee on the subject, we may take the matter a stage further, I for one should be only too delighted to think that Your Highnesses had taken a step forward. But from the trend of the speeches which have been made this morning, it does not seem to me to be very profitable to appoint such a committee, but I am entirely in Your Highnesses' hands. I am only presiding here and can only indicate what seems to me to be the sense of the meeting.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**I quite admit that it is very complicated question, but even difficult and complicated questions have to be solved. At any rate, this question deserves some consideration, and a committee would take a certain time to go into its different aspects before deciding it.

**His Excellency the President :—**May I ask Your Highness, are you proposing a committee on this narrow point of the precedence *inter se* of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at social functions both in India and in England, or are you proposing that the committee should discuss the wider question of salutes and titles ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**The latter.

**His Excellency the President :—**Then, I am afraid, it is impossible for us to take up the wider question. So far as we are concerned, we should be delighted to have this narrower question settled ; but the other question the Government of India could not take up at the present moment.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**May I suggest that instead of definitely dropping the scheme Your Excellency might keep it pending till after the war and see if by that time certain conditions and circumstances may not have come about which will enable us to reconsider the position,

**His Excellency the President :—**You mean the wider question ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Yes, Your Excellency ; not abandon consideration but simply postpone consideration of it till after the war.

**His Excellency the President.—**I see no harm in that.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, as has been admitted by the Government of India, and I think is recognised fully by each and all of us, this is no doubt a very contentious matter full of difficult problems to be solved ; but that encourages me personally—if I may say so—to make an attempt to see if it is not possible to come to some kind of conclusion. The issue involved, namely, of settling precedence merely on the basis of salutes, narrows us down ; whereas the question of precedence is such that in the opinion of the majority of Princes, (if I may mention a part of our proceedings which were held informally between ourselves), the basis should be much wider than merely one of salutes. Of course there were various opinions. There is the question of ranks and titles ; there is the question of salutes ; and some even go to the extent of taking into consideration the size of States and other details of importance. If I am interpreting rightly the sentiments expressed by many of us at the informal meeting—of course I am open to contradiction—they were that if Your Excellency's Government, without committing the Government to anything or committing us to anything did not have any objection to our discussing absolutely informally the general question, there might be no harm. If we could possibly arrive at some solution it might perhaps assist towards the goal we have in view. But if we did not arrive at any solution, then we should be none the worse. As His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has said, if Your Excellency's Government agrees to base the question on these wider issues on the distinct understanding that neither body commit themselves to anything by doing so, then I do foresee, in spite of all the difficulties and even though it may take time, that a solution will not be impossible to find.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :—**His Excellency has asked me to say a few words on this question. Your Highnesses have raised rather wide issues in your informal conference. Of course what you say among yourselves in informal conference is not ordinarily known by us and is not really a matter of our concern at all. But when it comes to appointing a committee in this Conference to consider the question, then the issues to be settled by that committee have to be very clearly laid down. His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has suggested that a committee should be appointed to consider various points involving the revision of the salute list, the revision of the title list, and other points mentioned by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner such as the position of heirs-apparent.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I did not mention it on my part ; I was only saying what we had been discussing and I did not give my own views.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :—**All those questions, I understood from His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, would come under the cognisance of this committee. Well, as His Excellency has already said, the Government of India are quite unable to acquiesce in the appointment of the committee for the discussion of those questions. Of course if Your Highnesses like to discuss them among yourselves, there can be no objection ; but so far as the proceedings of this Conference are concerned it is outside the scope of this particular item on the agenda. I would suggest therefore that unless Your

Highnesses wish to press for the appointment of the committee, the motion made by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia, or the alternative motion put by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, that the question should either be dropped or disposed of after the war, should be put to the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I support His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's motion.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—I support His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner that this question should not be dropped altogether. There is no doubt, as has been pointed out by the Government of India, that there is a difficulty at social functions which it would be advisable to get over if possible ; and in dropping the question we make no attempt to meet that difficulty. But by postponing the suggestion later on we might be able to find a solution to the difficulty rightly pointed out by the Government of India. It would be a pity if the question were dropped altogether. The consideration of it might be held in abeyance until the war is over or until the next Conference.

**His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla** :—I support His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's views.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—It would be a very unwise policy to drop every question simply because it bristles with difficulty. If we are not prepared to discuss this question at the present moment, I think it might very well be left in abeyance until such time as we can, and therefore I am prepared to support the motion that has been brought forward by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner suggesting that item No. V on the agenda might be postponed to a further date.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Your Excellency, do I understand from the motion that has been proposed of postponing the solution of the problem until after the war, that it is proposed that nothing should be done in the meantime, or that the question should entirely be shelved, on account of the war, till after the war ?

**His Excellency the President** :—I think Your Highness must ask His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner exactly what he means and whether he proposes to postpone the matter till after the war on account of the war.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I am afraid, Sir, I do not quite understand that.

**His Excellency the President** :—(to His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar). You will perhaps make your point clear ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Are we postponing it because it is a contentious point and we do not want to raise contentious issues during the war ; or do we postpone it till after the war because we intend doing something unofficially to prepare ourselves in the meantime ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Sir, the idea that prompted me to suggest this course was that the suggestion of the informal committee was really only communicated to the general body yesterday and we have not had time to discuss it fully. Personally, like His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala I should very greatly regret the shelving of this question indefinitely ; but I think, if a solution can be found, as His Highness the Rao of Cutch has suggested, it is very desirable that we should find it. We have discussed this and we have suggested certain courses. When I was laying the views of the informal committee before Your Excellency, I also suggested before or after the war because I did not want to embarrass the Government

to take up the question immediately. They might themselves perhaps be thinking of taking up some points in connection with this and it might be possible to consider those things after the war. Most of us did not want to lay down too definite a scheme which you might not be able to accept at once, and I think, and that was the view of the committee too, that the committee might be able to put forward useful suggestions. I think that if we do not shelve it but simply postpone it for a year, by that time the Government of India may have some proposal or some other points may have arisen which might help to facilitate discussion. It was not at all because it is a controversial subject.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—In case any of us decide to collect together absolutely unofficially and to discuss the question, would Your Excellency have any objection if your Political Secretary also absolutely unofficially, if Your Excellency likes, joins our deliberations to give us his unofficial advice ?

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :**—I think it is rather difficult to dissociate my personal position altogether from my official position. I suggest that it would be more convenient if Your Highnesses discussed it by yourselves.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa :**—May I ask whether the Maharaja of Alwar or the Maharaja of Kapurthala think or any of Their Highnesses think that it could be settled among ourselves, or that anything about ourselves could be settled among ourselves, about precedence at least I should say ?

**His Excellency the President :**—We are asking Your Highnesses to-day if you could settle this point. It would certainly simplify the position. But perhaps it is hardly worth while our pursuing the subject to-day in view of what has been said. Shall we now go on to a vote ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—May I then propose that the subject may be postponed till the next year and not till after the war.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—It is for Your Excellency to decide.

**His Excellency the President :**—Of course you can move another amendment to that effect ; it is a further amendment on the Maharaja of Bikaner's.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar :**—It is possible, Sir, that the war may be decided before the next Conference.

**His Excellency the President :**—Let us hope so. I think, Your Highnesses, we must not get into a complicated position with regard to this matter. At the present moment I have got a substantive motion by the Maharaja Scindia that this question be dropped. To that an amendment has been moved by the Maharaja of Bikaner that the question be postponed till after the war. Both the substantive motion and the amendment have been moved. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar would like to move an amendment, but at present he has not got a seconder. Does any one wish to second it ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :**—I second the proposal that it might be put off till the next Conference.

**His Excellency the President :**—Then I must take these amendments in their order.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—May I say, Sir, that I won't press my amendment ?

**His Excellency the President :**—I shall be only too delighted if between to-day and the next Conference Your Highnesses will have been able to think out a solution of this difficult question that simplifies the position.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, seconded by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, has moved an amendment that this question be postponed until the next Conference. Your Highnesses will vote on that amendment first; if that amendment is lost then I shall put the substantive motion which has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia that the question be dropped altogether. It is usual to put the amendment first and then the substantive motion. Those who are in favour of the amendment to the substantive motion that this question be postponed till the next Conference will please signify by holding up their hands.

22 voted for and 18 against the amendment. The amendment was therefore declared carried, *viz.*, that this question be postponed until the next Conference.

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### Items Nos. II and III of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President :—**Before adjourning the Conference, I would ask the Political Secretary to inform Your Highnesses what arrangements he has made with regard to the visit to Babugarh.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :—**Some of Your Highnesses suggested that a special train should be arranged for the visit to Babugarh on the 7th. We are making arrangements for a special train to leave Delhi station at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 7th and to return at 5 in the evening. The advantage of that will be that you will have a full day to inspect all the interesting things which are prepared for you at Babugarh and that you won't be chocked with dust on the journey out there. There will therefore be no time on that day for discussion in that Conference of items Nos. II and III of the agenda; if any discussion should be required, it will take place on the succeeding day, *i.e.*, the 8th. Your Highnesses will have full opportunity of discussing the matter informally both with General Templer as regards horse-breeding and with Mr. MacKenna as regards agriculture, on the spot at Babugarh.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**May I move an amendment in the timing of the train, as some of us have breakfast at 10 o'clock, that the train should start at 11, if there is no inconvenience?

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :—**When I saw General Templer I suggested that it might be rather early for some of Your Highnesses; but he said that it was very important indeed, if you were to see the place properly, that the inspection should begin not later than 11-30. The train will take about an hour and a quarter and then you have got to drive a mile to the farm. He particularly wants that there should be an hour and a half before lunch, so that you can inspect all the things there; the discussion will be after lunch; the lunch would be at about 1 o'clock or whatever time may suit you. If Your Highnesses would let us know we can endeavour to put it later; but General Templer made a very great point of it that you ought not to leave later than 10. If the train left Babugarh at 5 o'clock we could get back before 7 or 6-45. (In reply to the Maharaja of Gwalior): There is no objection to going by motor.

**His Excellency the President :—**Your Highnesses, that terminates the business which we put down for discussion on the opening day and therefore I think all we can do now is to adjourn until to-morrow at 11 A.M. when we shall take up further business. I therefore adjourn the Conference until to-morrow at 11 A.M.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

6th November 1917.

**His Excellency the President :—**Your Highnesses have before you, I believe, the report of the committee on question No. I of the agenda which was brought up yesterday. I am sorry to say His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar was unable to be present, but the committee in his absence put forward the recommendations which are before Your Highnesses for discussion to-day. I will read the report of the committee :—

“The committee, after reading the Educational Commissioner’s report consider that the proposal put before the Conference, *viz.*, that the diploma of the Chiefs’ Colleges should be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, and that the college should be recognized to that extent as one of the Chiefs’ Colleges, should be accepted subject to the following provisos :—

- (1) that the Raipur College authorities adopt in full the curriculum in force in the existing Chiefs’ Colleges.
- (2) that for the purposes of admission to the Higher Chiefs’ College, should that hereafter be established, the diploma of the Raipur College students will only entitle its holder to admission to the Higher Chiefs’ College if he is a Chief or a relative of a Chief. The case of other diploma holders would be considered in the same way as that of applicants from British India.

The committee further point out that, in view of the possibility of other schools or colleges putting forward the same request, it would be desirable to note that any such application would be considered on its merits and should not be granted unless the claims to recognition were equal to those now put forward on behalf of Raipur.”

Those of Your Highnesses who wish to discuss the report may do so and say whether you will accept that report.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I accept the Committee’s report.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I beg to second it.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**I beg to support it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**As Your Excellency mentioned in the beginning, I regret that I was unable, for reasons which I explained to the Political Secretary yesterday, to join the committee as I should much like to have done. My reasons were that I was appointed by our unofficial meeting to be on their committee for dealing with the address to be presented to Your Excellency on the last day. Therefore I hope it will not be out of place for me if I venture to make a few remarks for the consideration of the Conference on the question at issue. As I mentioned yesterday, there are about 13 Chiefs in the Central Provinces and if Bihar and Orissa and Bengal were included it would come to about 25. Of these I am not aware how many are important States coming under the same status as those who send their sons, heirs and relations or sardars to the other Chiefs’ Colleges in the various provinces. But what I should like to point out is that if, as I understand from the report of the

committee, it is proposed that the higher diploma to be allowed to this college will only apply in the case of a Chief or a relative, while others will be guided by rules that are applicable in British India, the question is, if for such a small minority of candidates—

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :**—May I make an explanation as regards this subject. It is not proposed to confine the proposal as regards the grant of the diploma to Chiefs and relatives of Chiefs. The question is only one of eligibility of the Higher Chiefs' College.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—In that case I would propose for the consideration of the Conference whether on the whole it would not be more advisable to invite the more important Princes or Chiefs, who would otherwise go to this college, to one of the colleges that already exist. My sole idea for making this proposal is that it would give an additional opportunity to mix with brother Princes and Chiefs of these provinces, and it would lay the foundations of mutual acquaintances in after life, whereas if these institutions were perpetuated on a much smaller scale in different provinces it is doubtful if this object can be fulfilled. For that reason I would propose for the consideration of this Conference whether this college could not be left alone in its present state and the Chiefs who want to study the higher diploma course be invited to come to any one of the colleges that exist at present.

**His Excellency the President :**—Do I understand that Your Highness does not propose to move an amendment to the committee's report, but that you propose to take the direct negative on the acceptance of the report ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** was understood to assent.

**His Excellency the President :**—As, apparently, none of Your Highnesses wish to speak further on this question, I will put the motion and those who are not in agreement with the committee will vote with His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar against the proposal. It has been moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

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#### Item No. IV of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President :**—We now come to item No. IV of the agenda with regard to certain statistics from Your Highnesses' States. I will ask Mr. Shirras to put forward before Your Highnesses the proposal contained in the memorandum.

**Mr. G. F. Shirras :**—In Your Excellency's speech yesterday, a reference was made to the assistance which Their Highnesses have given in men and money in the prosecution of the war. I propose, with Your Excellency's permission, to refer briefly to another matter in which assistance has been rendered, and that is in regard to statistical information relating to wheat, cotton and other articles of vital importance especially at the present time. To my department Their Highnesses have been ungrudgingly helpful.

In the first place, let me turn to the importance of the proposals before the Conference. The object of the Government of India in placing the question of statistical information supplied by Native States before Their Highnesses is to obtain their views on this important and somewhat difficult matter. It is a truism to say that statistics are the straw from which one makes the bricks ; it is also a truism to say that agriculture, their chief industry, is the jugular

vein of their States. It is obvious, too, that there should be accurate information, for example, on the wheat crop of Native States primarily in their own interests, and also in the interests of the Government of India and of commerce. The statistics of area and outturn of Native States, I need not remind you, form an important part of the total area and outturn of such important crops as cotton and wheat. An accurate estimate of what the crop is likely to be is a matter of Imperial concern. We have a good example of this at the present time. The Wheat Commission in London must know what the outturn is expected to be, the Government of India have to arrange their wheat policy on the prospects of the crop as shown in the forecast and freight has to be arranged accordingly. Wheat growers in Canada and Australia are also interested spectators. I give the case of wheat as only one example, although examples could without any difficulty be multiplied. The importance, then, of good returns will, I believe, be accepted by the Conference as axiomatic and we will gladly welcome suggestions for their improvement and increased comprehensiveness. These returns which are voluntary are, as has been pointed out in the memorandum now in Their Highnesses' hands, likely to be in the next few years, after the conclusion of peace, of increasingly great importance not only to the trade but to the Darbars themselves. I venture, if I may, to throw out the suggestion, that after discussion in the Conference to-day, it may be possible to appoint a sub-committee. This might include officers of the Darbars (concerned with these matters) who have accompanied Their Highnesses to this Conference. This sub-committee would discuss generally the question as summarised in paragraph 7 at page 13 of the memorandum now in Their Highnesses' hands and to report to the Conference—

- (1) to what extent it seems practical to obtain returns from Native States in cases in which they are not at present obtained ;
- (2) what steps should be taken to improve the accuracy of the estimates of outturn given in the forecasts of crops ;

It will be seen from paragraph 5 at page 12 of the memorandum that the reported outturns per acre appear to be ordinarily too low in the case of some of the Native States. I do not know whether this is due to some faulty system of estimating, *e.g.*, regarding what is really a 16-annas crop as a 12 or 13-anna crop and so on.

- (3) and, lastly, in order to check the cotton forecast it is desirable perhaps to follow the example of the United States and Egypt, of collecting information as to the amount of cotton pressed in the pressing factories, and of cotton (unpressed) received in the spinning mills in India. The forecast, if complete and accurate, would approximate to the total quantity of cotton handled in these pressing factories during the season. This would serve as a valuable check on the forecast estimate of outturn.

The secondary object of the returns is that the cotton trade as well as Darbars themselves would be in possession of information regarding the amount of cotton available for the market or coming into sight in each month. In paragraph 6 of the memorandum Their Highnesses will note that in 1914 the Government of India undertook the collection from presses and mills in British India, Rajputana, and Mysore was undertaken by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce under a private arrangement with the presses in the States. This latter arrangement has not, I much regret to say, been a success.



With these remarks, I put forward the proposals to Their Highnesses for consideration, and, in doing so, would thank them for their voluntary co-operation in season and out of season, especially since the outbreak of war with its consequent demands for commercial information regarding products of vital importance to the Empire and its Allies.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir :—**The agricultural statistics and crop forecasts are, I presume, prepared even now in most of the States. It is no doubt important that these statistics for purposes of compilation in 'all India' should be as reliable as possible. In order to have uniformity in the compilation of these statistics by the Indian States administrations, it seems to me desirable that the Government of India should supply to these States general outlines on which statistics should be collected and as they are followed in British India. The revenue administrations of the States could then introduce the same system in their respective States, and I hope the results will be more satisfactory than they have been hitherto.

A memorandum of instructions explaining clearly the meaning and import of the term 'normal' either on percentage system or in annas as well as the method of working out figures should be circulated from the agricultural department of the Government of India to all Indian States. Each State can then adopt the system as it is best suited to the special conditions of the State.

As regards furnishing of the periodical returns for cotton presses and mills, I would suggest a similar procedure, namely, that each State be furnished with a memorandum of suggestions, on which these returns should be prepared and supplied half-monthly. It should in my opinion be enough to carry on the present practice in vogue. The only improvement that I would suggest is that printed forms be supplied to all Indian States that possess such presses and mills and request the same to be duly filled up according to the memorandum of instructions and supply regularly.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor :—**Some States furnish agricultural statistics, but some do not; 38 per cent. of the area and 43 per cent. of the population, according to the Government Adviser's statement, furnish these returns. Really it is in the interests of all that the States do to prepare these statements for their own use. But they should be accurate. The maintenance of these statements would enable a State to find out what crops are grown in its jurisdiction, what is the annual average yield of each crop, what is its consumption, and what import or export thereof takes place in its territory. It should try its best to grow that crop more to meet the demands of the people. If any particular crop is grown more than the requirements of the State, for the surplus easy market should be found by granting, if necessary, taxational and other concessions.

Separate returns should be kept of crops of commercial importance. Such crops are generally paying. If climate and soil suit them, they may be grown to ameliorate the condition of the agricultural classes. Estimates of crops may be made in annas as hithertofore.

Bi-monthly returns of cotton, pressed and unpressed in ginning presses may be kept to find out the annual outturn of cotton crop in any particular State.

The Bhor State sends returns of sugar-cane, ground-nuts, sesamum, rice and wheat to the Director of Agriculture, Bombay, periodically as called for by him, but as the territory is hilly, these crops excepting rice are not grown in abundance. The usual weekly return of the condition of rain and crops, etc., is also furnished to the Director of Agriculture and Political Agent.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—With Your Excellency's permission may I read a note just to enable the Conference to know what has been done in one State. The collection of statistics and their consolidated publication for public information is desirable from every point of view. It is in the interests of Princes and Chiefs themselves to take steps for the purpose.

2. Statistics, to be useful, should be reliable. Hence every effort should be made to ensure their accuracy as far as possible. In the case of forecasts: however, accuracy is impossible.

The primary agency of collection of all statistics is always, and can only be, a low-paid agency. Their possible errors have to be reckoned with by the higher officers of the statistical department, who have to consolidate and manipulate the figures and make them presentable for useful deductions.

Since this is such a useful piece of work, there can be no dissent as to the desirability of seeing it done. But there are a few considerations, which must be taken into account in deciding upon the *modus operandi*.

It may be possible to short-circuit the long route by which the figures have to pass at present. This will save time and, perhaps, some work also, and what is more important, ensure greater accuracy of forecasts. As this is purely a matter of public information, there is no necessity of giving any political colour to it, by making it necessary to pass through the regular political channel. States, which have local gazettes or newspapers, need have no hesitation in publishing their statistics in them, from which they could be collected in the compilation for the whole of India. In this way, much of the routing work of sending various returns could be dispensed with altogether. Gwalior has already adopted this procedure in the case of a number of periodical returns. Gwalior has also sought advice from the Director of Statistics of the Government of India, in the matter of improvement of their statistical department, and his recommendations will be duly considered.

Of course, it is possible to carry tabulating work too far and it may be necessary at times to curb the zeal of the statistical department. If a single unnecessary item of collection is introduced, the labour may be increased to quite a disproportionate degree, in comparison with the importance of that item, so that it is desirable to keep a strict watch on the number of such returns required and not to institute a statement unless a good reason can be shown for it.

Gwalior already publishes monthly statements of yarn spun and cotton goods produced, and the necessity of making these statements half-monthly is not apparent. The very frequency of their publication defeats its own purpose.

Gwalior publishes annually a compilation called "Gwalior Statistics" and this publication is for sale.

I quite agree with Mr. Shirras' suggestion about a sub-committee, and, with Your Excellency's permission, I would propose the following names :—

Major Luard, Mr. C. C. Watson, Thakur Nand Kishore Lal of Jaipur, Shyam Sunder Lal of Alwar, Daya Kishen Kaul of Patiala and Colonel Haksar of Gwalior.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch** :—May I make a few suggestions on the subject. I would respectfully urge that, if the returns asked for are not too complicated, if too many details are not asked for, and if the returns required are in a uniform form. I think that this may help the submission of returns from States which at present do not submit any.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**To do full justice to the question I am of opinion that all the States should combine to confer and discuss this matter, so as to bring about a unity of views. This is a matter which I think may be said to concern the internal administration of each State and hence a preliminary conference of the representatives, one from each State, of all the States, may be called by the States in a mode and manner most convenient, and the results of the said conference be finally considered by the Princes at their next Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur :—**The Darbar fully appreciate the desirability of improving the accuracy of agricultural statistics, crop forecasts and cotton press returns, supplied to the Government of India, from time to time by different States and Administrations. The usefulness of these returns can never be denied, but there are difficulties under which some of the States labour in furnishing accurate statements and these should be considered before passing any opinion. There are States, the number of which, I am afraid, is not small, of which the territorial area under cultivation has not yet been regularly surveyed, and these States, in consequence, have no settlement maps and registers which are the principal means of checking such returns; they have, therefore, to depend upon the reports submitted by the revenue officers of different circles. Moreover, the returns supplied by the States are in most cases, of lands which are directly under State control and it is difficult to guarantee the accuracy of the informations from villages held in *jagir* or other grants.

With these preliminary remarks, let us proceed to consider the three points mentioned in the memorandum by the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India.

(a) Apparently there can be no objection on the part of the Darbar in furnishing the various returns to the Government of India for incorporation in the returns for all-India by the department of statistics. Such States, therefore, as do not at present supply the required returns should be asked to do so in future not only in the interests of the commercial world but of the States themselves.

(b) Where the land settlement has not been made and where there are so many *jagirs* and free grants, as in the Jaipur State, it is not possible to guarantee the accuracy of the returns. Attempts would, however, be made to obtain as correct estimates of forecasts, etc., as circumstances allow, and instructions would be issued to officers and persons concerned to supply necessary information and returns.

(c) The method now in vogue of calling for, through the Darbars, the returns of cotton presses and mills within State territories, may be regarded as quite sufficient and proper.

I may mention in this connection that the returns supplied by the Jaipur presses are correct and regular.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, I think the general consensus of opinion is that we want thoroughly to co-operate with the British Government in making the statistics useful and complete. It is only a matter of technical detail as to how they should be compiled and in what manner the procedure for preparing them can be facilitated. With that purpose in view in my opinion, capable officers in the employment of Indian States, such as Ministers, may be appointed on the committee along with Government of India officials to go into the details of the subject and to submit their report for the consideration of the Conference. Therefore I second His

Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior's view regarding the appointment of a committee.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**Your Excellency, the first point for consideration is to what extent is it practicable to obtain statistical returns from the Indian States in cases in which they are not at present furnished. Since the returns are entirely voluntary, the best plan obviously would be an expression of the views of such States in the matter, for they alone can be the best judges of the question. It would be well in my opinion if consideration was given in the first instance to those returns only which are very necessary indeed and are most useful of all commercially and agriculturally, in order that beginnings might be made on a small scale. I do not think it will be necessary for the smaller States to supply all returns.

As regards the improvement of the accuracy of the estimates of outturn given in the forecasts of crops, it would, in my humble judgment, be well if a small committee of Princes went through the whole matter in consultation with officers of Government, and careful consideration was given to the letter addressed on the subject to all Local Governments and Administrations by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture. The Darbars who furnish the forecasts would naturally like to be helpful in every way towards attaining the end in view, but in the framing of returns it would, I believe, be a good idea to think of bare necessities only and economise as far as possible the expense and energy of the States.

I am not sure that it will be necessary for the States to furnish in all cases half-monthly returns from cotton presses and mills. There is, for instance, a cotton ginning and pressing factory with two branches in my own State. I should be glad to arrange for the required returns being duly furnished, but the presses are not at work all the year round, and it is only at a certain period of the year that they are in full swing. Fortnightly returns would, I am afraid, be rather too many to furnish, and in regard to work done on a comparatively small scale if should, I think, be sufficient for a complete return being sent in at the end of the period.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**As the subject is of a technical nature, it should be referred to the States by correspondence.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**May I also suggest, with Your Excellency's permission, that the name of Mr. Shirras be added as a member of the committee.

**His Excellency the President :—**I think it would be well, Your Highness, if we put your motion in two parts—first, that the committee be appointed ; and then subsequently, that the committee should consist of certain members.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I do not wish to speak at length on the subject itself because the importance of statistics, both to the Imperial Government and to the States themselves, is so obvious, and though circumstances would vary in different States, I am sure they would all, as far as possible, speaking generally, like to be of assistance in this matter, and especially at the present time. But perhaps as regards the accuracy of statistics I might be permitted to offer a suggestion or two which struck us in Bikaner. One of our great difficulties in regard to the accuracy of statistics lies in the fact that we have not only the State lands proper but also the Jagir lands to deal with, for which even statistics are very often extremely difficult to obtain. Then as regards the estimate of the outturn being accurate, of course that depends largely on the officials of the State in the first instance ; but perhaps a more accurate estimate could be obtained if in some way the outturn per acre were

to be fixed for good, average and bad years respectively, having regard to the class of soil, cultivation, irrigation, etc., in the tract concerned. If the agricultural department were to enquire from each State what outturns they are in the habit of adopting, they would probably be able to say where any considerable error in forecasting came in. I do not propose to say anything about my State, but I hope our figures will not be found very inaccurate. As regards cotton presses we have not any at present, nor as regards cotton cultivation; but we hope that is going to be remedied before very long.

**His Excellency the President** :—I will put the first motion then, that a committee be appointed to go into this question which is raised in this item of the agenda. Those of Your Highnesses, who are in favour of that motion, will please signify their opinions in the usual manner.

The motion was put and carried.

**His Excellency the President** (to His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior) :—Now Your Highness can move the second part of your motion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I beg leave to propose the following names as members of the committee :—

Major Luard,  
Mr. Watson,  
Rai Bahadur Shyam Sundar Lal,  
Diwan Bahadur Daya Kishen Kaul,  
Thakur Nand Kishore Singh,  
Colonel Haksar, and  
Mr. Shirras.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I second the motion.

**His Excellency the President** :—It may be that some of Your Highnesses would like to suggest further names.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** :—I suggest Raja Daljit Singh.

**His Highness the Jam of Navanagar** :—May I suggest, Sir, the name of the Dewan Sahib of the Dhrangadhra State. It is a very flourishing cotton State and would represent Kathiawar and Gujerat.

**His Excellency the President** :—Is any other name proposed for this committee? I presume you (to His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior) suggest that this committee should report before the Conference disperses.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—Yes.

**His Excellency the President** :—I will now put those names to Your Highnesses. The names will be in Your Highnesses' recollection. I suggest that it has been moved and seconded that the gentlemen whose names were moved by Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior and Kashmir and the Jam Sahib should form a committee and report to this Conference before it disperses.

The motion was put and carried.

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#### Item No. VI of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President** :—We come now to item No. VI of the agenda—the control and regulation of motor vehicles belonging to Ruling Princes and Chiefs temporarily brought from Native States into British India.

I think I had better read to Your Highnesses the memorandum that has been written on the subject :—

“ It has been represented by certain authorities in British India that the letters R. P. M. C. are not sufficient to identify any particular motor car when several Ruling Princes and Chiefs using the same letters on their cars are in one place at the same time. It is possible to imagine cases in which such identification would be necessary in the interests of justice as, for example, when a chauffeur driving an empty car had run over a man and driven off without giving his name and address to the police, or had in other ways infringed the local regulations.

“ It has been suggested therefore that either groups of numbers should be allotted to the various States or the name of the State should be painted above or below the R. P. M. C., together with a separate number indicating its number among the cars of the State concerned. In this way the cars of the Maharaja of Kolhapur, for example, would be marked—

either

R. P. M. C. 001 &c.

or

R. P. M. C.  
Kolhapur 1 &c.

while those of the Maharaja of Bikaner would be—

either

R. P. M. C. 102 &c.

or

R. P. M. C.  
Bikaner 2 &c.

“ The views of the members of the Conference are invited on these alternative suggestions.”

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I am in favour of the second suggestion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** :—I think the name of the Native State should be entered.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Your Excellency, as you have been good enough to leave it to our ingenuity to devise a solution to this matter, I would suggest for the consideration of the Conference whether it would facilitate the work of the police department if the names of the States were put on the boards and each State had their cars numbered in their own order, leaving out the letters R. P. M. C. altogether. I understand that all the cars in British India and elsewhere are marked on a blackboard with white figures. If therefore Indian Princes' figures were marked on a red board with the name in white, the red board would signify that it belongs to an Indian State while the name of the State would distinguish it from others. The number of the car would distinguish it as a particular car belonging to a particular State. That would simplify the matter, by only having one board in front and one behind instead of two behind one for the R. P. M. C. letters and another for the name and figures, and the same again in front.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Last year, if my memory does not fail me, I think my friend His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner suggested that a common monogram with letters R. P. M. C. would be a sufficient distinguishing symbol for all practical purposes as it would indicate that the

car was that of a Ruling Prince. The suggestion was adopted. But experience has shown that it is not sufficient. It is obvious that R. P. M. C. might mean anything. It may, for instance, be taken as an abbreviation for Rawalpindi Municipaal Committee. (Laughter.) Hence it must be admitted that additional device of a better type is needed. The first alternative will not be sufficient, as a mere addition of number will not convey any significance. The second alternative seems more rational as the name of the State cannot be mistaken and as there will be the serial number of the car to further satisfy the police constable ! Therefore I think that the second alternative proposal might be adopted.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**The second alternative of having on a State car both the name of the State and a separate number indicating its number among the cars of the State seems more suitable.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**I agree that the name of the State should be painted above or below R. P. M. C. together with the separate number among the cars of the State concerned.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor :—**The alternative course suggested by the supplementary agendum, *viz.*, <sup>R. P. M. C.</sup> Kolhapur ; is more suitable ; and may be adopted. It is, therefore, suggested tht the name of the State may be painted below the letters R. P. M. C. and the number of the car may be added to it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**Your Excellency, I second His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's proposal.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Datia :—**So do I.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**If the letters R. P. M. C. have not been found sufficient to identify any particular motor car when several Ruling Princes and Chiefs are in one place at the same time, it would be well, I think, to accept the suggestion that the name of the State should be painted above or below the R. P. M. C. together with a separate number indicating its number among the cars of the State concerned.

**His Highness the Raja of Sailana :—**I agree with the Maharaja Scindia.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa :—**I am not very particular about the red board, but I agree with His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :—**Has His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar ascertained definitely that the red board is not use in any part of India ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Let it be yellow or green or gold or any colour that is not in use in British India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa :—**I think red is used in the Bombay Fire Brigade ; but we could have another colour if it is kept specially for the States ; nobody else should use that colour.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Perhaps an enactment also could be made in the British Indian law in the different provinces to the effect that the particular colour assigned to the States may not be used elsewhere.

**His Excellency the President :—**It has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia that the designation of the car should be as follows :—

“ R. P. M. C., with the name of the State below it and a serial number ”. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has moved an amendment to this effect that the symbol R. P. M. C. may be dropped and that the Ruling Princes' cars may be distinguished by the use of a red board or some other distinctive colour with the name of the State and the serial number of the car painted on it,

I will take the amendment first, and if the amendment is lost I will then ask Your Highnesses to vote on the substantive motion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—May I ask one question, Sir, and that is, I suppose each State will keep its own number ?

**His Excellency the President** :—That is what I understand is the proposal, as in the instance given in the memorandum.

The amendment was put to the vote and declared carried.

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### Items Nos. II and III of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President** :—Well, that brings to a conclusion the items of the agenda which were placed down for discussion to-day. But before we disperse I will ask Mr. Wood to make a statement with regard to the expedition for to-morrow.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood** :—In accordance with Your Highnesses' request which was mentioned yesterday, we have arranged now for the special train to leave for Babugarh at 11 o'clock. The train will start from Delhi (main) Station. It will be advisable I think to send a certain number of motor cars both for purposes of escorting Your Highnesses from the train to the farm and also in case any of you may wish to return at any other time. There is one point though about the accommodation there. Provision has been made for lunch for approximately 30 or 35 visitors, as that is the number that was given, and it may be difficult to supply food for more ; but Your Highnesses will no doubt in some cases like the officials to attend the inspection of the farm, and I would suggest in that case that the officials should, if possible, make their own arrangements for food.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—I understand they will also go by special train.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood** :—The special train will accommodate anything up to six first-class carriages and one saloon, and I think a good many of the Ruling Princes will be travelling by motor car, and there ought to be no difficulty in accommodating the officials if they do not mind sitting close for a short period.

**His Excellency the President** :—I would suggest that the committee which Your Highnesses have appointed to consider the question of agricultural statistics should meet forthwith and discuss the question. The Conference will adjourn until Thursday, the 8th November, to 11 o'clock.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY.

*8th November 1917.*

## Item No. IV of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President :—**The first item on the agenda to-day is the report of the sub-committee which considered what was the best mode of obtaining agricultural statistics from the Darbars. That report is now before Your Highnesses and it is now open to Your Highnesses either to discuss that report or to move that it be adopted.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I notice that the report suggests that returns may be supplied to the States in the vernacular and a memorandum should accompany the vernacular returns. I think it would be a good thing if the memorandum were also translated into the vernacular.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood (to Mr. Shirras) :—**Is there any serious difficulty in accepting His Highness' suggestion ?

**Mr. G. F. Shirras :—**I see no difficulty whatsoever.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I fully agree with the suggestion.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**May I take the liberty of supplementing what I said in the last meeting on this subject. It must be readily conceded by Your Highnesses that no State could afford to have incorrect statistics. We could least afford, in the interests of the States themselves, to be without authoritative statistical statements about the internal resources, staple and otherwise of the States. It may be that such statistics are not immediately, and may take some time to be, available in some of the States. But this is no reason for not making an immediate effort in this direction. A possession of such statistics cannot but be of immense importance to the States themselves in the first instance and to the cause of the Empire to which we belong in the next instance. With the above further remarks I support the recommendations of the committee now before Your Highnesses.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**The importance and usefulness of statistics in general and agricultural in particular are appreciated in all the States. The extent of their collection varies with the different circumstances of each State in respect of the agency to prepare, check and consolidate the statistics. I submit that each State should be left to decide for itself about collecting agricultural statistics with due regard to the requirements concerning other statistical information of not less importance such as revenue and sanitary.

Collection of statistics is purely a matter of internal administration. It is, therefore, most essential, in my opinion, that the obligation on the part of the States to furnish statistical information should continue to be entirely voluntary not only in theory but also in practice, and I am glad to note that this has been emphasized in the memorandum annexed to the agenda.

In order to encourage the supply of information on such voluntary basis, at least three conditions seem to be very necessary in my opinion :—

(a) Too much information should not be required.

(b) The supply should not be made too frequent.

- (c) No possibility of a political obligation of an inflexible and inconvenient nature arising out of this practice of supplying information should exist even in appearance. It should be ruled that statistical information—which is of a public nature—might be directly asked for by, and sent to, the department concerned and not through the regular channel of the political agency. Pressure for supply of information should be avoided as it would be misunderstood, and thus the extension of the voluntary principle might receive a set back. States that may not feel inclined to supply certain statistics should be left alone.

I now come to the accuracy of the estimates of outturn in the forecasts of crops. The collection of statistics is primarily done by a low-paid agency. This must continue, as the employment of any highly paid agency for this purpose would be a financial impossibility for any State or Government. But efforts might be made to educate that agency in the work of making estimates; to improve their general education and to place before them clear instructions from time to time in the vernacular of the State as to the methods of estimating. The department of statistics ought to be able to render much help in this direction. Periodical instructions as to estimating should be printed in the different languages of India and printed copies thereof supplied largely to the States who ask for them, for distribution among the members of the collecting and estimating agency. As I already said, scrupulous care should be taken not to impose too much burden on that agency. Otherwise, it is bound to shirk work and send information hastily concocted. This is a very important point as departmental zeal is a growing live force and as its outlook does not often extend to the requirements of the administration as a whole.

Lastly, as regards cotton press and mill returns, I may observe that the observations made by me will explain to some extent why the present methods of securing them have failed. We should further remember that private presses and mills are generally reluctant to divulge information lest they should be commercially handicapped. To begin with, the half-monthly return might be abolished as proposed by the committee, and direct dealing between the commercial institutions of British India and the presses and mills in the Native States discouraged.

I will make only one more observation of a general character. The difficulties experienced in regard to statistics are almost entirely traceable, in my opinion, to want of a system for training men for this work. It is a serious mistake to suppose that this can be learnt without training or that it is sufficiently interesting. Hence the question of instituting a course of training in statistical work should be seriously taken into consideration by the department of statistics.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, the question of the preparation of a memorandum on this subject has been dealt with in paragraph 3(a) of the sub-committee's report, in which they say that a memorandum containing clear and detailed instructions regarding the correct method of filling in the form will be prepared and circulated to each Darbar, and in the next paragraph that is, paragraph 4, it is said that it will be left to the discretion of the Darbars themselves to send returns either direct to the statistical department or through the political officers as may be considered most convenient, which, I understand, covers the point just raised by His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

As regards the voluntary character of the supply of these statistics, this question has been dealt with in the first paragraph of the main paragraph (a),

where it begins "while the entirely voluntary character of the returns should be re-affirmed.....". Therefore I take it that His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha accepts the proposals of the sub-committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I support the motion.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**As the acceptance of the memorandum has been proposed and seconded, I would suggest for the consideration of the Conference to signify only a general acceptance of what is stated in the memorandum.

**His Excellency the President :—**It has been moved and seconded that the report of the sub-committee on this question be adopted. Those who are in favour will signify their assent by raising their hands.

The motion was put and carried.

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### Item No. II of the Agenda.

**His Excellency the President :—**We now come to item No. II of the agenda. Mr. MacKenna, the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, is present here this morning, and I understand he is prepared to inform Your Highnesses generally of the proposals contained in this item of the agenda.

**Mr. J. MacKenna :—**There are one or two points in connection with the subject of agriculture that I would like to bring to Their Highnesses' notice and I would suggest that details should be discussed informally this afternoon by representatives deputed by Their Highnesses at a quarter past three in the committee room.

The importance of agriculture was recognised by all of them, and in very many of the States there were very highly organised departments of agriculture. The central unit of the whole concern was the Imperial Research Institute at Pusa of which I happen to be the Director. There they go into the more abstruse subject connected with scientific agriculture, i.e., agricultural chemistry, economic botany, entomology and various other ologies of a much more complicated and abstruse nature than any of the States would be expected to investigate. As head of that department I would like to tell Their Highnesses that the services of the institute are always at their disposal, whenever they care to make any reference to it. In questions like mycology, i.e., fungus diseases, or entomology which dealt with the control of insect pests, very few of the provinces had felt the necessity of maintaining a separate staff, and I think it would be a waste of money for the States to go in for these more refined aspects of scientific research, seeing that they have this central institute where the laboratories and scientific officers are freely at the disposal of Their Highnesses. I hope that, if any cases arise of serious fungus or insect attacks in their States, Their Highnesses will direct their responsible ministers to write to the institute freely and they will be glad to give any assistance that they could. A similar spirit of reciprocity, I feel sure, would exist between the provinces and the States. Apart from the central research institute they have in all the principal provinces very fully equipped departments. For instance, in the Punjab they have a very fine research institute at Lyallpur; in the United Provinces they have one at Cawnpore; in the Bombay Presidency they have one at Poona; in Madras they have one at Coimbatore; in Bengal and Bihar they have one at Sabur; and in the Central Provinces they have one at Nagpur. So that States lying in the neighbourhood of these particular provinces can, I feel sure, without hesitation appeal to the local directors of agriculture for any similar advice that they require.

I would be very glad indeed, when any of Their Highnesses are in Calcutta, if they would do me the honour of visiting Pusa. It is not a particularly easy journey, but I am sure that what we would be able to show Their Highnesses there would more than compensate for any temporary inconvenience in getting to Pusa.

I might say that the question of co-operation worked both ways and it would be a very great advantage to my officers if they were given facilities occasionally to visit the States and see what agricultural work was going on there. For instance, in connection with the Cotton Committee, they propose, and have already in prospect, with the gracious consent of the Maharajas concerned, to visit the various Native States where progress in the matter of the development of long staple cotton was assuming an Imperial importance. On account of the limitation of supplies from America it is necessary that they should very considerably extend the cultivation of this long staple cotton in the interest of both Bombay and Lancashire. In the dominions of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad long staple cotton is cultivated to a large extent, and I have no doubt that any recommendations which the committee might make with a view to the expansion of this cotton would receive the sympathetic and cordial support of Their Highnesses.

Another point which I would like to mention is that I understand that in a number of States the excellent custom of giving States scholarships to youths is in vogue. I ask Their Highnesses in allotting these to remember Pusa. We would be very glad to take in at Pusa for postgraduate research any boys nominated by Their Highnesses and deputed to us for this training.

The only other matter I wish to refer to is agricultural education. During the past few months in collaboration with the Education Department we have been elaborating a system of agricultural education attached to the Chiefs' Colleges. The intention is not to turn out their sons and heirs as agriculturists. They are going back to rule their States like Their Highnesses and to be good Rulers; but considering that so much of the prosperity and contentment of India rests upon agriculture, it seems that it would be an advantage if in the closing years of a boy's school curriculum, his education is given a scientific bias. The cry at home now is a scientific bias in education, and in India where the principal industry of agriculture is based upon science, it seems right that the scientific bias, which in the closing years of education their boys should receive, should be that which directs them to the industry which predominates in Their Highnesses' territories. As a result I hope that round about their palaces, when their boys came back from these colleges, there will grow up home farms which will be, not only a source of pleasure to themselves, but of great profit and utility to their subjects.

These are all the remarks I have to make, and I would be very glad to meet representatives of Their Highnesses at a quarter past three in the committee room to discuss any details in agricultural matters connected with their respective States.

**His Highness the Raja of Hill Tippera :—**Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, in my own State agricultural conditions are still primitive. The system of *jhooming* is followed in the hills, that is to say, virgin forest is cleared by burning, in order to leave the ground bare for one year's cultivation, the ashes of bamboos and under growths supplying an effective manure. Elsewhere more enlightened methods are followed, but there is great need of agricultural improvement and education.

We have only a small agricultural farm where some improved methods of cultivation and selected seeds are tried on a small scale, but I feel, in view of the limited resources of my State, much advantage could be derived if the staff of my experimental farm could be in closer communication with, and benefit by, the operations conducted in any such central farm as is contemplated in paragraph 4 of the note by the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India. As an instance of what I mean, I may say that one of the chief agricultural products of my State is short staple cotton, the market for which has been destroyed in the last three years. I should welcome any assistance in solving the problem of the possibility of introducing the cultivation of long staple cotton—a problem which somewhat overtaxes the present capacity of my experimental farm.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I have given a note on the subject of what we have done in Gwalior to Mr. Wood, and if Your Excellency will permit me to do so, I shall read that note to the Conference.

"1. As a first step towards agricultural development in the State, the Durbar have joined in the scheme for engaging, out of contributions from a number of States in Central India, an expert agricultural adviser for a period of five years.

The services of Mr. Coventry have been secured as such adviser and his advice is being freely sought and followed.

2. The next step was to organize a regular agricultural department for the State.

Appendix I. This has been done on the lines laid down by me in the annexed note. The department has been placed under a Director of Agriculture assisted by a specialist in the agricultural machinery.

3. The central idea of the whole scheme is first to attempt such improvements as are within the limited intelligence and means of an average *zamindar* or cultivator, leaving the highly scientific and expensive improvements to a latter stage. The idea is being carried out by detailing one *ziledar* or agricultural demonstrator to each district, to hold one village on *zamindari* terms and introduce all possible improvements in it, with no better financial equipment than that of an ordinary *zamindar*. Improvements proved to be feasible under those conditions will be within the reach of the ordinary run of cultivators, and the latter will no longer have the patent excuse that costly experiments, though successful on Government model farms, are not suited to become the normal feature of their daily agricultural practice. The aim is to raise the general level rather than that individual *zamindars* here and there should take great strides, leaving the mass of the agricultural population where they were.

4. The original note giving the main outlines of the scheme was recently supplemented by further instructions designed to include in the scope of the department's activities a number of definite duties.

Appendix II.

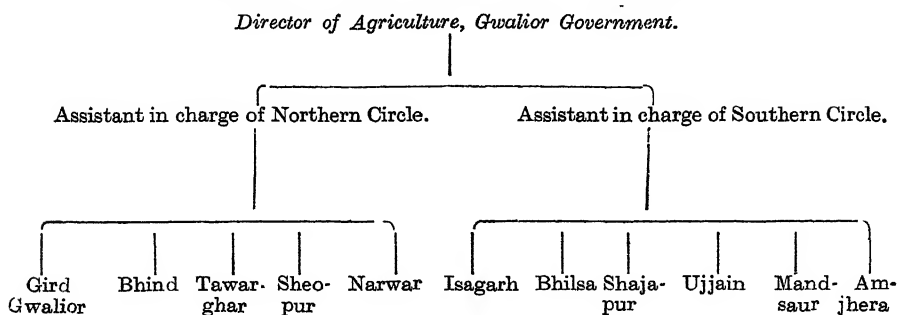
5. Presumably the Darbar's scheme covers all the suggestions offered in the very suggestive and useful note kindly supplied to the Conference by the present Director-General of Agriculture to the Government of India.

6. An up-to-date series of agricultural readers has been compiled and introduced in the schools. In addition, plots of land have been allotted to each school for practical instruction in agriculture.

## APPENDIX I.

Owing to the ignorance of our *zamindars* and *kashikars* it is, to my mind not, at the present stage advisable to recommend or adopt highly scientific methods of agriculture, as I know from experience that they do not care nor can they afford to undertake such enterprises or methods, being too suspicious and preferring to stick to their old ways. Therefore I would not suggest the creation of an agricultural farm on the lines of Cawnpore or Nagpur; but I think that anything in the way of practical demonstration of satisfactory results

would appeal to them, and I feel that there are possibilities of attaining success, provided the department is organised as indicated below in the form of a diagram :—



It will be seen from this how I propose to organise the Department. Of course, I will try and secure the men myself, failing which I shall seek the help of the Agricultural Adviser, Central India.

The Director of Agriculture will be in sole charge of the department under the Home Member for the present and he will be responsible to the Darbar to carry out their policy. He will be assisted by two assistants, one in charge of the northern division, the other of the southern division. The northern division consists of zilas Gird, Gwalior, Bhind, Tawar-ghar, Sheopur and Narwar, in all five; while the southern division will consist of Isagarh, Bhilsa, Shajapur, Ujjain, Mandasaur and Amjhera, in all six.

I think the *zamindars* of the northern district are more intelligent than those of the southern, excluding Bhilsa. I am glad to say that the Bhilsa *zamindars* have begun to see in a small way the advantage of agricultural machinery. The *zamindars* of Malwa proper, barring those who have come from the United Provinces and Berar, are entirely in the hands of *patwaris*, and there is no sign of any intelligence in them, speaking generally.

In each *zila* I propose to put a *zildar*, who will be in direct charge of a village and responsible for giving advice to other villagers in his *zila*; but his primary duty will be to make the village he is in charge of a model one, as by this means it is proposed to give practical demonstration. This is how I propose to constitute the department, with necessary authority and directions as to how they are expected to conduct the business, subject to improvement in the light of directions based upon the experience gained. Of course, the necessary clerical staff will be provided.

The *zildar* will work under the Agricultural Assistant in charge of the division. I may also mention here that eventually, after a few years' working, I shall put the department under the Revenue Minister when the system is in full swing.

My object in creating this department is to improve the general system of agriculture and quietly to impress the *zamindars* by practical demonstrations as to how they can make themselves prosperous which they are not at present. They have suffered so much from want of knowledge. With a view to achieve the object the department will have to show and prove to them that by acting on the system recommended they will be benefitted.

It would appear necessary to teach them the principles of dry farming at once, as the complete extension of irrigation so as to protect all districts from famine will take some time.

Reference may be made to my review on the administration report of the years 1913-14. This contains my policy on irrigation.

Preparation of land for cultivation, selection of seeds and use of manure, time of sowing as well as pointing out what soil is good for particular crops, are the essential things to be brought to the notice of the *zamindars* at first. For the present, also, improvement in cotton is necessary and as far as that goes, this thing ought to be pushed without delay. To this end I consider that it will be best to bring out leaflets at once, showing what care is to be taken of the plant and where the best seed can be had from. This the Agricultural Adviser, Central India, would, I hope, take in hand immediately.

Practical demonstration should aim at showing that the *zamindars* working on the basis of their income, that is, after deducting their household expenses, can improve their revenue by adopting certain improvements. This principle, if acted upon, will produce a good effect on their minds and induce them speedily to take to better methods as exhibited in the villages managed by us.

With this end in view I propose to give villages on lease to the agricultural department in the name of the *ziledar*, looking upon him as a *zamindar*. I want him to learn not only agriculture, but also the system of keeping accounts, preserving sanitation, running *punchayat* boards and other general things which concern the village.

I should also like to have a scientific laboratory, with a certain amount of land attached established at Gwalior for purposes of experiment and issue of leaflets regarding the results obtained, for the guidance of *ziledar* and *zemindars*. This laboratory should be under the direct charge of the Director.

The idea is that by the time we have succeeded in removing the peoples' prejudices, the laboratory may be ready with the results of its investigation, so that valuable time may not be lost.

I also propose to combine with the investigation of this laboratory, other investigation which may prove useful to the commercial community, such as in the die-making line and others. I want this on the ground that commerce cannot flourish unless agriculture improves and commercial products and by-products are found. This the revenue officers can help in with ease.

What I want the Agricultural Adviser in Central India to do is to be always in touch with the Director of Agriculture of the State and give him every help which he needs. The Director would also do experiment in the laboratory, if asked by the Agricultural Adviser in Central India. The Agricultural Adviser in Central India should pay constant visits and see how the things are getting on, suggest improvements and submit reports to the Darbar to enable them to carry out their aims. The agricultural department will also have to give attention to the breeding of cattle which, I think, falls within its purview.

One of the duties of *ziledars* will be to advise the *subas* in agricultural matters.

I shall soon start collecting the staff, i.e., the Director, the two assistants and the eleven *ziledars*.

## APPENDIX II.

### *Instructions to the Agricultural Department, Gwalior State.*

The agricultural department shall address itself to the following objects :—

1. To start experimental and demonstration farms at *ziledars'* villages and other convenient centres, always remembering that the results to be recommended to the cultivators in the State should be such as will be within their intelligence and means.
2. To open seed depots for the supply, at cost price, of pure indigenous seeds and also of such foreign seeds as may be found suitable to our soils and climate.
3. Similarly to open manure depots for the supply of manures at cost price.
4. To issue leaflets on the subject of prevention and cure of diseases and pests to which the different crops are liable.
5. To popularize water pumping machinery for irrigation and to investigate the possibilities of success of boring machinery and tube-wells in waterless tracts.
6. To import, devise and popularize agricultural machinery of all kinds for heavy work, such as the breaking up of virgin soil, and light work, such as the ordinary annual operations of ploughing, harrowing, tilling, harvesting, threshing and winnowing and transporting the grain to market. The aim should be to make up for the scarcity of labour by machinery in every agricultural operation.
7. Through travelling inspectors and other means, to give free advice on the spot to *zamindars* and cultivators on any point referred by them, e.g.,
  - (1) The most economical machinery suited to their requirements and how to procure it and set it up.
  - (2) What commercially profitable crop could be grown on particular fields and how ?
  - (3) What irrigational facilities could be procured at the lowest cost, and so on.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**The British Indian Government and their agricultural departments can assist the Indian States in the following particulars :—

- (i) Direct correspondence between the departmental officers of British India and those of Native States in these matters may be permitted.
- (ii) Facilities should always be given to the officers of Native States to visit the British Indian institutions of this description without the necessity of elaborate correspondence.
- (iii) The agricultural department might render assistance to the Native States in the matter of securing suitable agricultural teachers, inspectors and machinery.
- (iv) The advice of the Pusa Agricultural Research Institute in technical matters should be made more largely available. I am glad that Mr. MacKenna has just now offered to do so.

There should, however, be a distinct *understanding* that out of this routine no political obligations of an inconvenient or inflexible character will arise.

Considering that agriculture is the most important subject so far as India is concerned, it seems necessary to bring into existence an organization representative of large landowners and also agricultural experts. Its sphere of study and work should embrace the whole of India including the Native States. Its constitution should be such as to bring British India and Native States into intimate association. Such an agricultural board or bureau would keep agricultural problems constantly under study and suggest from time to time suitable measures for the development of agriculture.

When conferences are held in regard to general agricultural matters, it is desirable to include among the members attending them a sufficiently large number of persons from Indian States.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**This is a question of the most vital importance to any State, since the chief source of revenue in any State in India is agriculture. As the Indian States generally are each independent of the other, I am afraid their co-operation can be only enlisted if the subject is handled very delicately. Uniformity will be, in the present state of things, rather an exception than a rule. Agricultural development depends upon so many variable factors and raises such large issues that they require to be handled by a select committee of officials from all or such of the States one each as are ready to co-operate, which body will go into the issues from the practical point of view and submit recommendations after full concurrence of the respective Rulers, to be finally considered by our Conference. In my opinion matters or questions touching internal administrations of the States require to be slowly and carefully gone into, so that the Conference may yield maximum results without giving any cause of alarm to any State that its internal autonomy is involuntarily interfered with. It is very necessary therefore that the States should be assisted by a body of experts chosen from each State who will meet and deliberate over problems concerning the common internal welfare of the States and place the results of their discussion before the Conference for our final consideration. I therefore agree that a committee of officials be appointed to consider this question.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, agriculture being the backbone of the population as well as the main source of the revenue and prosperity of our States, it is certainly very essential that any suggestions for progress that can be laid before us as practicable of adoption



should be given very careful and favourable consideration. In the first place, it appears necessary that some of the agricultural farms and laboratories where these improvements are tried should be carefully inspected, in order that knowledge may be gained from personal experience. Secondly, I would ask that a memorandum may be framed by the officers of the Government of India, whom we thank for their spirit in desiring to assist us in this important branch of science. This memorandum may be framed in order to place before us practical hints for the improvement of agriculture which will no doubt be welcome to our States and which will be given careful consideration. Any State desirous of proceeding ahead with experiments would then probably require the assistance of some of these expert officers in the beginning and I was glad to hear Mr. MacKenna volunteer to co-operate in this direction. I would propose therefore that States that may like to profit by the suggestion of the Government of India in placing before us this important question for our consideration to-day should send their revenue or agricultural officers to these farms and await the memorandum from the expert officers for individual consideration in due course. It is obviously impossible that a question of such magnitude can be discussed with much fruitful result by any sub-committee during a sitting in an afternoon; and it would perhaps be a superhuman task to produce any very tempting fruit in the time such as all of us could taste and enjoy in the limited period of an hour or two ordinarily available in the morning for digesting the productions which the sub-committees cater for our already somewhat overtaxed appetites.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur :—**The Darbar takes a keen interest in the development of agriculture and is anxious and willing to participate with the Government of India in introducing and encouraging desirable reforms recommended by them on the lines laid down by their Agricultural Adviser.

The founding of a Central Farm in each main agricultural tract would be very beneficial as experiments with seeds and plant-breeding could be carried on there with advantage on a small scale, and it will also prove the suitability of different seeds to the soil of the particular tract and to local conditions.

The planting of a particular plant in that tract of land where it fails to thrive is to be discouraged and that which thrives should be disseminated.

In order to disseminate improved seed, seed stores may be opened at different centres.

The Darbar is prepared to encourage and induce the *jagirdars* and other landholders to undertake to grow the improved seed and to try improved methods on their own lands as far as circumstances permit.

The importation and introduction of seeds of superior quality from different parts of India, as well as from America, would be highly beneficial and with this proposal the Darbar fully agrees. Whenever necessary, the help and advice of the Pusa staff would be ungrudgingly taken.

My Government would be glad to send some agricultural officers to Government agricultural farms to see for themselves and to discuss how mutual help could be rendered with advantage.

Agricultural education on the lines of an optional course of "agriculture" (with arrangements for practical demonstration) being supplemented to the ordinary syllabus already existing at the Chiefs' Colleges would be of great advantage and has my full approval.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**It is, of course, quite obvious that all the States realise the importance of agricultural development. The

chief difficulty in developing agriculture, except in a few States who are able to afford such experiments, has been really that of expert and skilled supervision. I am sure that we are all grateful to the Government of India for giving us this opportunity of meeting Mr. MacKenna, and for the offer that he has made of advice and assistance and of training our officers at the Pusa College. To my mind, the greatest need is help in seeds and machinery, and I am sure that the States will take full advantage of this offer. Owing to the diversity of conditions and so on there would be a necessity for special advice on dry farming. For instance, in my State the greatest need is for dry farming, and I believe there are opportunities available for instruction in this special branch of farming at the Government colleges. As regards agricultural training, the lack of teachers has been a great difficulty and will continue to be so for a long time; because I believe teachers, except the few scholars, who are sent to these colleges, are not ordinarily available. But the question was, I think, discussed some time ago at a conference in Simla and some help in that direction may be possible in future.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**Your Excellency, agriculture is the principal industry of this country, and to its development on the right lines most of the Native States are devoting a great deal of attention. The Government of India have always been only too delighted to lend us a helping hand, and I assure Your Excellency that all of us cordially welcome a discussion of how the present methods can be improved. The larger States of Central India have recently adopted a scheme for utilising the services of Mr. Coventry, late Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, and he has been giving us the benefit of his advice for the last two years and a half. We are all taking steps for the provision of good seeds and the establishment in proper places of suitable demonstration farms. We are endeavouring to improve the methods of cultivation and also the agricultural implements with due regard to local conditions. In these circumstances, a discussion of all matters connected with this question cannot but be highly advantageous. It is obvious that all the States cannot immediately organise steps on a very large scale, and I don't think that research institutes will be required in the territory of every Ruling Prince. Our States can at all times profit by the experiments undertaken elsewhere and especially in British India, short accounts of which are published in journals and returns, provided all publications are received by the Darbars regularly. The need for agricultural education is most imperative in the case of agriculturists. I have no doubt that the proceedings of the conference of agricultural education held at Simla this year will be very helpful in the schemes of agricultural education framed by our States.

As regards the extension of long staple cotton in our territories, I, for my part, will extend a most cordial welcome to the committee which is at present touring in India to enquire into the possibilities of the scheme. And if as a result of their enquiries the committee should arrive at the conclusion that possibilities for the extension of the long staple variety exist in my State, the Government can rely on my wholehearted co-operation in the matter. Any information which the committee may desire will be readily placed at their disposal.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**It is a fortunate circumstance of the times that Government is taking interest in the development of national industry of this great country. Interest of Government in this respect can be traced to the middle of the 18th century. India was considered, and is, a great source of raw products required for manufacturing purposes. Cotton had then attracted the attention of Government. The same crop is even now engaging attention, and the Government of India have only recently appointed

a touring commission to enquire into the extension of cotton cultivation and suggest ways and means to improve its staple.

On the present occasion I am happy to note that the interest of Government is not going to be centred round the supply of raw products for the manufacturing centres of England, but it is going to be extended to the general development of agriculture and improvement in the condition of agriculturists. More than 80 per cent. of the population of this country is dependent on the agricultural industry. In my State practically the whole State depends for its prosperity on agriculture. We have hardly any other industry worth speaking of. My interest in agriculture I may say is of long standing, and I have been making efforts to assist my people. I have found by experience that these efforts don't have a far-reaching effect and though, as I have said, the efforts are sustained, the results are not equal to those efforts.

I can't say that the Indian cultivator does not know his business. In fact he is a best cultivator. If he is found to stick to what outsiders may call crude methods, those are the methods which suit his economic condition. He understands the possibilities, but he is handicapped.

To understand his real position it is necessary to know the disabilities under which he has to work. These disabilities can be classified under four heads: (1) his ignorance, i.e., his illiteracy; (2) his want of means to get cheap capital; (3) his smallness of holdings, (4) and want of organisation in the disposal of his produce.

His first disability is great, viz., illiteracy. To get over it the only way is the spread of education among them. To achieve this object of predominant importance I have lately introduced in my State compulsory primary education. I should not fail to say that I have but made a beginning. It will take some time to extend the measure to the whole State to my satisfaction. The only departure I am anxious to make from the ordinary course is that I want to give education to suit the condition of my people. In villages especially the instruction will be limited to the three R's and practice in agriculture. I consider this precautionary provision is necessary. It is no good weaning the people—sons of agriculturists—from the occupation of their fathers. Education should create a pride for the ancestral industry and not contempt. A village school will generally be provided with a small farm to create pride for physical labour. Our boys should understand the dignity of labour.

For the second disability—want of cheap capital—I am having co-operative societies established on the British model—I can't say that the present lines on which these societies are run are the only and best lines. We shall have to watch the progress. We have yet to get more experience before we make a departure.

With regard to the smallness of holdings, I am afraid there is no easy solution within the means of the State. The law of inheritance comes in the way which enjoins equal division among the heirs of the holder. We can only limit farther sub-division of the survey number. This is a makeshift, but it is worth attempting. This question is engaging the attention of the Bombay Government and United Provinces. I am watching the result. I shall be glad to follow the lead of the British Government. Lately, Dr. Harold Mann brought out an interesting book—university series—showing the deplorable condition of our Deccan agriculturists. It is sure to attract the serious attention not only of the Government of Bombay but of the Supreme Government. There is one more way by which this difficulty of the smallness of holdings can be minimised, and that is encouragement to emigration to East Africa conquered from the Germans, which should never be returned. Some of the territory might be reserved for Indian soldiers who have helped in so valiantly

wresting it from the enemy, and if my suggestion be accepted, it will be a fitting reward for their loyalty and bravery also.

I hail with joy, therefore, that the question of agriculture and its development is before the Princes' Conference.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**The question of agricultural development in Native States is a most important one as agriculture is the backbone of India, and so it deserves indeed a careful consideration of all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of this country.

Mr. J. MacKenna, the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, has dealt to a great extent with the subject under discussion in his memorandum attached to the agenda, wherein he has made various suggestions which are valuable but can be carried out when a proper procedure is adopted as regards the correspondence between the Government agricultural departments and those of Indian States which should be permitted directly.

As regards agricultural education, the British Indian Government and their departments should afford all facilities to the students from Native States in their studies of this nature, and should also give their valuable help in securing teachers and inspectors for these purposes.

The agricultural officers of Native States should be permitted to visit British Indian institutions with facilities, and the advice of the agricultural research institute should be available with ease whenever asked for.

But there is one specific point which should be clearly settled before carrying out the abovementioned procedure that no political obligation of an inconvenient nature will arise out of this routine.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**It would be a truism to remark that agriculture is the mainstay of the Indian States just as much as that of British India. It is impossible for anyone interested in the material welfare of this country to relegate the question of agricultural improvement to the shelf. It is an acknowledged, though lamentable, fact that the exploitation of this staple industry of the land is still conducted on the primitive lines which have been handed down through ages of remote antiquity. Until quite recently no attempt was ever made to develop the methods and lift them out of their antediluvian groove. The spread of education and enlightenment has naturally inspired a consciousness of this paramount and vital need of the country.

His Excellency the Viceroy in his Darbar speech at Lahore in April last indicated the means of attaining the desired end : research of the scientists, demonstration and the practical application of the improved methods to cultivation.

The British Government have conferred a real and lasting boon on the people of India by establishing research institutes and agricultural colleges, one of whose functions is demonstration. The resources of a majority of the States are so limited that the creation by them of similar institutions individually would be a question outside the bounds of practical politics. As far as the research work and its results are concerned, the States must perforce look to British India for guidance. Demonstration can and ought to be organised in the States. But at the present stage of agricultural activity in the States it would be impossible to achieve success in demonstration work without the assistance and co-operation of the British Indian experts.

In my own State I have established a demonstration agricultural farm, but I find that in order to run it on highly scientific lines, and to raise its utility to the maximum degree, the expert direction of the agricultural department

of British India would be *sine qua non*. I am sensible of the deplorable paucity of experts in the country at the present moment, and the war has materially aggravated the situation. Nevertheless I feel that, unless the active co-operation of the agricultural department is forthcoming, such experiments as I have launched are doomed to failure.

On these grounds I welcome the assurance held out by the Agricultural Adviser that the officers of the Pusa Staff will be willing to advise, and if requested, to visit the States. Speaking for my own State, I can confidently assert that there is a vast scope for improvement despite the fact that it is a fertile tract of the country. Tens of thousands of acres are afflicted with *kallar* (saline matter) and lie useless. The recent successful reclamation of *kallar* near Lyallpur fills me with a hope that similar areas in my State might yield to technical skill and treatment, and in time to come be converted, from a barren waste, into a highly productive soil. But to realise this dream expert guidance is, as I have said above, essential. In conclusion I would suggest that our representatives should discuss this question and the next with the experts of the Government of India and report the results of their deliberations to the Conference.

**His Highness the Raj Rana of Jhalawar :—**No question is of such vital importance to the whole of India as that of agricultural development, and we fully realise this importance. The introduction of the modern scientific methods of agriculture, and their gradual adoption by the cultivators of the States, is engaging our earnest attention, and we are grateful to the Government of India that, in addition to the assistance we have already availed ourselves of from their agricultural research institute and colleges, they now offer to help us with practical co-operation.

Although this question is full of technical points fit to be discussed by a conference of our experts and Ministers with the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, and not by the Ruling Princes themselves at the first instance, I would take the liberty to make some observations and suggestions which I hope, will be considered in detail by the conference I have hinted :—

For the purpose of agricultural development the Indian States may roughly be grouped into 3 divisions :—

- (1) States like Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir—which have large areas and probably have their own agricultural departments already.
- (2) States scattered throughout British India, the agricultural problems of which are not very different from the adjoining British territory. Such States can have the advantage of the work done by the provincial agricultural departments, and therefore they do not require to maintain a research institute.
- (3) Groups of States like Rajputana, Central India and Kathiawar. Most of these States are not in a position to maintain a first rate agricultural research institute, and owing to their geographical and political situation and unique climatic conditions their agricultural problems are of such a special nature that they are not met with in British India, and consequently are not attempted at all by the departments of agriculture there. So under these circumstances the work of the department of agriculture in British India cannot prove so useful to these groups of States as to those of division No. 2,

Taking into consideration the peculiar nature of the agricultural problems of this group of States, I would venture to suggest that at such centres as Ajmer, Indore and Rajkot the Government might open central agricultural farms, and one research institute for the three centres or, if possible, one for each, from which the agricultural departments of States may obtain practical assistance.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor :—**To improve agriculture in Native States demonstration farms should be opened at different centres, agricultural schools started for instructing boys of the cultivators, and co-operative credit societies started to finance the agricultural operations. If necessary, *Tagai* should be granted to agriculturists for sinking wells, building stone embankments, purchasing cattle, implements of husbandry, seeds and manures, and for the general improvement of their fields. Endeavour should be made to see that the fields are carefully bounded up and that the rain water is not wasted. Divisions of fields should be made by earthen mounds to preserve rain water. On sloping hilly ground, trenches should be dug and rain water collected to give moisture to the neighbouring lands. Experiments should be made of paying crops and other suitable crops for different lands, and if these experiments are successful, such crops should be introduced, to better the condition of the agriculturists. Better methods of cultivation and better implements should be used. Better seeds should be stored in demonstration farms and the cultivators provided with them. Irrigation should be introduced on a larger scale where it is possible. Fields should be preserved by stone embankments in hilly tracts and by earthen mounds in other places. There should be cattle shows and exhibitions of best agricultural produces. Prizes should be offered for best cattle breeding and best production of crops.

Such manures as could easily and cheaply be made in particular places be used for the crops grown there. Aloe plants should be grown on the boundaries of fields or in waste *varkas* lands, for they find an easy and profitable market now-a-days, and the agriculturist can thus get extra money to pay his assessment. Even other suitable trees may be planted, which could pay.

In order that the societies may not be failures, they may at the beginning be financed by the State. If loans are not returned in proper time, there should be provision made in rules for forfeiture of lands to ensure payment. Filing of suits is a lengthy procedure, which should be avoided. The Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India has dealt with this question fully. The suggestions made by him, as well as those made here may, as far as practicable, be adopted by respective States looking to the exigencies of their own States.

Almost the whole of my territory is hilly, except a small portion of the Vichitraged Taluka, and introduction of these farms is not possible there. The crops grown there are practically settled. They are *paddy, vari, nachani and sawa*.

My State has a good reputation for rice of superior kind and flavour and at the exhibition of Amsterdam it was awarded a gold medal for its best quality of rice.

**His Excellency the President :—**Your Highnesses, there is no formal motion or resolution before the Conference, but I make no apology for having brought this very important subject before Your Highnesses and for having asked Mr. MacKenna, the Director of Agriculture with the Government of India, to come here and to give us a memorandum on the subject and to make

some explanatory remarks this morning, and I very much appreciate the sympathetic reception which has been given in the discussion which has taken place to-day. Now of course, if we are to get progress in agricultural development there are three sources through which we may get that progress. The first is the research of the scientist, and Mr. MacKenna has told you what is going on at Pusa and at other provincial centres of research, and he has offered to Your Highnesses every facility for your own people and your own experts to go to those centres of research activity and to discuss with him and his colleagues the various important questions which are examined in those centres of research. In the second place, if we are to advance we must have demonstration of the results of the scientist. In the third place, we want to enlist the intelligent co-operation of the man on the land. Now, may I say, because it has occurred in two of the speeches of Your Highnesses this morning, that there is no intention either covert or overt under this subject to interfere with the internal economics of any State, nor is any obligation contemplated with regard to the matters which we put before you. I am very glad to have found that Your Highnesses have given such a very sympathetic reception to this subject, and I can assure you that from the point of view of the Government of India we are only too delighted to find that Your Highnesses appreciate the paramount importance of this great subject, and that you will be delighted to co-operate with the Government of India in trying to develop this great national industry which after all is the backbone of the welfare of the people, not only of British India, but of all your States. Now, Your Highnesses, as there is no resolution before you, and as I understand that those of you who wished to speak on this important subject have already done so, I propose that we proceed to discuss the third item on the agenda. Some of Your Highnesses visited Babugarh yesterday and had an opportunity of discussing the subject there with General Templer on the spot. I do not know whether General Templer is ready to address Your Highnesses on the subject this morning, but if he is not going to address Your Highnesses, he will be quite willing to meet any of Your Highnesses this afternoon at the same time that Mr. MacKenna will see some of your agricultural experts. Now, we shall proceed to item III of the agenda.

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### Item No. III of the Agenda.

**Brigadier-General Templer** signified that he did not propose to make any observations at the Conference, since what he had to say was given in his printed memorandum (a copy of which is printed here for convenience of reference). He would, however, be happy to discuss any points in it with individual representatives of Darbars at 3-15 P.M. to-day in the Committee room. The memorandum is as follows :—

“The memorandum on horse-breeding operations in Native States which has been circulated to the members of this Conference, deals in outline with the subject on which I have been asked to address you, and on which I now propose to go further into detail.

“The circumstances created by the war have emphasised the great disadvantages under which this country has been placed by being so greatly dependent on an oversea supply of horses. Before the war the army in India depended on Australia for over 75 per cent. of its annual requirements, and to what extent private demands were dependent on the same source of

supply it is hard to say, but that the numbers were very great is clearly evidenced by the large number of Australian horses which were used in India as hunters, hacks, pigstickers, polo ponies and carriage horses. Since the outbreak of war in order to conserve its supply for the Empire's wants the Commonwealth of Australia have prohibited the export of horses for other than public needs, and even had this prohibition not existed, the restriction of sea freight alone would have prohibited the import into India of horses for any but army purposes.

"The great demand created by the war for horses has now reduced this source of supply to a very low ebb, and together with the difficulties in the provision of freights has rendered the supply of horses to India and Mesopotamia a question of no little anxiety. During the past three years practically no horses have been imported into India to meet private demands, and there is little doubt that the present scarcity of suitable animals for these purposes in the open market is being very acutely felt. India is at present the administrative supply base for the various theatres of military operations east of the Suez Canal, and may be so again should the necessity recur.

"So far our sea borne traffic has been unhindered by interference from action on the part of our enemies; though we hope that this may ever continue, the future is in the lap of the gods, and we will be more than unwise and neglectful of our responsibility to posterity if we do not insure against the freedom of the seas being denied to us in future, and do not make adequate provision for improving and increasing the production of horses and ponies in India.

"Quite apart from the reasons I have already stated, it is economically unsound to spend, as we now do, large sums of money on importations which can, to an appreciable extent, be produced in this country.

"I will now proceed to deal with the more practical question of the actual production of the horse and pony in India.

"The history of stock-breeding all over the world very clearly teaches us that conditions of climate, soil and pastures definitely dictate the type of animal which can be raised in any particular area or locality. It has been proved that heavy rich green pastures and colder climates are essential to the raising of the heavier types of horses, whereas the lighter types can be raised on harder and more arid soils, and as one prominent proof of the latter we have the Arab. India, therefore, is admittedly unsuitable for the breeding of the heavier types, but we have sufficient evidence that this country can produce an excellent riding horse, provided we are satisfied with one of a smaller type not exceeding 15·2 in height and preferably one about 15·1.

"We all know that conditions in India do not admit of breeding and maturing horses cheaply, or, in other words, we have not got in this country large tracts of cheap grazing land such as exist in Australia, Canada, Northern States of America or the Argentine, and that consequently the production of horses in India is, and must be, a more or less artificial and costly process.

"Unless the market offers a price for horses which makes their breeding a profitable business it will not be undertaken as a commercial proposition and cannot thrive.

"There are certain industries which, though not remunerative commercially, are essential for national requirements, and as long as they remain so must be kept alive by subsidies. The production of the horse and pony is, I contend, a national necessity, and as such must be fostered, and if necessary by liberal subsidies.



“ This principle has been recognised and adopted by most of the big civilised nations, and as one illustration I quote France, which during the time previous to the outbreak of the war spent the equivalent of 171 lakhs annually in measures for the encouragement of its production of horses, and even Australia, which has hitherto enjoyed great facilities for remunerative horse-breeding, has lately been obliged to consider measures for the further improvement of this industry.

“ It is very evident that India must adopt some form of liberal subsidies to encourage the production of horses, if it is ever to be self-dependent.

“ At present the Government of India in certain selected districts maintain an establishment of stallions for the free service of mares, which are selected and branded by the superintendent in charge of the horse-breeding operations as being likely to breed cavalry remounts when mated to the Government sires. The superintendents have a subordinate staff of Indian veterinary assistants, who keep a careful register of these approved mares, their service by the Government stallions, and the foaling results. They watch the health of these mares, and when necessary, provide them with free veterinary treatment. They also pass on to the breeders advice as to the proper management of the mares and their progeny. The superintendents tour through the districts almost continuously for 8 or 9 months during the year, inspecting mares, giving advice, and purchasing such young stock from 12 months of age and upwards as they think likely to grow into remounts. In each of these selected districts a horse fair is held annually, and at these fairs prizes are awarded to branded mares, and their progeny sired by Government stallions.

“ In addition to the operations which I have described in most districts of the Punjab, United Provinces and Bombay Presidency, stallions of a smaller or pony type (generally Arabs) are maintained by provincial or district board funds, and these, as well as the operations under the Imperial Government, have done a great deal of good in improving the horses bred in the country, but unfortunately the money spent is inadequate and the measures are not sufficiently far-reaching to meet all needs or to make India as self-dependent as it ought to be.

“ Another of the measures in these operations under the Government of India is the prohibition against Government buyers purchasing branded mares for army purposes. The object of this is to prevent mares which should be breeding being diverted to other uses. The records received in my office through horse-breeding superintendents show that a large number of country-bred horses are purchased by agents from Native States, or by dealers to sell in Native States, and there is, I fear, little doubt that a very appreciable number of branded mares find their way into some of your States, which enjoy equal facilities as do the best selected districts under British administration for horse breeding, and are there used, not for breeding, but to mount the State cavalries and for other purposes.

“ I have already pointed out that conditions of climate, soil and pasture definitely dictate the type of animal that can be raised in any particular area. India is a large country containing climatic and other conditions which widely differ in various localities, and as a consequence there are some portions of the country which history and experiments have clearly shown are not capable of breeding any equine but the smallest pony, while others have produced and are producing horses suitable for the army and for other economic needs of the country. In the former category I would place Bihar, Bengal, and

Southern India, and in the latter the Deccan, portions of Central India, the United Provinces, most of Rajputana, Kathiawar, the Punjab and Baluchistan.

“Of the Central Provinces I have no knowledge, nor have I been able to trace the horse-breeding history, but from what I have seen and been able to learn on hearsay of the climatic and other conditions I see no reason why parts of those provinces should not be suitable for the raising of useful horses and ponies.

“There are many Native States situated in the area which I have indicated as suitable for horse-breeding operations, and yet with very few and minor exceptions I believe I am justified in saying that very little, if any, effort has been made by the Rulers of these States to promote the horse and pony-breeding industry within their limits.

“Among the exceptions I must mention His Highness the Nizam’s Dominions, where, under the control of Mr. Gough, active horse-breeding operations have been initiated; His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, who keeps a stud, now primarily devoted to the breeding of race horses from thorough-bred English stock; His Highness the Raja of Dhar, who, in addition to his recently established small stud of thorough-breds for raising race horses, is actively interested in promoting horse and pony-breeding throughout his State; and His Highness the Rao of Cutch and some of the Kathiawar States. There are also doubtless others.

“I would now earnestly ask all Ruling Chiefs to follow the good example of the exceptions I have mentioned, and to institute early and active measures for stimulating in their respective States the breeding of such horses and ponies for which their local conditions are suitable and not to rely on the supply of animals raised in districts under British administration. I may remind you with great emphasis that the world’s wastage of horses since the outbreak of war must for many years have a marked effect on the supply available for India, and in promoting the production of the horse and pony-breeding industry in your respective States you will be doing a very marked and appreciable service to the Empire.

“To go into the details of the measures which I would suggest would take too long, but I have already outlined these in the memorandum which you have received and shall be glad to furnish them in an elaborated form to any who may require them.

“Naturally, one of the earliest steps to be taken is the provision of stallions, which must be suitable to the foundation stock in the country, and for this purpose there is no alternative but the establishment of local studs. I deprecate the use of exotic or foreign stallions other than the Arab; in parts of Marwar and Kathiawar you have your own breeds which the Government of India at no small expense have been fostering in the stud at Ahmednagar. I can imagine no types or breeds more suitable than these beautiful specimens for breeding operations in India, and I trust that those fortunate Chiefs whose States are the home of these breeds will leave no stone unturned to increase and improve them.

“I have now been closely connected with horse-breeding in India for over 17 years, and I am confident that with careful and proper organisation and supervision a very large part of India is capable of producing a most useful and hardy animal, and that if we stick more closely to the Arab and indigenous breeds, we will evolve an animal better capable of working under India’s conditions; but the main secret of success lies in close supervision, without which the money spent on these measures is wasted.

“In conclusion, I refer to the last paragraph of my memorandum, in which I emphasised the necessity for the close and efficient control of all equine diseases. India is unfortunately full of almost every known equine disease, which, if not detected and checked in their earliest stages, will cause lamentable ravages amongst the stock of the country, and will wipe out in a few weeks the results of many years’ care and labour. Some of these diseases can be detected in their early stages, before clinical symptoms appear, by methods of testing which have been devised by modern science and research. Unfortunately no cure has yet been discovered for some of these diseases, and yet their spread to the unaffected can be stopped and the outbreak immediately checked by the prompt destruction of the animals which are affected. This procedure is adopted in districts, under British administration, and has saved the lives of many thousands of animals. There is no other remedy, and unless you rigorously adopt similar measures you will never succeed in checking the spread of these diseases throughout your States, and until you accept this I do not advocate the expenditure of money and energy in horse-breeding operations.

“On this subject of the control of diseases I am a layman, but the remarks I have made convey the expressed opinion of the highest veterinary experts in India, and are in my opinion conclusive. I propose to discuss this subject informally this afternoon as it is a very wide subject.”

**His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur :—**The question of horse-breeding is one in which every Indian State is naturally interested. The observations which the Director-General of the Indian Army Remount Department has made about the supply of horses, and the condition that prevailed in pre-war times and the difficulties which are now experienced about such supplies for army purposes, are quite warranted by facts, and the Darbar have no hesitation in endorsing them. The Director has justly remarked that some States have always been famous for good indigenous breeds of horses and, undoubtedly, during the last half a century at least, the quality and number have markedly declined. One of the chief causes of this has been, as observed by the Director, the dependence of India to a large extent on the overseas supply of horses from foreign countries made easier by the facilities afforded by railways and shipping, etc.

The Jaipur Darbar have always tried to meet their own demand for horses by carrying on, as far as circumstances permitted, breeding operations locally. From time to time they have kept a number of stallions of different breeds in their stables and a reasonable stud of mares to be covered by them. In addition to stallions of good indigenous breeds they purchased, so early as 1895, some Arab stallions at the advice of the Veterinary Department of the Government of India to increase the output of good horses and located some of them in the districts as well as in the capital. The results attained by the covering of mares by these stallions proved satisfactory for the first few years ; but though the Darbar made strong efforts to popularise the use of these stallions by the general public by making their services gratis and by helping the public in the treatment of their horses and mares by professional veterinary assistants without any charge of fees, the public showed their preference for the use of country-bred Marwari and Kathiawari stallions. This experiment, it may be mentioned, cost the Darbar nearly fifty thousand rupees both in initial as well as in recurring expenses.

At present, wherever stallions are owned by jagirdars and private individuals, they are all generally country-bred.

In the State stables there are even at present a number of good stallions of every breed and description and the services of these are generally obtained by the public free of charge. .

In order to encourage horse-breeding, an annual fair for the sale and purchase of horses is held at the capital of the State. It was first started in the year 1893 and has been regularly held every year with the exception of a few years when it was stopped owing to severe scarcity of fodder and fuel, which were supplied to the traders and exhibitors free of charge by the State. This annual institution has afforded good remunerative market for horses and has served as an incentive to the breeders as well as to dealers of horses. At these annual fairs prizes were distributed to those of the exhibitors whose animals were approved of and pronounced deserving by a select committee of experts. Some concession in respect of customs duties was also allowed by the Darbar to facilitate export and import of horses to the fair.

In future, too, the Darbar are quite willing to co-operate with the Government of India in improving the breed and in increasing the output of good horses and to take necessary steps for the purpose. The Darbar, however, have some doubts whether horse-breeding can be commercially successful, unless it is made on a large scale and until it is proved to the satisfaction of the raiyats that they can also profitably co-operate.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**We spent a most interesting and instructive day through the courtesy of General Templer and other Officers at Babugarh. We saw there much of interest and, as a lover of horse flesh, it was particularly interesting to me to see the fine results of the breeding operations at Ahmednagar. We, in Marwar, as is well known, have possessed very fine breeding horses, and in Bikaner we had a particularly nice breed, which is local to our State. Unfortunately, owing to the stud not proving a paying concern it was broken up about 25 years ago. I only mention this to point out what a great disappointment it has been to me ever since our breed has gone for ever, and we have for some years past been thinking of reviving the horse-breeding operations, as the soil and climate of our State are particularly suitable. I was speaking on this subject to Sir Loch Elliott the other day in France, who is well-known in the world of horses and horsemen, and I was on the point of addressing Your Excellency's Government for a copy of the report of the commission which came out, I think, in 1900 to deal with this most important question. I would submit for Your Excellency's consideration whether a copy of that report could not, with advantage, be circulated to all the States, in addition to the very useful note which General Templer has supplied us and the conversation which we hope to have with him on the subject this afternoon.

There is another point which I would specially like to urge on this Conference, and that is, that, however keen the States may be in encouraging horse-breeding, specially to make the Indian Empire self-supporting in the matter of horse flesh, the great difficulty will always be to secure an adequate number of good stallions of the different breeds and the improvement of the mares for the purpose of the stud. And if in addition to the advice of the officers of Your Excellency's Government in regard to horse-breeding operations generally we could also be placed under the further obligation of being helped to produce a good breed of stallions and mares, then I think the work of the States will be greatly facilitated. And before sitting down, might I urge, after the splendid specimen we saw of the Marwari horses yesterday, that we might concentrate our efforts specially to encouraging the country breed of Marwari or Kathiawari horses in India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**In addition to the suggestions made in the memorandum annexed to the agenda, I submit that the first step necessary, it seems to me, is to provide for a census of the local breeds and breeders. It should be made obligatory on the part of breeders to furnish correct information. A committee may be appointed, if possible now or later on, to go through the materials so collected, to visit and inspect select localities in different provinces, if necessary, and to frame and report definite recommendations of a practical character after making such further enquiries as may be necessary. A separate fund for the encouragement and improvement of horse-breeding may be formed and a system of liberal grants for the purpose out of such fund devised.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**In regard to the development of horse-breeding, our States would all, I am sure, be delighted to adopt measures for improving and developing breeding operations, although I am very much afraid that there is something in the climate and soil of Malwa which is not very favourable to horse-breeding. I have had a stud in my own State for the last few years—but the results hitherto, I am sorry to say, have not been appreciable.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**There is a regular veterinary department in the State one of whose functions is horse-breeding and the treatment of equine diseases.

#### *Stallions.*

There is a State stallion located in each of the eleven districts, who is available for zamindars' mares on payment of a nominal fee of Rs. 2. This facility has been afforded by the Darbar in view of ensuring a good breed of horses and sufficient number for military and other requirements of the State, as also for supplying the wants of the private public.

#### *-Facilities and concessions.*

In order to give an impetus to horse-breeding the Darbar have given various concessions to owners of mares, the principal amongst them being as follows :—

- (1) A fair is held every year in each district where the new breeds are exhibited and in each fair the best of the lot carry prizes of—

Rs. 75

Rs. 50 and

Rs. 25.

which are awarded by the Darbar for animals adjudged first, second and third. The Darbar have the first option of purchase of the prize-winners, but in case the owners get a higher offer from any outsider than the price offered by the Darbar, the owner is at liberty to part with his horse to the highest bidder and the Darbar waive their claim on the animal.

- (2) Every facility is given to zamindars in securing sound breeding mares ; all promising brood mares from His Highness' stable as well as from the military department (many amongst them are of good blood and so would fetch handsome prices if offered for sale) are given over to zamindars free and expert advice is

given free to intending purchasers. Preference is given to mares branded by the Government Army Remount Department and care is taken that such mares are utilized by the purchaser for breeding only.

- (3) Those interested in the breeding of horses and who are handicapped from doing so for want of funds are assisted by the Darbar with loans payable by easy instalments and at a low rate of interest.
- (4) Further, the zamindars' stock of horses, like the cultivators' cattle and agricultural implements, are immune from attachment for recovery of State dues or of debt due to money-lenders.
- (5) The State military department and the Mehakma Karkhanejat have instructions to apprise the civil veterinary officer of their requirements, who tries to pick out from the local breed as many as he can secure and only the number not procurable locally is purchased at outside fairs.

### *Equine diseases.*

As soon as intimation is received from any place in the State of any outbreak of disease among horses and cattle, a veterinary assistant is deputed to the spot and measures are taken to check the disease. Periodical reports are published in the *State Gazette* giving the extent of the epidemic with the number of sick treated, deaths, recoveries, etc.

All British military cantonments round about are notified on the outbreak of the epidemic, and measures are taken to check the disease.

The veterinary department devote their special attention to checking the import of cases of glanders and farcy. Special care is taken to inspect cattle and horses entering the State limits during the period when fairs are held in the State ; and every suspicious case is at once taken in hand and after test by mallein, if it shows the symptoms of the abovementioned disease, the animal is shot forthwith and every precaution is taken to prevent the spread of disease.

### *Stud.*

No stud is maintained as being not paying or even self-supporting. But the system of State stallions at district headquarters is found good enough for all practical purposes.

**His Highness the Raja of Dhar :—**Your Excellency, as for item No. III in the agenda—horse-breeding operations in Indian States—I venture to submit my humble views generally, and will also mention at the proper place such small efforts as my State has been making in this branch and place them before this august assembly of Your Highnesses.

I agree with the views so ably expressed by the Director-General, Army Remount Department, in the memorandum under discussion, and there is no shadow of doubt left as to what he says (which is indeed a matter of common observance) that India has neglected horse-breeding, and in late years placed herself at a great disadvantage by becoming more and more dependent for her equine supply on some of the oversea dominions in order to meet her requirements for army purposes, and in a lesser degree to meet her ordinary economic needs.

The present heavy demand on sea freight has practically been prohibitive during this war for the importation of all animals other than those for Imperial (army) purposes, and therefore, it is but natural that these, no doubt, necessary restrictions should tell harshly on many an Indian State which relied largely on importation during pre-war times ; but I would venture to go further than this assertion and submit that these restrictions have not been felt alone by Indian States, but by the great majority of horse owners throughout the country who relied also on a foreign equine supply.

Obviously there are two reasons for this, (i) on the one hand, for some years, the best-known breeds were fast disappearing in the country and grew so scarce that even inferior classes of horses cannot be purchased at reasonable prices, and (ii) secondly in pre-war times, and even now, the cost of an oversea dominion horse (Australian) was within the easy reach of any purchaser of even moderate means while the long period of work which an average stamp of horse of this class gave, amply justified his selection for the Indian market, but, as said above, the high freight has now-a-days placed an oversea horse absolutely beyond the reach of any private purchaser.

Under the circumstances we are glad that the Government of India are now closely considering the best means of extending and stimulating breeding throughout India generally, with the object of rendering this country less dependent on importation for its supply of horse-flesh, and therefore, not only we Princes alone, but the people of India, must co-operate with Government in this direction (to the utmost).

Generally agreeing with the suggestions of the Director-General, Army Remount Department :—

- (i) I would suggest that the Government should be prepared to purchase suitable animals, bred by any private owner or State, for their (army) purposes, if they are up to the required standard. In doing this it will not be, I hope, rash on my part to suggest further that the purchasing of remounts for Government purposes should not be restricted to particular provinces, as this is certain to have the effect of rendering horse-breeding less attractive in other provinces. Recruiting in Central India gives us an example of this, as our endeavours in this direction have clearly demonstrated that almost all desire for service in the army has disappeared in this part of the country where recruitment in pre-war times was not encouraged, with the result that we have to struggle with the dead-weight of passive opposition.
- (ii) As regards the control of equine diseases which indeed is very essential for making horse-breeding successful, I would suggest that we shall gladly welcome from time to time any suggestions received from expert hands, but at the same time I would submit that all red tape in this matter should, as much as possible, be avoided, as it would only entail unnecessary trouble and bother.
- (ii-a) As a matter of fact, in this respect the Dhar State has already got two veterinary assistants for both its Malwa and Nimar divisions, and they have instructions to proceed to the spot on the first report of the outbreak of any epidemic among cattle or horses and to take timely precautions to check its spread, though there has not arisen any occasion in respect of equine disease in the districts, except on one occasion, in 1915, when "pink-eye" was imported into Dhar from Mhow through the medium of tonga

ponies. But, by taking timely measures. I am glad to say, not only was it prevented from spreading, but not a single case affected proved fatal. Whenever any equine disease is detected, the State gladly notifies its outbreak to the British military cantonments and the neighbouring States.

The animals of all *bonâ-fide* cultivators are treated free of charge while others pay a nominal fee.

- (iii) And I would further venture to suggest that the scheme would give better results, if the neighbouring States were to adopt the same broad policy and keep the same aims in view. I do not think that, at this stage, I can make any further suggestions with regard to the proposals so ably made by the Director-General, Army Remount Department, and therefore, with these general remarks I will proceed to record my observations of local conditions and the results with stock bred in my own State, and in adjoining parts which lie within the fertile plateau of Malwa.

### *Horse-breeding in Malwa.*

*General observations.*—The verdict of history is clear that although Malwa possesses more natural advantages than most other parts of India, in having a favourable climate and an abundant supply of water and fodder all the year round, it has unfortunately so far never excelled as a horse-producing country. No wonder, therefore, that Malwa has not been known for any particular breed of her own as the Punjab, Kathiawar, Waziristan, Deccan, Rajputana, and Baluchistan, where however the original fine breeds have now unfortunately deteriorated. However, it should not be inferred from this that in Malwa no horses or ponies at all of a useful class had been bred, although they have no particular reputation.

*The old practice of breeding.*—According to the old custom in some States and estate-holdings, they always bred, and even to-day still breed, their own stock for their own requirements although even this practice is fast dying out. I have come across some instances where horses of a really useful type have been produced. For instance only last month during my tour of inspection, which I purposely made with the object of gathering information from personal observation, I came across a locally bred mare 22 years old in one Kachi Baroda, a Thikana of one of my Rajput Nobles in the Badnawar pargannah of the Dhar State about 20 miles south of Rutlam. This mare has 8" bone, 70" girth, and stands a little over 15 hands, with a short back and broad shoulders and with certain amount of quality in her—a powerful beast which could be used easily for both draught and saddle. Another skewbald mare, 16 years old, of the same Thikana is of the same class and has 7½" bone, girth 68", 14·2½ height. Unfortunately these qualities were not visible in a filly bred out of this mare by an indifferent stallion as she was lacking in quality, conformation and bone. This is an instance of injudicious mating. Five horses bred in the Thikana of Bakhatgarh in the same pargannah were shown to me with the following results. A country-bred fleabitten grey mare 18 years old, with 8" bone, 63" girth, height 14·2, produced by a good stallion a grey entire 5 years old with 8" bone, 67" girth and 15·1 height, but a little inclined to coarseness in quality, while the same mare with a bad stallion produced a filly which is nothing more than a weed. These are the two extreme instances of breeding out of good and bad stock.



In addition to the above the Thikana of Bidwal in my State and Amla in Gwalior still hold their own in producing useful stock for their own requirements, and even the strain of their stallions is visible in the stock bred in the adjoining villages.

*Tonga pony stock.*—This is a class which is indigenously bred in this part out of mares owned generally by cultivators and other private owners of small means and is used by the Chippas, who jog along on market days covering distances from 15 to 20 miles a day with heavy loads, without any distress. The average pony of this class has  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " bone, 60" girth, and stands from 12 to 13 hands, and when used for draught in a tonga generally covers a distance from 30 to 40 miles in about 5 to 6 hours under the hands of very indifferent drivers and careless horse-masters without showing the least sign of distress. So it is not an exaggeration to say that this class does not at all lack in bone, but in height and quality, and therefore, if this breed is improved by judicious mating, I see no reason why we should not be able to breed a better stock of ponies in Malwa than in other parts of India for Government purposes.

### *Dhar Horse-breeding Farm.*

I will now place before Your Highnesses what my State has been doing in the last 2 years in this connection. In 1915 at the capital a horse-breeding farm was established more with a view of demonstrating to the people at large practical advantages of breeding a useful type of horse and pony, and thus getting better prices than by continuing to breed unserviceable weeds, which generally do not even fetch an appreciable price for their owners.

To start with, 3 classes of mares were selected for the purposes of the breeding farm and a suitable number of each class, was secured.

- (1) Good roomy Waler mares of draught and saddle type.
- (2) Thorough-bred English and Waler mares of racing reputation.
- (3) A well-selected lot of country-bred mares possessing bone and quality and even in some cases Arab or Waler strains respectively in them.

As for the stallions, the farm has been provided with one English stallion of Persimmon blood, called Fontenoy, one thorough-bred stallion of Molster blood called Delcasse by La France and two Arab stallions called Sulekh and Zinfandal who were once owned by Ali bin Talib of Bombay and had held their own by winning a good many stakes on the Bombay and Poona Turf. The English and Waler stallions are used for the English and the Waler mares purchased for the State farm and the Arab stallions are generally used for the country-bred mares of the State farm besides being taken through the agricultural districts of the State for being mated with mares of cultivators. The English and the thorough-bred stallions are also available for the mares of cultivators and the public at large, if these mares are considered to be so well bred as to deserve their being mated to these stallions. The rules which I have promulgated for the encouragement of breeding in my State, among other things, contain provisions for charges to be paid for utilizing the services of these stallions (i) The service fee for the Arab stallion is Rs. 5 for all, and that for the English and Australian stallions is Rs. 100, and a concession of 75% is given to *bond-fide* cultivators and of 50% to State subjects other than cultivators, on condition (ii) that the Darbar should have the first claim on foals thus bred which cannot be disposed of without obtaining permission of the committee specially appointed for the purpose, and (iii) that mares served by the State

stallions must be branded. The fees are realized from the cultivators when the mares are found to be in foal. The farm is as yet only in its experimental stage, and I cannot here say much about its prospective success. But my friend, General Templer, who visited the farm more than once and saw the yearlings bred there has given me good hopes of success. I had particularly shown him two yearlings bred from unknown sires, and the size and bone which these have developed, *i.e.*, height 14-2, girth 60", bone 8", is so very satisfactory for their age that my friend considers the climate and soil of the farm quite suitable for breeding any type of horses useful for Government purposes. It will not be out of place to note here the names of the racing mares for the information of Your Highnesses, as many of them have a great reputation for the best performances :—

- (1) Solution ; (2) Kiora ; (3) Kathoras ; (4) Yevette (5) Wayward Wild ; (6) Fortunate ; (7) Beryl ; (8) Russley Rose ; (9) thorough-bred Irish grey mare ; (10) thorough-bred Australian polo pony mare—Miss Carbar ; (11) Red Hot thorough-bred English.

It is strongly hoped that progeny from these mares will maintain the reputation of their dams by taking high places in the races which the Western India Turf Club have inaugurated for country-breds and for which the best thanks of the country are due to them. I beg leave of this august assembly of Your Highnesses to state that my own great ambition is to raise all classes of horses in my State, which will be useful to Government. I have also put a few of my thorough-bred Waler Polo pony mares on to the farm and hope to breed some polo ponies having lot of bone and quality in them. In short, it is my humble endeavour to add to the economic prosperity of the country in one of the most important directions of horse-breeding, and it is yet to be seen by the results how far my efforts will succeed in the long run.

I must mention my appreciation of the liberal encouragement offered by the Punjab Government for improving indigenous breeds and also liberal stakes offered by the Western India Turf Club to encourage us to continue our efforts in this direction.

I am particularly indebted to my friend, General Templer, Director-General of the Army Remount Department, for the keen interest he evinced in my endeavours to establish a horse-breeding farm, and the assistance he has given to me from time to time in the shape of advice. I also thank Major Hughes of the 27th L. C., and Major Gillet, C.I.E., of the Army Veterinary Corps, for their constant help to me in procuring a good class of animal for breeding purposes.

Finally, I am most grateful to Your Excellency and Your Highnesses for kindly giving me so patient a hearing.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I beg to state for the consideration of Government that I think it would be a good thing if Government could see their way to notify, with a view to encouraging horse-breeding, the average prices that they are prepared to pay for remounts of every age, *i.e.*, for colts six months old, a year old, two years old, three years old or four years old, or whatever ages at which they are prepared to purchase them.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**My State has no facilities to speak of in the matter of horse-breeding operations, but I agree that this is a question to be tackled by a conference of representatives of the Indian States in the manner indicated in my answer to question No. 2.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Your Excellency, thanks to the indefatigable energy of General Templer—it would be ungrateful if I omitted to mention the very hospitable lunch which he provided for us on that occasion and to thank him for it—we made an interesting examination yesterday of the Babugarh stud. There we saw horses that have been produced in this country of different breeds, with what I personally considered great success. We were even taken round the pits and we wondered at the whims and fancies of horses as regards their food : but I was consoled by the thought that human eccentricity also indulged in things such as gorgonzola cheese.

As regards the stud itself, from the talks I had and from what I was able to see, there are two kinds of studs. In one, mares are let loose in a paddock with stallions for the purpose of breeding and the stud keeps up the whole breeding establishment. In the other—and the particular interest provided for me by the inspection at Babugarh lay in this fact—the breeding stud is carried on on quite a different principle, where stallions are produced and maintained for breeding purposes from mares in the surrounding villages.

I was much interested in the consultations which I had the pleasure of having with General Templer, especially as I was personally concerned as regards my own stud which has been somewhat of a white elephant round my neck for some time. I realised the value of our visit and that the right way of proceeding was on the lines which have been practised in this place of encouraging the villagers to maintain horses, to have fairs and to give prizes, to breed a particular kind of stallion, whichever may be indicated by the needs of the country, and to improve the breed of the country. I was not able at the time to ascertain exactly the financial aspects of the case because I was told that the Babugarh stud was not run entirely on commercial lines ; but as far as general lines are concerned it seemed a lesson which was worth learning, and I was glad to learn from General Templer that he is willing to assist us in the way of advice and even, if necessary, of personal inspection of the places and of the kind of breeds we have in our States, with a view to helping us and those of us specially who are concerned in starting breeding establishments on one scale or another. In conclusion, I can only thank the General for his advice and his hospitality which we much enjoyed and profited by yesterday. If I may make a diversion for a moment, I hope that my own State will profit much in practice by General Templer's advice.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :**—Indeed in these years a decline has taken place in the quality and numbers of the breeds of horses and ponies in Native States that once produced a good number of indigenous hardy horses, which is deplorable. Now it is greatly needed to improve their breeding in the States according to the methods suggested in the memorandum by the Director-General of the Army Remount Department. The Government officers of this department should be permitted to give help to the officers of the States on the subject directly when they require it.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhore :**—The Bhore Territory is all hilly, where horse-breeding is not possible. But where climatic conditions are favourable and soil is suitable, horse-breeding may be done. Stallions should be kept at State expense and breeding encouraged. Pony-breeding and cross-breeding will also prove most useful. Rewards should be offered to owners of suitable mares maintained for breeding. Paddocks should be preserved and horses bred in this country should be purchased by the Darbars for their State use.

**His Excellency the President** :—I think that closes the discussions of this item of the agenda ; but I may remind Your Highnesses that General Templer will be here this afternoon, if either any of Your Highnesses or any of your advisers would like to take counsel with him and discuss this really important matter of horse-breeding.

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**Item No. VII of the Agenda.**

**His Excellency the President** :—We now come to discuss any suggestions that may be made in connection with the rules for conducting the business of the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—When the Government of India did me the honour of asking for my advice and suggestions in regard to the draft rules, I much regret that a point did not strike me at the time, Sir, which came prominently to my mind in reading some of the debates which subsequently took place in the House of Lords. I have since addressed Your Excellency's Government on the subject and with your permission I would like to move an amendment for the reconsideration or amendment of rule 4 which at present provides that every member will rise when he speaks and will address the Chairman. I propose that it be changed to " every member will rise when he speaks," and the amendment I propose is in the following words—" and, when His Excellency the Viceroy is presiding, will address the Chair."

**His Excellency the President** :—May I interrupt Your Highness for one moment ? I think if we are going to have amendments to these rules, perhaps it would be well if we proceeded through the rules in succession, and then we should not get out of order.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I beg your pardon.

**His Excellency the President** :—We may take up rule 1 first. Are there any amendments to that rule :

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—I beg to move that the following be substituted for rule 1 :—

" At the meeting of the Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy will ordinarily preside. When the Viceroy is not present, the business before the Conference will be conducted under the guidance of a Chairman who will be selected by the Viceroy from among the members present or elected by ballot by the latter as His Excellency may decide."

The proposed amendment involves two changes. The first, *viz.*, the omission of the words " opening and closing " in line 1 of this rule, is virtually no change as it accords with the welcome practice introduced this year, *viz.*, of His Excellency the Viceroy himself presiding over the Conference throughout the deliberations. We already see with great satisfaction the beneficent results of this. Business is being done quickly and the proceedings are marked with increased dignity.

The second seeks to provide that in the unavoidable absence of His Excellency the Viceroy, one of the Ruling Chiefs present should preside. The soundness of this principle will, I trust, commend itself to the Conference. One of the members of the Conference would, I think, fill the chair with much appropriateness whenever His Excellency the Viceroy is unavoidably absent. With the valuable assistance of the Political Secretary to the Government of India who would, in any case, be present throughout the Conference as it

needs his useful advice and suggestions in its deliberations, the temporary Chairman should not find the task of conducting the proceedings a difficult one.

There will be two ways of nominating such temporary Chairmen—by either selection by His Excellency the Viceroy or election by the members themselves by ballot. The amendment provides for both the methods, leaving it to the Viceroy to decide which of these should be adopted on any particular occasion.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**I second His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau :—**I support His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**I also support the motion.

**His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**I am happy to note that Your Excellency has come to the conclusion that it is advisable to lay down a tentative procedure to conduct the deliberations of this Conference. The necessity has perhaps forced itself on Your Excellency's attention in spite of the fact that Your Excellency said in your opening speech that it would be better to allow the business of the Conference to go on for some time in an informal manner. The way in which the business has been conducted during this session—the hurried manner in which questions are discussed and resolutions drafted during this sitting—was perhaps one of the reasons which may have attracted Your Excellency's attention. Personally I thought sufficient time was not allowed for the discussion of questions ; and it is on this account that I have taken the liberty of suggesting that the question of the supply of statistics might be brought forward for final discussion at the next Conference. The question of statistics, however, being of some importance at the present juncture.....

**His Excellency the President :—**I am sorry to interrupt Your Highness, but the present rule which we are discussing is rule No. 1. I think it will conduce to the despatch of business if we go through the rules one by one and speak to the particular rule which is under consideration.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :—**I mentioned to His Excellency this morning that this amendment was to be brought forward, and His Excellency authorised me to say that it raises rather a large question, which affects the constitution of this Conference, and that the Government would prefer to reserve their decision, but that the amendment would be very carefully considered.

**His Excellency the President :—**I may add to what Mr. Wood has said that we should, of course, like to have the opinion of Your Highnesses upon this matter, and that we do not wish in any way to hamper the discussion. We should prefer to have the views of the Conference, so that they may be carefully considered by us later on.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, I support His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha's amendment in this respect, on the ground that when Your Excellency is unavoidably absent from the Conference it would give us opportunity, until our Conference develops into a constitutional body, as Your Excellency said it will do later on with all due regard to the necessity of advancing cautiously and so forth—I say it would give a member who presided the opportunity and the practice of perfecting himself, to what extent it is possible, in this new scheme of things ; and it would give one of us, whoever was elected or placed in that position, otherwise the opportunity of learning

and practising the different methods that are necessary for carrying out the work due to the position. I would therefore like that the members present should decide by ballot whom they would propose as President in Your Excellency's absence ; and that out of the first three or four names in the order of merit according to the votes, Your Excellency should select the President—at any rate for a time until our constitution makes a further advance towards its goal, which Your Excellency has been good enough to say may well be kept before us. Of course it is unnecessary for me to add, in conclusion, what a pleasure it is to us all to welcome Your Excellency as the President of this Conference. Even in spite of the inconvenience to which Your Excellency may have been put we appreciate the fact that Your Excellency has been able to preside over the meetings on this occasion, and we hope, without making any undue demands on Your Excellency's indulgence, that you will be pleased to spare us the time and to do us the honour again. But the proposal that has been put forward, as has been clearly pointed out, refers to occasions when Your Excellency may be unavoidably absent. Of course it would be most necessary, and all the same, to have the Political Secretary, and any other member of the Government of India that Your Excellency may like to appoint to assist us, in the Conference as the spokesman of the Government of India with regard to questions in which we may want his assistance or in which we may want to interrogate him regarding the views of the Government of India.

**His Highness the Raja of Sailana :—**I support the Maharaja of Nabha's suggestion.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**I am afraid I have not given enough thought to the subject to either deprecate the suggestion put forward by my brother Princes or to support it ; but I beg to make an additional suggestion to the effect that, in the event of His Excellency not being able to preside at the deliberations of this Conference, as we all hope he will be able to do, His Excellency will consult members of the Conference as to who should be appointed to preside.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir :—**I think the Government of India should select who should preside when His Excellency is not present.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** was understood to say that he was in favour of His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha's proposal.

**His Excellency the President :—**Your Highnesses, an amendment has been moved that the following be substituted for rule 1 : " At the meetings of the Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy will ordinarily preside. When the Viceroy is not present, the business before the Conference will be conducted under the guidance of a chairman who will be selected by the Viceroy, from among the members present, or elected by ballot by the latter as His Excellency may decide."

The amendment was put and carried.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**I move that the words " if possible " be added after " will " and before " send it in writing " in rule 2.

My reasons are that an inflexible limit of time such as the prescribed one of two months is likely to exclude many a good suggestion. Hence power should be reserved to include subjects communicated unavoidably after the time limit, in a supplementary list, in the same way as such a list has been issued this time. The time limit of two months might, of course, be observed as the general rule.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I would suggest a slight alteration to His Highness' amendment and say that in special circumstances the Government of India should waive this rule, if they agree that the proposal should be put forward in that session of the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—It practically comes to the same thing.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood** :—Perhaps, it would assist Your Highnesses if I were just to explain what the object of the rule was. As you know the questions that come up for consideration before this Conference are usually general questions involving a good deal of consideration. They involve the Government of India looking up the records to see what has been the previous practice and whether there are any objections to any suggestions that might be put forward by Your Highnesses. Two months is not too long ordinarily for that.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** :—Two months is sufficient.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood** :—But there may be, of course, occasions in which a question is fairly simple and it can be decided at once whether it should be put before the Conference or not, and personally I see no objection whatever to His Highness' amendment.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I beg to second the motion. I was moving exactly the same thing. I did not want the Government of India to bind themselves not to consider any notice of less than two months. That is all I want to make clear.

**His Excellency the President** :—It has been moved that the words "if possible" be added after "will" and before "send it in writing" in rule 2.

The amendment was put and carried.

**His Excellency the President** :—Then we come to rule 3. I think we may take that as agreed to.

The motion was agreed to.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—With regard to rule 4, I beg to move an amendment, *viz.*, that every member will rise when he speaks, and when His Excellency the Viceroy is presiding will address the Chair. I have explained my reasons for moving this, and I only wish to add that in His Excellency's absence—we hope you will always be able to preside—perhaps it would be in keeping with the dignity of Their Highnesses if we could be trusted (and I think we could be trusted) to address each other without fear of forgetting the respective positions which Their Highnesses hold, and it would probably be more in accordance with the procedure in the House of Lords, though it is not necessarily the same body here.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I personally am of opinion that it facilitates discussion and the proceedings of the Conference if the Chair is addressed on all occasions, because if we have another brother Prince to address on any subject we can do the same through the Chair. Although I am not well aware of the Parliamentary procedure of debate one difficulty arises generally (though I hope it will not be the case but as a necessity we have to provide for it) where a question is asked by one of the members of the Conference which in the opinion of the Chair should not be asked, the Chair can directly stop the answering of that question without placing the person addressed in the awkward position of having to answer it. And in the second place I do not think (I am only expressing my personal opinion on the subject) it would take away from the dignity of the members assembled if they address

the Chair because in the case of Your Excellency's absence the Chairman, provided you were pleased to accept our resolution on the subject, would only be one of us and we should only be addressing the person concerned through such a Chairman.

**His Excellency the President :—**I should like to mention for His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's information that I think the reason why in the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor, who is on the woolsack, is not addressed, is that the Lord Chancellor is not the arbiter on points of order as the Speaker in the House of Commons. If any noble Lords are not in order there is no means of calling them to order except by a motion in the House: Even when two noble Lords get up together it is not the Lord Chancellor, if neither of them will sit down, who calls upon one in preference to another; but it would be by a motion in the House, and therefore I think that is probably the reason why in the House of Lords you address their Lordships generally and do not address the Chair. So perhaps His Highness' argument from the procedure of the House of Lords is not altogether applicable to Your Highnesses' Conference here.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I do not wish to press the point. I only brought it up for consideration.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**I support the views expressed by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa :—**So do I.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**I withdraw my amendment.

**His Excellency the President :—**The amendment is by leave withdrawn. Rule No. 4 is passed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**I beg to move that the words "at least three hours before the time" be substituted for "if possible two days before the day" in paragraph 2 of rule 5. The rule requires that a copy of any written speech which it is proposed to read in the Conference should be sent to the Chairman two days beforehand. The interval seems too long. It will prevent members from availing themselves of the opportunity in regard to the discussions of the preceding two days. The necessity for anything but a short notice of the contents of the speech is not quite clear.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :—**Your Excellency, in paragraph 2 of this clause it is suggested that, if the latter procedure is desired and the speech is to be taken as read and recorded, a copy of the speech should be sent to the Chairman two days before the discussion of the subject to which it relates. I would suggest an addition to this, viz., that copies may also be sent to the other members of the Conference two days in advance or whatever the time may be that will be fixed.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :—**The object of the rule as it stands at present was to enable the speeches, which were not to be delivered in the Conference, but which were to be taken as read and recorded with the proceedings to be printed, so that Your Highnesses could have the advantage of reading them beforehand and also that they might be printed with the proceedings, which reach Your Highnesses, I hope, regularly every morning. That of course will not be possible if only three hours' interval is allowed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**After hearing the explanation you have just given I do not propose to press my amendment. But I think I understood you to say that you had no objection to the amendment proposed.



**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood :**—I am afraid that if I said so I spoke in haste, Your Highness.

**His Excellency the President :**—My impression is that the request made by His Highness the Rao of Cutch has already been met. I personally have before me the various speeches which have been delivered in a written form so that I know what is going to be said by some of Your Highnesses, and I imagine that Your Highnesses also have a copy of such speeches.

**His Highness the Rao of Cutch :**—I have had copies of some, but not of others.

**His Excellency the President :**—Perhaps that was intentional, Your Highness. They thought that you might refute them. (Laughter.)

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—While on this paragraph, I would like an addition made, I would propose, for the consideration of the Conference, that the subjects dealing directly with the one at issue may be read out, because I am afraid some of us who do not possess debating powers would feel difficulty in speaking in an impromptu manner. But a limitation might be placed of some sort, most convenient and acceptable, defining what speeches may be taken as read and what speeches may be proceeded with by reading from paper. Subjects bearing directly on the question at issue may well be read out, in my opinion, if a member chooses to do so, but questions indirectly connected with the administration of a State or individual details or statistics of a State, which may be of indirect interest and connected indirectly with the subject at issue, may be considered as read. I only suggest this in order that the proceedings of the Conference may proceed on proper lines.

**His Excellency the President :**—May I ask Your Highness who you suggest should be the judge in such a matter ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—The Chair.

**His Excellency the President :**—What notice will the Chair have ; do you mean the two days' notice ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Yes.

**His Excellency the President :**—Is it necessary that we should have a rule on this subject ? I would suggest that, if the feelings of the Conference are in that direction, Your Highnesses should express them now.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—I entirely agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—I beg to support it.

**His Excellency the President :**—As there is no discussion, I understand Your Highnesses are generally in favour of what His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has suggested that, where a written speech contains a good deal of statistical information or information only indirectly bearing on the point at issue, it is the wish of the Conference that the Chairman should suggest to the member concerned that he should omit that from the written portion of his speech.

Rules Nos. 6 to 10 were put and there was no discussion.

Rule No. 11.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—If possible, it would be better to allow one day in between for the consideration of all sub-committees' reports before they are presented to the Conference. Sometimes there is scarcely sufficient time left for considering the proposals of a sub-committee. They

are framed generally in the evenings, printed at night and they reach us in the morning, perhaps an hour or two before the Conference assembles.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood** :—Every endeavour will be made to meet Your Highnesses' wishes in this matter, so far as possible, according to the exigencies of the situation. Sometimes we hardly have time, but we will certainly do our best to meet Your Highnesses' wishes in this matter and see that the sub-committees' reports reach Your Highnesses a considerable time before the Conference sits.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I thank you. That is all I want.

**The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood** :—His Excellency has been pleased to say that he will be very glad to sit in a photographic group should Your Highnesses wish to have one again this year. (Applause). As before, the responsibility for settling any differences of opinion as to the seating will rest entirely on Your Highnesses' shoulders. It is proposed that we should assemble in the same place as last year immediately after the close of the Conference proceedings on Saturday, the 10th November.

**His Excellency the President** :—The Conference is adjourned to-day until 11 o'clock on Saturday morning, the 10th of November.

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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY***10th November 1917.***ADDRESS BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER.**

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The Ruling Princes have done me the high honour of asking me to read on their behalf their speech to Your Excellency and with your permission I will now proceed to do so.

As we were unable, owing to the short time that was left us, to consider our reply to Your Excellency's speech on the opening day of this Conference, we propose to deal now with some of the points touched upon by Your Excellency on the 5th instant.

We are particularly pleased that Your Excellency decided to preside throughout the Conference this year, and we much hope that the same may be possible in regard to future Conferences.

We gratefully remember that the way for these Conferences was paved by Your Excellency's noble predecessor, Lord Hardinge, when he invited us to discuss the proposed Higher Chiefs' College scheme; to Your Excellency we are indebted for the enlarged scope of the Conference and for your kind assurance that you wish them to be annual functions during the tenure of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.

In your speech Your Excellency has referred to the recent pronouncement made by the Secretary of State. The loyal attachment of the Ruling Princes to the King-Emperor is proverbial, and we consequently rejoice at the further accession of strength that this pronouncement and the impending political changes will bring to His Imperial Majesty's Empire by the enhanced loyalty, happiness and contentment of His Indian subjects. As Indians again we rejoice at the aspirations of our fellow-countrymen in British India being thus further met by this sagacious act of British statesmanship. Might we ask Your Excellency kindly to convey to Mr. Montagu on his arrival here assurances of our warm welcome and our good wishes for the success of his mission.

When the views of individuals and associations, regarding the nature of political reforms to be introduced in British India, are shortly to be considered by Your Excellency in conjunction with the Secretary of State, we have no doubt that you will both also consider questions connected with the Ruling Princes and the Indian States. And we trust that before the British Government come to any decision on such questions, we, the Ruling Princes, will also be consulted. It can never be too often emphasised that we represent about one-third of the Indian Empire and about one-fifth of its entire population, and that no scheme for the progress of India can be regarded as satisfactory or complete which does not take into consideration questions relating to these important territories outside British India. We feel that we too must keep a definite goal in front of us; and whilst it is essential that our rights and privileges and our position as allies and friends, guaranteed to us by solemn treaties and engagements with the British Government remain unaltered, our States cannot afford to lag behind in the general advance, which India's association with Great Britain alone has rendered possible. It is for these reasons that we are now all the more anxious to see the early establishment of a constitutional Chamber which may safeguard the interests and rights of ourselves and

of our States. As we clearly stated last year we have no desire to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want outside interference in the affairs of our States and ourselves. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to repeat that we have no desire to claim a voice in the settlement of any matters other than those relating to ourselves and our States or which are of Imperial or common concern.

Since we last met, the report of the Mesopotamia Commission has been published, in which strictures have been passed on Lord Hardinge in regard to certain features of the Mesopotamia campaign. India has not, we believe, been able to accept these findings in their entirety and has claimed a voice in any judgment that may be passed on the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge. Your Excellency, we do not wish to enter into any controversial details, but we would like to take this, the earliest opportunity, of once again testifying to our esteem, admiration and gratitude for Lord Hardinge, who proved himself to be a true and sympathetic friend of the Ruling Princes.

The need for the authoritative declaration of policy in regard to minority administrations was greatly felt, and the fact that the Government of India have stated in their resolution that the policy announced has the additional weight of the authority of His Imperial Majesty's Government, will be all the more gratifying and reassuring. As we have been individually and officially addressed on the subject, we do not propose to take up Your Excellency's time on this occasion.

We listened with special attention to what Your Excellency stated in regard to the question of successions in our States and of the ceremonials to be observed at the accession and coming of age of the Ruling Princes. We desire to express to Your Excellency our grateful thanks for those modifications, in regard to the ceremonial procedure on such occasions, which have been made in deference to the wishes we expressed at last year's Conference. As the revised memorandum has only recently been placed before us, it is not possible for us to deal fully with any points on this occasion, but we will, in due course, address Your Excellency on the subject.

We appreciate the consideration for our convenience which prompted the Government of India to alter the arrangements in regard to our visits to places in British India.

We are specially indebted to Your Excellency for securing the representation of the Ruling Princes at the recent Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference in London, and we have noted with gratification Your Excellency's reference to our partnership in the innermost Councils of the Empire.

While offering our gratitude to Your Excellency for nominating His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to represent us, it is a matter of sincere gratification to us that Your Excellency's choice fell on one of our most distinguished members, who upheld the traditions and dignity of our Order and justified, as we are glad to learn from Your Excellency's speech, your selection and the confidence of the Imperial Government.

With Your Excellency's valued assistance we confidently look forward to the continuation of special representation on behalf of the Ruling Princes in future meetings of the Imperial Cabinet and the Imperial Conference.

In conclusion, we thank Your Excellency very warmly for the manner in which Your Excellency has referred to the services of the Indian States and of our troops in this war, and it is unnecessary for us to assure Your Excellency of our continued and ungrudging co-operation and of our determination to

apply ourselves with zeal and energy to the prosecution of this war until, by the grace of God, victory crowns the arms of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Your Excellency, an incident has occurred, since the address which has just been read out to you was prepared which provides me with the sole excuse for trespassing on Your Excellency's time for a few brief moments here. I have nothing to supplement or add regarding any details in connection with our Conferences, for Your Excellency is fully aware of our gratitude for them in the past and of our aspirations regarding them in the future. But while dealing with their importance at the recent banquet, when Your Excellency alluded in generous terms to our association with the Empire in her hour of need, you allowed us the privilege and the opportunity of giving us a glimpse of a responsive heart which was giving expressions to sentiments that could not but thrill with emotion those to whom they were addressed.

You appealed to our sentiments and to our past traditions, and you sounded the note of affection and good-will which will vibrate many a harmonious chord in the orchestra of our innermost natures.

There, at the banquet the night before, we saw a Viceroy who was rapidly discovering the key that opens the gates to India's shrine of emotions, and may we say that, as cordially as we welcome his admittance into these sacred precincts, we trust that in the years that lie before him during his Viceroyalty in India, that he will find the growing response no less warm than the first welcome.

We all share the hope, that before we assemble again in this distinguished chamber, that the shadow of war will have lifted its veil to give room to the bright sunshine of hope which will lighten the high road before India of progress, union and mutual good-will.

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### HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE.

Your Highnesses,

I am gratified to learn from the address, which His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has just read on your behalf, that my decision to hold these Conferences annually and to preside over them myself has given you satisfaction, and I can assure you that to myself it has been, not only a source of enlightenment and instruction, but also a very great personal pleasure to preside at your gathering and to listen to your debates. It would not be fitting for me on this occasion to speak at any length on your request, now again repeated, for the early establishment of a constitutional Chamber to represent your interests in matters of Imperial or joint concern. We have already recognised, by the institution of these annual Conferences, the need for some assemblage for the discussion of matters affecting yourselves, your States and your people, and Your Highnesses will not have failed to notice that our deliberations have in practice passed beyond the domain of purely State affairs into that of questions having a common interest to the States and to British India. I have deprecated the immediate institution of a more formal assemblage with a fixed constitution and strictly defined powers for the reasons explained in my opening address. I do not, however, in any way wish to discourage Your Highnesses from devoting to the subject at

once that earnest and deliberate consideration which its paramount importance demands, and I can assure you that any scheme which you may put forward will receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of my Government. It may be possible to arrange for a preliminary and quite informal discussion of the subject towards the close of Mr. Montagu's stay in India, and I shall lose no time in placing before him your views on the subject, when they have been formulated. In the meanwhile, I would suggest that you turn the matter over in your minds with a view to framing the outlines of a scheme which, while ensuring due scope for the representation of your views, will not infringe the principle to which you have given expression, namely, that the scope of any such assemblage which you may advocate shall be strictly limited to matters relating to yourselves and your States, or which are of joint interest to yourselves and to the Government of India. In framing your scheme, you will, no doubt, bear in mind the possibility of providing that the Chamber or Council, which you would wish to bring into being should be so constituted as to permit of joint consultation with the high dignitaries of British India.

Turning to the other matters mentioned in your speech, I am glad to note the generous terms in which Your Highnesses speak of the services rendered by Lord Hardinge to the Ruling Princes, and shall take an early opportunity of communicating to His Lordship your appreciative message. I will also convey to Mr. Montagu, on his arrival, your assurances of welcome and good wishes.

I rejoice to hear that our declarations on minority administrations, and on the ceremonials connected with successions in your States have met with general approval, and, while I would deprecate any further general discussion, I shall of course be prepared to consider carefully and sympathetically any individual representation which you may wish to address to me on these subjects.

Your desire that the Ruling Princes should be specially represented in future meetings of the Imperial Cabinet and of the Imperial Conference will receive my careful attention. But this is a matter which, as Your Highnesses will recognise, raises somewhat wide issues, and I am not in a position at present, as you can well understand, to give any undertaking in the matter.

I note with great satisfaction and gratitude Your Highnesses' assurance of your continued co-operation in the prosecution of the war, although, in view of what you have already done in this direction, no such assurance was needed. The aid given by the great Ruling Princes towards the Imperial cause and their unflinching loyalty to the King-Emperor and his Crown are matters of history, and I feel sure that, when the war is over, there will not be one among you who will not have cause to look back with legitimate pride and satisfaction to the services which his State has rendered to the cause of justice and freedom.

As regards the agenda which we have had under discussion during the past week, there is not much for me to say, since the discussions are still fresh in your minds. I am glad that you have expressed yourselves in favour of admitting the Raipur College to the privilege of entering for the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges, subject to the provisos that you have mentioned, and trust that this encouragement will stimulate the college to maintain a high standard of education, both moral and intellectual. I am glad too that you have appreciated the advice and promise of assistance given to you by my officers in the matter of horse-breeding and of agricultural development, and I trust that Your Highnesses will take full advantage of the facilities offered. Both the subjects, and particularly that of agricultural development, are of very great importance to your States, and it is satisfactory to think that you are ready and anxious

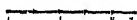
to co-operate with us in developing the resources of the Indian Empire to the fullest extent. I congratulate Your Highnesses also on the enlightened view which you have taken of the importance of preparing full and accurate agricultural and other statistics and trust that the recommendations made by the sub-committee, which Your Highnesses have approved, will achieve the desired result.

On the question of social precedence, I think that Your Highnesses came to a wise decision in agreeing that this question, which is of no urgency, should be deferred for consideration until you have had more time to examine it in all its bearings.

As regards the rules for the conduct of the business of this Conference, Your Highnesses have made some valuable suggestions which, for my own part and as at present advised, I am quite prepared to accept. The success of our debates and the orderly manner in which they have been conducted are a sufficient testimony of the usefulness of these rules and of their general suitability.

On the whole, although the subjects which we have discussed have been criticised in some quarters as being dull and uninteresting, I think that we may congratulate ourselves on having achieved some useful results and, in any case, I feel sure that this opportunity of meeting together has not been wasted, and that the exchange of views between us has not only stimulated your interest in the subjects on the agenda paper, but will conduce towards further, mutual understanding and good-will.

And now, Your Highnesses, I wish you a cordial farewell until we meet again next year.



**Resolutions passed by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs held at Delhi of the 5th November 1917 and following days.**

**Item No. I of the Agenda.**

*Resolved*—That the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges should be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, and that the college should be recognized to that extent as one of the Chiefs' Colleges, subject to the following provisos :—

- (1) that the Raipur College authorities adopt in full the curriculum in force in the existing Chief's Colleges ;
- (2) that for the purposes of admission to the Higher Chiefs' College, should that hereafter be established, the diploma of the Raipur College students will only entitle its holder to admission to the Higher Chiefs' College if he is a Chief or a relative of the Chief. The case of other diploma holders would be considered in the same way as that of applicants from British India.

*Resolved further*—That this Conference is of opinion that, in view of the possibility of other schools or colleges putting forward the same request, it would be desirable to note that any such application would be considered on its merits and should not be granted unless the claims to recognition were equal to those now put forward on behalf of Raipur.

**Items Nos. II and III of the Agenda.**

No resolutions were passed on these matters, but several members of the Conference paid a visit to the Government farm and stud at Babugarh, and spoke on the subject at the Conference. Thereafter the questions were discussed informally between the officials deputed by the Darbars for the purpose and the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India and the Director-General of the Army Remount in India.

**Item No. IV of the Agenda.**

*Resolved*—That the report of the sub-committee on the question of the improvement of agricultural statistics, crop forecasts, and cotton press returns furnished by the Native States may be accepted.

**Item No. V of the Agenda.**

*Resolved*—That consideration of the question of precedence of Ruling Chiefs *inter se* at social functions should be postponed until the next Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

**Item No. VI of the Agenda.**

*Resolved*—That the symbol R. P. M. C. may be dropped, and that the Ruling Princes' cars may be distinguished by the use of a board of red, or some other distinctive colour, with the name of the State and the serial number of car painted on it.



**Item No. VII of the Agenda.**

*Resolved that the following be substituted for rule 1 :—*“ At the meetings of the Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy will ordinarily preside. When the Viceroy is not present, the business before the Conference will be conducted under the guidance of a Chairman who will be selected by the Viceroy from among the members present, or elected by ballot by the latter as His Excellency may decide ”, and that the words “ if possible ” be added after “ will ” and before “ send it in writing ” in rule 2, and that the remaining rules be approved.

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# APPENDICES.

## Question I of the Agenda.

### *Report of the Committee.*

The Committee, after reading the Educational Commissioner's report, consider that the proposal put before the Conference, *viz.*, that the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges should be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, and that the college should be recognized to that extent as one of the Chiefs' Colleges should be accepted, subject to the following provisos :—

- (1) that the Raipur College authorities adopt in full the curriculum in force in the existing Chiefs' Colleges ;
- (2) that for the purposes of admission to the Higher Chiefs' College, should that hereafter be established, the diploma of the Raipur College students will only entitle its holder to admission to the Higher Chiefs' College if he is a Chief or a relative of a Chief. The case of other diploma holders would be considered in the same way as that of applicants from British India.

The Committee further point out that, in view of the possibility of other schools or colleges putting forward the same request, it would be desirable to note that any such application would be considered on its merits and should not be granted unless the claims to recognition were equal to those now put forward on behalf of Raipur.

RAO KHENGARJI,  
*Maharao of Cutch.*

JASWANT SINGH,  
*of Sailana.*

JAWAHIR SINGH,  
*of Sarangarh.*

LAL BAHADUR SINGH,  
*of Khairagarh.*

BRIJ INDAR SINGH,  
*of Faridkot.*

J. B. WOOD,  
*Political Secretary.*

### Question IV of the Agenda.

#### *Report of the Committee.*

(a) The Committee first considered to what extent it was practicable to obtain agricultural statistics, from the Darbars who at present do not supply them, and from those who supply only a few such statistics. They put forward the following suggestions which they believe would, if adopted, encourage the Darbars to assist Government in the matter :—

- (1) While the entirely voluntary character of these returns should be reaffirmed, the patriotic importance of statistics to the Imperial Government, both for the purposes of the war and the improvement of the trade of all India after the war, should be pointed out to the Darbars concerned. It is understood that many of these already maintain full agricultural statistics for their own information, and they might be asked to arrange that the dates of the periods to which the figures relate should correspond, so far as possible, with those of the Government of India Statistical Department. The Government of India should explain clearly to the Darbars the periods for which they require the figures to be supplied and ask for their co-operation.
- (2) Darbars who have found difficulty in supplying correct figures from their *jagir* areas, should be invited to supply accurate statistics for the *khalsa* areas and approximate figures only for the *jagir* areas, the two being kept separate. The Committee consider it desirable that Darbars should, as far as possible, be enabled to obtain and include the figure of the *jagir* areas in those of their States.
- (3) The Statistical Department of the Government of India should supply each Darbar with the forms required printed in the local vernacular, together with a memorandum containing clear detailed instructions regarding the correct method of filling in the forms.
- (4) It should be left to the discretion of Darbars to send in their returns, either direct to the Statistical Department, or through their Political Officers, according as they think best.

(b) The Committee next considered what steps should be taken to improve the accuracy of details given in the forecasts of crops. They were of opinion :—

- (1) that in the memorandum of instructions to be sent to the Darbars along with the statistical forms the word "normal" should be carefully defined as a 12-anna crop or 75 per cent. of the fullest crop (16 annas) that can possibly be produced from the land under ordinary conditions ;
- (2) that the present system of obtaining figures for forecasts through the agency of Political Officers invariably causes delay, which results in the supply of figures that are both inaccurate and for unsuitable periods. Wherever possible therefore these figures should be supplied direct by the Darbars to the Statistical Department. Where this is not feasible, they should be supplied, as at present, through the Political Officers. A stereotyped draft telegram, showing what is required, should be sent to the Darbars by the Director of Statistics. The corrections of errors

should be made in direct communication with the Darbars, or through Political Officers, according as the forecasts are supplied either direct or through the political channel.

(c) The Committee finally considered whether it would be feasible to procure by some other method than that at present in vogue the half-monthly returns from cotton presses and mills situated in Native States. It was explained that by the method at present in vogue the Bombay Chamber of Commerce endeavour in vain to obtain the statistics required direct from the presses and mills in the States of Hyderabad, Central India, Rajputana and Mysore. What is needed by the Statistical Department is a record of the cotton that is pressed in the cotton presses, and of unpressed ginned cotton received by the spinning and weaving mills in the Native States. The Committee were of opinion that these returns should be included among those which it has already been suggested that the Darbars should be invited to supply. For the present a quarterly return only should suffice.

C. C. WATSON,

*Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in  
the Foreign and Political Department.*

C. E. LUARD, *Major,*

*Political Agent in the Southern States of  
Central India.*

G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS,

*Director of Statistics.*

SHYAM SUNDAR LAL,

*Judicial Minister, Alwar State.*

DAIJIT SINGH,

*Chief Minister, Kashmir State.*

MAN SINGH,

*Dewan, Dharngadhra State.*

DAYA KISHAN KAUL,

*Foreign and Financial Secretary,  
Patiala State.*

NAND KISHORE SINGH,

*of Jaipur.*

K. N. HAKSAR,

*of Gwalior.*

## PRINCIPLES TO BE OBSERVED DURING MINORITY ADMINISTRATIONS IN NATIVE STATES.

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

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RESOLUTION No. 1894-I. A.*Simla, the 27th August 1917.*

The Government of India have for some time past devoted special consideration to the question of the principles which should be observed in connection with the administration of a Native State during a minority. The opinion of certain Ruling Princes and Chiefs and of Political Officers were obtained by the Government of India during Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty and the question in some of its aspects came under discussion at the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs recently held at Delhi. The Governor-General in Council, after full consideration of the views elicited, has, with the approval of the Secretary of State, decided that the policy of Government in the matter may appropriately be stated as follows :—

The Government of India recognise that they are the trustees and custodians of the rights, interests and traditions of Native States during a minority administration. Their general policy is laid down in the following extract from certain orders, which were issued some years ago for the guidance of Political Officers :—

“ The Governor-General in Council is opposed to anything like pressure on Darbars to introduce British methods of administration. He prefers that reforms should emanate from the Darbar, and grow up in harmony with the traditions of the State. Administrative efficiency is at no time the only or indeed the chief object to be kept in view. This should specially be borne in mind by officers charged temporarily with the administration of a State during a minority, whether they are in sole charge, or associated with a State Council. They occupy a position of peculiar trust, and should never forget that their primary duty is the *conservation* of the customs of the State. Abuses and corruption should be corrected as far as possible, but the general system of administration to which the Chief and the people have become accustomed should be unchanged in all essentials. The methods sanctioned by tradition in States are generally well adapted to the needs and relations of the Ruler and people. The loyalty of the latter to the former is generally a personal loyalty, which administrative efficiency, if carried out on lines unsuited to local conditions, would lessen or impair.”

The Government of India realise that the special conditions of each State require special treatment and will be glad to receive and consider requests by individual Ruling Princes or Chiefs regarding any principles which they may

wish to be adopted in the case of their own States or families. Due weight will be attached to wishes so expressed or to any written or verbal instructions left on record, but the Government of India on whom the final responsibility rests must reserve to themselves full freedom of action in dealing with such requests or instructions. Subject to the foregoing observations, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to lay down the following general principles for the conduct of minority administrations. The announcement is subject to the reservation that the principles laid down will be liable to relaxation in individual cases where special conditions may render their strict application inappropriate :—

*Principles to be observed during minority administrations.*

1. The administration of a State during a minority should ordinarily be entrusted to a Council. In cases where the appointment of a Regent is in accordance with the custom of the State and a suitable person is available for nomination as Regent the Council should be styled a "Council of Regency," and should consist of three to five Indian Members under the presidency of the Regent. The Regent may be either a legitimate mother or widow or a near male relative of the late Ruler, provided that the latter was in the full confidence of the late Ruler, at the time of his demise. Where no Regent is available, the Council should be styled a "Council of Administration," and should consist of three to five Indian Members presided over by an Indian administrator of proved experience of Indian States.

In the selection of the Councillors, local talent should be utilized to the utmost possible extent—preference being always given to persons with vested interests in the State so long as they possess the requisite qualifications.

Where local conditions appear to render it impossible for a Council to administer the State successfully, an officer borrowed from Government service may be appointed as Superintendent or Administrator of the State.

Where expressly desired by the late Ruler the minority administration should in important matters consult with Ruling Princes or Chiefs nominated by him for this purpose.

2. Old traditions and customs of the State should be scrupulously observed and maintained.

[The word "customs" includes, among other things—

- (a) the payment to the minor Prince or Chief and to members of his family, on all occasions, of due consideration by all officers serving in the State ;
- (b) the maintenance of the dignity of the minor Prince or Chief by the strict observance of the customary ceremonial honours and courtesies due to him by officers of the Imperial Government and by other Rulers ; and
- (c) the performance on due date of religious ceremonies, festivals, and social observances, including the exchange of presents with other States.]

3. The regulations and records embodying the established policy of the State should be carefully studied. Except in the case of obvious and unmistakable abuses, radical changes (such as important constitutional reforms, alteration of the Court language or of the postal, taxation, or currency systems, etc.) should, as a general rule, be avoided. Any new measures adopted

should, so far as circumstances permit, be grafted on and assimilated to existing institutions in the State, and should be so designed, introduced and carried into effect, that they can be continued by the regular administration after the termination of the minority. Where any radical change, or any important measure which is contrary to the express wishes or policy of the late Ruler, is proposed, the matter should be referred with full particulars to the Government of India for decision.

4. For appointments in the State service local talent should be used wherever possible. Where local talent is not available, outsiders may be imported for special purposes, but these should be strictly required to conform to local conditions and customs and to show due respect to the members of the Ruling family. When the services of outsiders are engaged, their deputation should ordinarily be liable to termination at the discretion of the Ruler after he receives his powers. Persons who are known to have been disloyal or obnoxious to the late Ruler or his family should not be appointed to State service during a minority.

5. Treaty rights should be strictly upheld and measures involving any modification of existing treaties and engagements should be avoided. No alteration should be made affecting the recognised political status of fiefs under the suzerainty of a Darbar or their customary relations with the Ruler and his State.

6. No jagirs or hereditary or personal honours and distinctions should be granted or promised on behalf of the State during the minority, nor should such jagirs, honours, etc., be confiscated except for disloyalty or gross misconduct. Customary jagirs, and maintenance allowances granted by the late Ruler to members of the Ruling family and others should ordinarily be maintained, and no increase or decrease or new grant should be allowed except for special reasons and with the sanction of the Government of India or other political authority to whom this power may be delegated; such sanction would apply only to the period of the minority.

7. Interference with the private property, estates, or establishments of members of the Ruling family should be avoided, and the customary and reasonable presents, easements, etc., to them and their dependents, should not ordinarily be curtailed.

8. In States where a distinction is made between State and Privy Purse funds, the fixed Privy Purse allowance if on a reasonable scale, should be paid by the State without reduction to the minor Ruler and kept in trust for him, together with the private property bequeathed to him by the late Ruler, until he attains majority. Expenditure from Privy Purse funds should be limited to the usual and customary items of expenditure.

9. The sale of State jewellery during a minority should ordinarily be avoided. If such is found absolutely necessary to meet debts, great care should be taken in the selection of the articles to be sold, and the wishes of members of the Ruler's family should be consulted and respected. Proposals for such sales should be referred to Government and their sanction obtained before the proposal is carried out.

10. No State territory or other immoveable property should be exchanged, ceded, or sold during a minority.

11. No permanent rights or privileges should be granted by the minority administration to jagirdars, officials or subjects of the State.

12. No permanent or long-term commercial concessions or monopolies should ordinarily be granted to individuals or companies. It should, however, be borne in mind that neither individuals nor companies would be willing to sink any considerable capital sum in undertakings for short periods, and in each cases, therefore, the rule must be applied cautiously with regard to the best interests of the State concerned, in order that the development of important and valuable industries may not be hindered.

13. Expenditure on new palaces intended for a Ruler's own use should be avoided. Outlay on public works generally should be undertaken with due regard to economy and limited to necessary works. The expenditure should be so regulated as to come within the ordinary income of the year and to leave a substantial annual balance. Expenditure from surplus and reserve funds should be limited to really productive or protective works and should not be undertaken without careful examination and expert advice.

14. Communication with the ladies of the palace should be conducted according to the custom of the State. Palace arrangements existing in the time of the late Ruler should not ordinarily be altered, and nothing should be done contrary to *zenana* etiquette and custom.

15. The education and training of the young Ruler should be conducted  
 \* *Vide* Appendix attached. on the lines laid down in the report\* of the Committee convened to consider the matter. As a general rule it is preferable that he should receive his education in India rather than in Europe.

16. Care should be taken to maintain shooting preserves and the necessary establishment for their maintenance, where such exists. Shooting rules and restrictions observed in the time of the late Ruler should be strictly enforced.

17. The Political Officer is answerable to the Government of India for the maintenance of these principles. The degree of supervision to be exercised by him will depend on the circumstances of each particular case.

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ORDERED that the Resolution be communicated to all\*Local Governments

\* Omitting Burma, North- and Administrations and to Political Officers in  
 West Frontier Province, Balu- India, for information and guidance.  
 chistan and Nepal.

J. B. WOOD,

*Political Secretary to the Government of India.*



## APPENDIX.

*Report of the Committee convened to consider the question of the education and training of minor rulers.*

For purposes of this discussion we have assumed that ruling powers will ordinarily be assumed by the minor ruler at the age of 18 years.

2. As a diversity of opinion exists as to the desirability of the minor Prince receiving any portion of his training in Europe, the Committee are not in a position to make any recommendations on the subject.

3. Without attempting to draw up a regular curriculum, which can be safely left to those responsible for the scholastic education of the young Prince, we wish to emphasize that his studies should take such form as may best develop his mental faculties, and that it is most essential that he should acquire such a thorough knowledge of the English language as will enable him to talk and read it, and express and record his thoughts in that language with facility. He must also of course be thoroughly at home in the vernacular of his State.

4. Where such vernacular is not that generally spoken in other parts of India a colloquial knowledge of Hindi or Urdu is desirable.

5. During the period of his early education the tutor or guardian should ordinarily reside with the minor ruler and if possible two or three carefully selected companions of his own age should be associated with him. The guardian should accompany him to college or superintend his education in his State, as the case may be, and while joining in his sports and games, be responsible for the strict bringing up of the minor. He should also see that those responsible for the moral and religious teaching of the minor Prince are not neglecting their duties. The guardian should be in frequent communication with the minors' mother or whoever stands "in loco parentis" and with his religious teachers, or any others in the State who are in a position to have a say in his bringing up, and who are known to have his best interests at heart.

6. Two years before his coming of age or at about the age of 16 the minor ruler should begin his training in administration work. As a preliminary to his doing this it is essential that he shall be taught the principles of Law (Hindu, Muhammadan, and the most important Acts of the legislature) and be well grounded in the rules in force in his State governing all the important departments. He should also be conversant with the principles of budget and State finance. He should then acquire knowledge of the working of the various departments of the State, a selected official of the department concerned attending and explaining the constitution and cost of the department, and the way the work is carried on. Files of cases dealt with by the department should then be studied. Under the guidance of his guardian the young ruler should make notes of what is shown him and it should rest with the guardians to keep all important facts focussed before his memory. A number of files already dealt with and settled by the department concerned can be gone through and the minor ruler taught to record the facts and write his decisions or orders on them. Every variety of Revenue, Jagir, and Succession case can be gone

through in this manner, as also Civil and Criminal cases and appeals. The young ruler should also attend Courts of Law and see how cases are conducted.

7. The minor ruler should tour in his State and thus acquire knowledge of localities and of the people inhabiting them, as also of the local landowners and jagirdars. He should be shown in the most practical manner how survey and settlement work is done, how *jamabandi* is carried out, revenue collected and village records kept. He can be shown selected fields, and have the cost of production, the value of the crop, the State demand and the profit left to the cultivator, all explained to him. He can study the indebtedness of cultivators and the interest they have to pay, and other economic problems connected with the welfare of the village community. He can also be shown the work of district offices and tahsils and the tour can be utilized to afford opportunities for the minor ruler to acquire facility in replying to addresses.

8. While practical training in administrative work is going on, the minor Prince should also study with his tutor theoretical problems bearing on such State work. He should also study important questions of the day, history, especially of India and his own State, biographies, English literature, and healthy books of fiction. The study of the system of Parliamentary Government and of the British Government of India, etc., should also claim his attention. As the time draws near for the young ruler to assume ruling powers, he should read up the correspondence between the British Government and the State and between the ruler and his ministers, and should study all the treaties and agreements between his State and the British Government. He should also attend meetings of the Council and take part in their deliberations.

9. The physical training including manly sports and games of the minor ruler is also of the highest importance and where possible his military training should be carried on in the State side by side with his administrative training.

10. Throughout the training of the minor ruler times should be fixed for him to meet his relations and also for him to receive nobles or others in audience in the presence of his guardian.

11. Ordinarily it is not desirable that young rulers should be absent from their States during the period of administrative training, except for necessary reasons or for a well-earned holiday.

12. Particular attention should be paid to the selection of a well qualified, conscientious and sympathetic tutor or guardian of suitable age. The minor ruler's relations or those responsible for his bringing up should nominate the tutor or guardian for the approval of the Government of India.

13. In the event of the minor ruler being sent to Europe for any part of his education, it is essential that the principles, recorded herein, regarding proper supervision and guardianship, should apply. It is generally desirable, where possible, that the minor ruler should be accompanied by one or more relations or sirdars, who would keep him in touch with the customs and man

ners of his own people or that such other arrangements as are possible should be made with this object in view.

SAYAJI RAO,

*Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.*

RAO KHENGARJI,

*Maharao of Cutch.*

RANJIT SINHJI,

*Jam Sahib of Navanagar.*

TUKOJIRAO PUAR,

*of Dewas (Senior).*

JITENDRA NARAYAN BHUP,

*of Cooch Behar.*

JAGATJIT SINGH,

*Maharaja of Kapurthala.*

GANGA SINGH,

*Maharaja of Bikaner.*

BHAWANI SINGH,

*Raj Rana of Jhalawar.*

J. B. WOOD,

*Political Secretary.*

C. J. WINDHAM,

*Resident, Western Rajputana States.*

B. EGERTON,

*Sadr-ul-Maham, Paigah,  
Hyderabad State.*

# MEMORANDUM ON THE CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH SUCCESSIONS IN THE NATIVE STATES.

1. Where there is a natural heir in the direct line, he succeeds as a matter of course and the recognition of his succession by His Majesty the King-Emperor will be conveyed by an exchange of *kharitas* of a complimentary character between the new Prince or Chief and the Viceroy or other high authority concerned. The *kharita* from the Viceroy (or Head of the Local Government, as the case may be) will be presented to the new Prince or Chief by a Representative of the British Government at a formal visit.

2. In the case of successions other than those of the direct natural heir, the announcement of recognition and confirmation will be made by a Representative of the British Government either at a Durbar held for the purpose or, if this is the custom of the State, at a formal visit to the Prince or Chief.

3. It is desirable that the local and religious ceremonies of installation should, in the case of disputed succession, be deferred until the orders of Government on the question of succession have been obtained. The performance of such ceremonies can in no case affect the prerogative of the Paramount Power in dealing with disputed successions.

4. The Durbar referred to in paragraph 2 will be considered as held by the Prince or Chief, the Representative of the British Government sitting at his right hand.

5. Owing to the diversity of local custom, no definite instructions can be formulated regarding the procedure to be followed at such Durbars; but where a Durbar is held the main outlines are as follows:—

- (a) The Representative of the British Government formally announces the recognition of the succession on behalf of the King-Emperor and presents the *kharita*, if there be one, from His Excellency the Viceroy or the Head of the Local Government or Administration.
- (b) He also conducts the Prince or Chief to *gadi* or *masand*, if this is in accordance with the custom of the State.
- (c) In cases where it is customary, he fastens on a *sirpech* or sword or both and places a necklace round the neck of the Prince or Chief. Sometimes he also attires the Prince or Chief with a robe.
- (d) A *khilat* is presented in cases where it is customary and *peshkash* is received in return.

6. The installation of a Prince or Chief, who is of full age, carries with it *proprio vigore* his investiture with ruling powers, unless Government see fit to restrict by special order the exercise of such powers. Government will decide in each case when a Prince or Chief is to be regarded as having attained full age.

7. If a Prince or Chief is a minor at the time of his installation, the termination of his minority and his investiture with ruling powers, when approved, will be announced by a representative of the British Government at an Investiture Durbar, which will be regarded as held by the Prince or Chief, the British representative sitting at his right hand. The ceremonies will include the reading by the British representative of the *kharita*, if there be one, from

the Viceroy or other high authority and its presentation to the Prince or Chief. It is not desirable to repeat at the Investiture Durbar the ceremonies mentioned in paragraph 5 (b), (c) and (d) above.

8. Lesser details of procedure must be settled in each case, whether of installation or investiture, with regard to precedent and local custom and feeling, reference being made to the Government of India on any doubtful point.

9. The above instructions apply primarily to States having a salute of guns. In other cases it is left to Local Governments and Administrations to decide, with due regard to existing practice, how far the instructions should be considered applicable.

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### SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AT THE BANQUET GIVEN BY RULING CHIEFS IN HONOUR OF THE INDIAN DE- LEGATES TO THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE.

YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Let me first express my appreciation of the kind terms in which the Maharaja Scindia has proposed my health and of your cordial reception of the toast.

This is a great Imperial gathering, but before I proceed to touch upon its significance, let me express my personal gratification at the support which Your Highnesses have accorded to the two Conferences of Ruling Princes and Chiefs which have taken place.

I can assure you that these Conferences are a great cause of satisfaction to me. Apart from their intrinsic importance, they enable me to keep in close personal touch with the Rulers of the Indian States. They afford me an opportunity of making the acquaintance of those whom I have not previously met, and in the case of those whom I have met, they serve to keep our friendship in repair. I regard it as one of the most delightful features of my position that it is my duty and privilege to make the acquaintance—an acquaintance which will, I hope, always blossom into friendship—of Your Highnesses.

The Viceroy should, I hold, always endeavour to maintain the closest personal relations with the Ruling Princes and Chiefs. In a country so vast in size as India, it is not always easy to maintain close personal touch, but Conferences, such as we have held last year and this, are of invaluable service in this respect. I am glad to know that you value these yearly gatherings, and I hope that you will show your appreciation of them by continuing to attend in such large numbers. Apart from the opportunity thus afforded to me, I could not in the short time during which I have been Viceroy have made the acquaintance and friendship of so many of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

At a time like the present, when the shadow of the great war is over us all, and when the varying emotions resulting from the ebb and flow of that distant struggle are the ruling influence in our daily life, I find something peculiarly inspiring and stimulating in the presence here in Delhi of so many Princes and Chiefs who have identified themselves so absolutely and whole-heartedly with the cause of the Empire.

The loyalty you tendered to our King-Emperor here at the great Durbar in Delhi in the days of peace has proved no empty formula, for now in the hour of the Empire's trial we see you redeeming your pledge, placing your swords and the resources of your States at the service of your Sovereign.

Since I became Viceroy it has frequently fallen to my lot to enumerate publicly the particular services rendered on behalf of the Empire by individual States, and I have always felt, and regretted, the difficulty of imparting to these statistical utterances the full sense of keen appreciation which I would fain have expressed. But to-night we have actually here in our midst a representative assemblage of Princes and Chiefs, and speaking face to face with you I should like to tell you from my heart what our feelings are towards you. How well we wish you, what a place you have gained in the affections of the British people, and what a glorious page you have made your own in our Empire's history.

True to Oriental imagery you have indeed been pillars of the State. True to the traditions of your noble houses you have shown that in the East, no less than in the West, the motto *Noblesse oblige* exercises its sway, and worthily have you discharged the obligations which must ever rest upon your Order and upon those of proud and ancient descent.

The onslaught of our enemies may have delayed the new Delhi of brick and stone which His Majesty the King-Emperor decreed should rise here, but in an assemblage such as is gathered together in Delhi tonight, do we not all feel that the war is laying foundations for the King's City more solid and more durable than work of men's hands?

The toast of my health is only a subsidiary feature in to-night's proceedings. We are here to do honour to three gentlemen who have deserved well of us and of their country. I shall not trespass unduly on the sphere which is allotted to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, but perhaps he will allow me to say this much. Your Highnesses in selecting the Maharaja of Bikaner to speak on your behalf at our present Conference gave proof that Mr. Chamberlain and I did not greatly err in selecting His Highness as one of the delegates to the Imperial Conference. Sir James Meston as senior Lieutenant-Governor with great experience in many spheres of affairs was equally marked out for the post, and Sir Satyendra Sinha as the first Indian to hold office on the Viceroy's Council as an ex-President of the National Congress and a great lawyer and advocate, possessed qualifications which to my mind were unrivalled. It is a temptation to dilate on the personal attributes of each of these distinguished gentlemen, but I forbear. Let me, however, lay before you what was said of them by the Prime Minister of Canada on his return to that Dominion after the Imperial Conference.

In a speech on another occasion I quoted what Sir Robert Borden said of Indian representation in the Imperial Conference. To-night I quote his words with regard to the three gentlemen, the occasion of this dinner. Speaking in the Canadian House of Commons he said :—

“The Indian representatives were the Maharaja of Bikaner, one of the Indian princes and a man of splendid loyalty and devotion who governs his country along progressive lines, and who has contributed in every possible way to the winning of this war. Another member was Sir Satendra Sinha, who is a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy of India, a man of notable learning, experience and ability and of great fairness and moderation as well. The third was Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, who has had a distinguished career as a civil servant in India, and who also is a man of commanding ability and wide experience.”

I do not think, unless His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala is going to do it, that that eulogy could be bettered, and it comes with convincing force from one who sat at the Council table with them.

Your Highnesses, ladies and gentlemen, I will not trespass further on your time. It has been a great pleasure to me to preside on this historic occasion, and I thank you once more for the cordial reception you have given to the toast of my health.

### Appendix.

#### Minutes received by the Political Secretary from Ruling Princes and Chiefs who are unable to come to Delhi to attend the Conference.

*Opinion of His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha on the several items of the agenda to be discussed at the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs to be held at Delhi on the 5th November 1917 and following days.*

*Item No. 1.*—In my opinion there is no objection to granting the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, and to recognizing it to that extent as one of the Chiefs' Colleges, provided that it is, in all respects, similar to the existing Chiefs' Colleges.

*Item No. 2.*—The question of agricultural development is one that, as a general rule, engages the attention of every Chief, and in modern times the people themselves are getting more and more inclined towards it, and the Chiefs are also making efforts in the direction of agricultural education. India is a vast country where different varieties of soil exist in different localities and various sorts of grain are grown at various places, the outturn of which is influenced by local conditions of climate. The native inhabitants, from their wide experience, know this thoroughly well. The question being such that it is concerned with the internal administration of the State *per se*, it does not seem to be worth discussion at the Conference.

*Item No. 3.*—This question relates to the internal administration of the State too and does not, as such, appear fit for consideration at the Conference. True it is that, in modern as compared with ancient times, a marked decline has taken place in the breed of horses of high quality, yet one of the determining causes is the people's greater susceptibility to ease and comfort in these times when comfortable conveyances are easily available for distant journeys and hence it is that the zamindars rarely keep mares. Although some Chiefs who personally take an interest in it induce them to this end, still their interest is not awakened. However those Chiefs who evince such an interest do certainly maintain studs in their States according to their financial status and do their level best to keep up their management in order. Under these circumstances, it may perhaps be the better plan to communicate to the States too, for information, from time to time, through the Political Officers concerned, the best views and suggestions of the agricultural experts and specialists, so that the Chiefs being informed of them may adopt such of them as they may deem worthy of adaptation to their States; and, if possible, stallions and brood mares of noble quality may, if desired, be supplied to the States on payment of prices.

*Item No. 4.*—Experience has so far shown that the furnishing of these returns has not hitherto proved very beneficial to the State or to the subjects thereof. On the contrary, their preparation entails additional work and with it an increased burden of expenditure. These returns can come in handy only if an interchange of statistics be effected. But the accuracy of forecasts is impracticable, for their very basis rests on mere conjectural data and hence their preparation does not seem to be any way indispensable. In fact the matter should be optional with the Chiefs so that such of them as desire may make a mutual exchange of their statistics with those of other territories, whilst others not so minded may do as they wish.



*Item No. 5.*—As to the consideration of some rule for settling the precedence *inter se*, for purely social purposes of Ruling Princes and Chiefs, so long as it is unknown what principle has hitherto been kept in view in this behalf on such occasions and what difficulties have now cropped up therein, no new rule can be suggested I myself have had several occasions to join social entertainments and experienced no difficulties. It would probably be better if attendance at social functions were left entirely to the option of the Chiefs themselves.

■

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CONFERENCE OF RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS,  
*Held at Delhi on the 20th January 1919 and following days.*



■

**The Conference was opened and its proceedings conducted by His Excellency  
the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council Chamber.**

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The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

**Kashmir.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

**Bombay.**

The Raja of Baria.	The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi.
His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dhrangadhra.	His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.
His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal.	His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla.
His Highness the Maharaja of Idar.	The Chief of Sangli.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.	His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner.

**Punjab.**

His Highness the Raja of Chamba.	The Nawab of Loharu.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.	His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

**Central India.**

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.	His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar.
His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.	His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (S. B.).	His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (J. B.).	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

**Rajputana.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur.	His Highness Maharaja Bahadur Sir Pratap Singh, Regent, Jodhpur State.
His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi.	His Highness the Maharaja of Kishengarh.
His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.
His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.	

**Sikkim.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim.



## AGENDA.

I.—To consider Chapter X of the Joint Report by His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, with particular reference to the following recommendations :—

- (1) that, with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others (Paragraph 302 of the Report) ;
- (2) that, with the consent of the Rulers of States, their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future (Paragraph 305 of the Report) ;
- (3) that a permanent Council of Princes should be established (Paragraph 306 of the Report) ;
- (4) that the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee (Paragraph 307 of the Report) ;
- (5) that, where the Viceroy thinks this desirable, Commissions of Enquiry should be appointed in regard to—(Paragraph 308 of the Report)—
  - (a) the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and a State, or between one State and another, and
  - (b) the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local representatives ;
- (6) that when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family, they should always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him (Paragraph 309 of the Report) ;
- (7) that, as a general principle, all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India (Paragraph 310 of the Report) ;
- (8) that means should be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both (Paragraph 311 read with paragraphs 277-279 and 287 of the Report).

II.—To consider the question of precedence of Ruling Princes *inter se* at social functions. (*Vide* Resolution passed on Item No. V of the Agenda by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs held at Delhi in November 1917.)

## Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 1.

*Extract from the Joint Report by His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on Indian Constitutional Reforms.*

### Chapter IX.—The Government of India and India Office.

#### I.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

265. We shall have discharged our task indifferently if it is not already plain from our report that all the changes which we suggest are no more than the necessary adjustment of the constitution to a rapidly changing environment. So long as the people of India were content to leave their government in official hands, the system was well devised to the needs of the country, and was directed with astonishing zeal and success to beneficent ends. We have tried to give some account of the burden of the work. We may well pause to pay a tribute to the part played by the Government of India itself in guiding and inspiring the entire system. Rarely has a heavier burden of responsibility continuously rested on a smaller body of men; rarely has it been discharged with greater ability or a higher sense of public duty. We have changes to propose, corresponding to changing conditions; but we should keenly regret it if anything we said were taken as failing in the tribute due to great work finely done. But more is now being demanded of the system than it can give. It is no longer sufficient to administer India; it is necessary also to satisfy her political aspirations; and because we were all too slow in taking cognizance of the changes that were occurring, the task is all the heavier because there is lee-way to make up. We must therefore introduce a new element of strength into the Government.

266. We have already made our opinion clear that pending the development of responsible government in the provinces the Government of India must remain responsible only to Parliament. In other words, in all matters which it judges to be essential to the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order, and good government it must, saving only for its accountability to Parliament, retain indisputable power. With the precise manner in which the control by Parliament must in future be modified we shall deal hereafter. For the present we will concern ourselves with changes in the functions, structure and methods of the Government of India itself. We think we have reason for saying that in some respects the machinery is no longer equal to the needs of the time. The normal work of the departments is heavy. The collective responsibility of the Government is weighty, especially in time of war. There is little time or energy left for those activities of a political nature which the new situation in the country demands. A legislative session of the Government of India imposes a serious strain upon the departments, and especially on the members in charge of them. They have not merely to carry on their heavy task of administration and to share in the discussion and decision of grave matters of policy, but they have to prepare themselves to meet a growing volume of criticism at meetings of the legislative council: and when, as has now happened, they are called upon in addition to deal with urgent and complex questions of constitutional reform

the burden becomes one that it is unreasonable to impose on so small and highly worked a body of men. We desire to take this opportunity of acknowledging how ungrudgingly their services have been given to our present task. But apart from the inevitable complexities of the moment, the growing burden of business, which results from the changing political conditions of the country, is leading to an accumulation of questions which cannot be disposed of as quickly as they present themselves. We find the necessity for reforms admitted, principles agreed upon and decisions taken, and then long delays in giving effect to them. Difficulties are realised, enquiries are started, commissions report, and then there is a pause. There is a belief abroad that assurances given in public pronouncements of policy are sometimes not fulfilled. On this occasion therefore we have taken steps to guard against such imputations, and to provide means for ensuring the ordered development of our own plans.

267. The main fault for the clogging of the machine does not, we think, lie altogether with its highly trained engineers. Present causes of delay. What is chiefly wanted is some change of system in the directions of simplicity and speed. How does it happen that announcements are made that arouse expectations only to defeat them? We know that it is not from any intention of deluding the public. We suggest that it is because the wheels move too slowly for the times; the need for change is realised, but because an examination of details would take too long, promises are made in general terms, which on examination it becomes necessary so to qualify with reservations as to disappoint anticipations and even to lead to charges of breach of faith. We suspect that a root-cause of some political discontents lies in such delays. Now so far as the provinces are concerned, we believe that our proposals for freeing them to a great extent from the control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State will improve matters. But the Government of India are in the worst case. In all important matters they have to consult Local Governments and then to secure the approval of the Secretary of State. Consultation with Local Governments there must always be; but with developing autonomy in the provinces and less frequent interference by the Secretary of State, we see no reason why quicker and more informal methods should not be pursued. We hope that the new departure inaugurated in January last at the conference between the Government of India and all the Heads of Governments in Delhi may be repeated annually, and may lead to a closer understanding of the varying conditions of the provinces and some diminution of official correspondence.

268. References to the India Office are a second fruitful cause of delay. References to the India Office. The India Office, having statutory responsibilities to discharge, exercises its authority with good care and with all the expert knowledge at its command. Proposals that have been examined in India are re-examined in England, and fresh suggestions may be forthcoming from Whitehall upon which Delhi may find it necessary to take the further opinion of Calcutta, Bombay and the rest. Now we recognise that so long as the Indian Government is not responsible to an electorate, the guardianship of the welfare of India as a whole must remain in the hands of Parliament. Indeed, as we shall show, we go on hereafter to make suggestions for sustaining the interest taken by Parliament in India better and for improving the means of information at its disposal. But on the other hand we must also consider practical needs. We have seen how rarely Parliament asserts its power, how little interest and time it devotes to Indian affairs, and how much it leaves to the



Secretary of State in Council. Granting therefore, that Parliament's understanding of the larger Indian questions and its responsibility for policy ought to be increased, there is no real inconsistency in saying that we should ask it simultaneously to agree to relax the Secretary of State's control in details. We consider that the Secretary of State's previous sanction to decisions taken in India should be required in fewer cases than in the past ; and that in some matters it will suffice in future if he asserts his control by means of a veto if necessary.

269. A further cause contributing to delay is that the departments at headquarters are now overworked. It is often overlooked how small is the staff, which carries on the work of the great departments. Normally it consists of a Member in charge, a Secretary, a Deputy Secretary, and an Under Secretary. The remainder of the staff is purely clerical. If this is compared with the staffing of one of the great departments in Whitehall, and every allowance is made for the difference of conditions, it will be clear how numerically weak the staff of the Government of India is ; and how great is the strain upon its members, especially in such times as the present. One reason why the departments can move quickly in England is because their day to day administration runs itself. New enquiries can be set on foot and policies thought out by the head of the department, with the help of a large and experienced permanent staff. In India the higher staff of the Secretariats is not permanent, because rightly or wrongly it has always been held desirable to maintain touch between the headquarter offices and the districts. Men are selected from the administrative staff, serve for a time in the offices, and return to administration. One result of this discontinuity is that questions which a permanent civil service can safely dispose of by word of mouth become the subject of continuous minuting. Changes of personnel necessitate a record of the questions and the aspects of questions considered. We express no opinion on the system but it requires detailed examination. Indeed the Viceroy has already signified to his colleagues his intention of causing it to be examined after the war. Till that time comes the inquiry could not be pursued with advantage ; but once the stress of war is over and Departments can estimate their permanent needs the inquiry should be taken up probably with the assistance of experts from England. Our proposal is made without prejudice to the process of taking further Indians into the services. From whatever source the additional help is to be sought, there can be no question of its acute necessity.

270. But a constitutional element of delay may be found in the character of the Government itself. Because it is bureaucratic it is naturally less anxious to move than a responsible Government. In the matters where Parliament does not affect it, its duty is to its own conscience—or perhaps we should say to its successors in office—and not to any constituents. We should do well to associate with it a really representative assembly, so as to ensure that in the comparative seclusion of its domicile in Delhi and Simla, the wishes of the country are accurately and regularly presented to it and that its action is adequately criticised. In this way not merely shall we get a succession of stimuli from outside which would benefit the Government in India, but the Secretary of State in England will have the means of judging what view is taken in India of the actions of the Government, and so the modified measure of home control which we propose will come to be exercised not merely in

Inherent tendencies of an official Government.

accordance with British views but with regard also to the expressed views of those who represent constituencies in India. These are the considerations underlying the proposals which we put forward for changes in the structure of the Government of India both in its executive and legislative aspects.

271. We have explained already how the executive council of the Governor-General is constituted and how portfolios are allotted in it. Its changed relations with provincial governments will in themselves materially affect the volume of work coming

The Governor General's Executive Council.

before the departments, and for this reason alone some redistribution will be necessary. We would therefore abolish such statutory restrictions as now exist in respect of the appointment of Members of the Governor-General's Council, so as to give greater elasticity both in respect of the size of the Government and the distribution of work. If it is desired to retain Parliamentary control over these matters, they might be embodied in statutory orders to be laid before Parliament.

272. Further we propose to increase the Indian element in the executive council. We do not think it necessary to argue the expediency of enabling the wishes of India to be further represented in the Cabinet of

Increase in Indian element.

the country. The decision of Lord Morley and Lord Minto to appoint one Indian member to the council marked an important stage in India's political development; and has proved of value in enabling the Government to have first-hand acquaintance with Indian opinion. In recommending a second appointment we are only pursuing the policy already determined upon in respect of the public services. There exists of course at present no racial prescription in the Statute, nor do we propose that any should be introduced. There is even no formal guarantee that any appointment shall be made on the grounds of race. The appointment of Indian members will be made in the future as in the past as a matter of practice by the Crown on the recommendation of the Secretary of State; and we suggest the appointment of another Indian Member as soon as may be.

273. We now come to the changes required in the Indian Legislative Council. Its existing composition we have already explained. No argument is needed to show that under present conditions 27 elect-

The Indian Legislative Assembly.

ed Members, many of them returned by small class electorates, cannot adequately represent the interests of the entire country in the supreme assembly. Indeed no council the composition of which is conditioned by the necessity of maintaining an official majority could possibly serve that purpose. We recommend therefore that the strength of the legislative council, to be known in future as the Legislative Assembly of India, should be raised to a total strength of about 100 members, so as to be far more truly representative of British India. We propose that two-thirds of this total should be returned by election; and that one-third should be nominated by the Governor-General, of which third not less than a third again should be non-officials selected with the object of representing minority or special interests. We have decided not to present to His Majesty's Government a complete scheme for the election or the elected representatives; our discussions have shown us that we have not the data on which to arrive at any sound conclusions. Some special representation, we think, there must be as for European and Indian commerce and also for the large landlords. There should be also communal representation for

Muhammadans in most provinces and also for Sikhs in the Punjab. There is no difficulty about direct election in the case of special constituencies. It is in respect of the general or residuary electorate, including therein the communal electorates for Muhammadans and Sikhs, that complexities present themselves. Our decided preference is for a system of direct electorates, but the immensity of the country makes it difficult, it may be impossible, to form constituencies of reasonable size in which candidates will be able to get into direct touch with the electorates. Moreover there is the further difficulty (which, however, presents itself in any system of constituencies) of the inequalities of wealth existing between the different communities. If constituencies are to be approximately even in size, it may be necessary to concede a special franchise to the Muhammadans, who taken as a whole are poorer than the Hindus : and this means giving a vote to some Muhammadans who would not be entitled to vote if they were Hindus. That is an undesirable anomaly, to which we should prefer the anomaly of unequal constituencies ; but on our present information we find it impossible to say how great the practical difficulties of variation in size might be. Similar problems will present themselves in respect of constituencies for the elections to provincial councils. It is obviously desirable to deal on uniform lines with the electoral arrangements both in the provincial and Indian councils. As regards the former we have already recommended the appointment of a special committee to investigate questions of franchises and electorates ; and to that body we would therefore also commit the task of determining the electorates and constituencies for the Indian Legislative Assembly. They may find it wholly impracticable to arrange for direct election. In that case they will consider the various possible systems of indirect election. We are fully aware of the objections attaching to all forms of indirect election ; but if the difficulties of direct election compel us to have recourse to indirect, we incline to think that election by non-official members of provincial councils is likely to prove far more acceptable to Indian opinion, and, in spite of the smallness of the electoral bodies, certainly not open in practice to greater objection than any of the other alternative methods which have been from time to time proposed.

For reasons similar to those which we have given in the case of the provincial legislative councils we recommend that members of the Indian Legislative Assembly should not be designated "Honourable" but should be entitled to affix the letters M. L. A. to their names.

274. The suggestion we have made for the number of elected members was based on the calculation that the three presidencies would be represented by 11 members each—the United Provinces by 10, the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa by 7 each, the Central Provinces by 5, Burma by 3 and Assam by 2. We also think that, in view of the importance of the Delhi province as the Imperial enclave and the seat of the central Government, it should be represented by a member.

275. In respect of the non-official members to be nominated by the Governor-General, we advise that no hard-and-fast rule should be laid down. These seats should be regarded as a reserve in his hands for the purpose of adjusting inequalities and supplementing defects in representation. Nominations should not be made until the results of all the elections are known ; and then they should be made after informal consultation with the Heads of provinces. The maximum number of nominated officials will be two-ninths of the whole, and it will rest with the Governor-General to determine whether he requires to appoint

up to this maximum. The officials will, however, include the executive members of council, sitting not by appointment but *ex-officio*; and also some representation from the provinces. It may therefore not be possible for Secretaries to the Government of India to continue to sit in the assembly; this may in itself be of advantage as decreasing the dislocation of administrative business during the session. It may, however, be necessary to allow the Secretary to speak and vote on behalf of the member when occasion demands. But for this purpose we think that a preferable alternative may be to appoint members of the Assembly, not necessarily elected nor even non-official, to positions analogous to those of parliamentary Under Secretaries in England; and we advise that power be taken to make such appointments. We attach importance to the further proposal that official members of the Assembly, other than members of the executive government, should be allowed a free right of speech and vote, except when the Government decides that their support is necessary. We think that this change of procedure will affect the tone of discussions very beneficially. We think that, for the reasons which we have given already in support of a similar recommendation in respect of the provincial councils, the President of the Legislative Assembly should be nominated by the Governor-General. We do not propose that his choice should be formally limited, but it seems necessary that, at any rate for the present, the President should be designated from among the official members.

276. We began with the fundamental proposition that the capacity of the

Means of securing the affirmative power of legislation.

Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters must be unimpaired. The institution of an assembly with a large

elected majority confronts us with the problem, as in the case of the provinces, of enabling the executive government to secure its essential legislation and its supplies. Here also we have examined several possible expedients. In this instance there can be no question of relying on legislation by superior authority. The only superior authority is Parliament, and Parliament is too far off and notoriously too pre-occupied and not suitably constituted to pass laws for the domestic needs of India. It is true that the Governor-General has the power of making temporary ordinances for certain emergent purposes. We propose that this power should be retained: its utility has been strikingly demonstrated during the present war. It merely provides, however, a means of issuing decrees after private discussion in the executive council and without opportunities for public debate or criticism: and normally it should be used only in rare emergencies. It would be unsuitable for our purpose. What we seek is some means, for use on special occasions, of placing on the Statute book, after full publicity and discussion, permanent measures to which the majority of members in the Legislative Assembly may be unwilling to assent. We seek deliberately, when the purpose justifies us, to depart from popular methods of legislation; and it is obvious that no device which conforms to those methods can possibly serve our purpose. For this purpose we have come to the conclusion that we should employ the method now familiar to Indian institutions of maintaining such a number of votes upon which the Government can in all circumstances rely, as to ensure the passage of the legislation that it requires. It is here alone, and only (as will be seen hereafter) for use in cases where it is obviously necessary, that we propose to perpetuate the official *bloc*. We are seeking to provide for a period of transition; for which purpose no novel expedient, such as multiplying the value of official votes or calling in officials who have not taken part in the argument to record their votes, or of passing measures automatically after discussion, would be as easily understood or as acceptable as the continuance in modified form of the present system.

277. One suggestion which we considered was that we should follow the plan adopted in the provinces, and institute grand committees to which the Government's essential Bills should be referred. But the conditions of Indian legislation are different from those of provincial. Matters are more important, the Government's responsibility to Parliament is closer, and the affirmative power must be more decisively used. We feel also that there are advantages, both direct and incidental, in setting up a separate constitutional body, in which Government will be able to command a majority. We do not propose to institute a complete bi-cameral system, but to create a second chamber, known as the Council of State, which shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential. The Council of State will be composed of 50 members, exclusive of the Governor-General who would be President, with power to appoint a Vice-President who would normally take his place; not more than 25 will be officials, including the members of the executive council, and 4 would be non-officials nominated by the Governor-General. Official members would be eligible for nomination to both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. There would be 21 elected members of whom 15 will be returned by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils, each council returning two members, other than those of Burma, the Central Provinces and Assam which will return one member each. Elected members returned to the Council of State would vacate any seats they occupied on the provincial council or the Legislative Assembly. The remaining six elected members are intended to supplement the representation which the Muhammadans and the landed classes will otherwise secure; and also to provide for the representation of chambers of commerce. Each of these three interests should, we suggest, return two members directly to the Council of State. Bearing in mind the fact that among the members of the provincial legislative councils who will elect to the 15 seats there will be a proportion of Muhammadans, and assuming that in each of the bigger provinces each elector will be able as now to give both his votes to one candidate, we estimate that the composition of the Council of State should comprise at least six Muhammadans whether sitting by direct or indirect election or by the Governor-General's nomination. Moreover it is desirable that the four seats to be filled by direct election should be used so as to ensure that the Muhammadan and landed members should as far as possible be representative of the whole of India. Deficiencies may occur in this respect in any one council, but they should be corrected in elections to the subsequent council. For this reason the regulations for elections to the four seats should be framed by the Governor-General in Council in such way as to enable him to decide, after consideration of the results of the indirect elections, from what part of India or possibly in what manner from India generally the seats should be filled.

278. Inasmuch as the Council of State will be the supreme legislative authority for India on all crucial questions and also the revising authority upon all Indian legislation, we desire to attract to it the services of the best men available in the country. We desire that the Council of State should develop something of the experience and dignity of a body of Elder Statesmen; and we suggest therefore that the Governor-General in Council should make regulations as to the qualification of candidates for election to that body which will ensure that their status and position and record of services will give to the Council a senatorial character, and the qualities usually

regarded as appropriate to a revising chamber. We consider that the designation "Honourable" should be enjoyed by the members of the Council of State during their tenure of office. In accordance with the proposals which we make hereafter for associating the Ruling Princes with the Government for the purpose of deliberation on matters of common concern, it would be, as will be seen, the Council of State with which the Princes would be associated. It is desirable that as is the case with second chambers elsewhere the lifetime of the Council of State should be longer than that of the Assembly; and assuming that the life of the latter will be three years, we propose five years as the normal duration of each Council of State.

279. Let us now explain how this legislative machinery will work. It will make for clearness to deal separately with Government Bills and Bills introduced by non-official members. A Government Bill will ordinarily be introduced and carried through all the usual stages in the Legislative Assembly. It will then go in the ordinary course to the Council of State, and if there amended in any way which the Assembly is not willing to accept, it will be submitted to a joint session of both Houses, by whose decision its ultimate fate will be decided. This will be the ordinary course of legislation. But it might well happen that amendments made by the Council of State were such as to be essential in the view of the Government if the purpose with which the Bill was originally introduced was to be achieved, and in this case the Governor-General in Council would certify that the amendments were essential to the interests of peace, order, or good government. The Assembly would then not have power to reject or modify these amendments, nor would they be open to revision in a joint session.

We have to provide for two other possibilities. Cases may occur in which the Legislative Assembly refuses leave to the introduction of a Bill or throws out a Bill which the Government regarded as necessary. For such a contingency we would provide that if leave to introduce a Government Bill is refused or if the Bill is thrown out at any stage, the Government should have the power, on the certificate of the Governor-General in Council that the Bill is essential to the interests of peace, order, or good government, to refer it *de novo* to the Council of State; and if the Bill after being taken in all its stages through the Council of State, was passed by that body it would become law without further reference to the Assembly. Further, there may be cases when the consideration of a measure by both chambers would take too long if the emergency which called for the measure is to be met. Such a contingency should rarely arise; but we advise that in cases of emergency, so certified by the Governor-General in Council, it should be open to the Government to introduce a Bill in the Council of State, and upon its being passed there merely to report it to the Assembly.

280. We come now to non-official members' Bills. They would be introduced in whichever of the two chambers the mover sat and, on being carried there, would be taken to the other chamber and carried through that. In the case of a difference of opinion between the two bodies the Bill would be submitted to a joint session of both, and would either be finally rejected or would be submitted for assent in the form in which it was there passed. It might, however, occur that a non-official member's Bill emerged from the Assembly, whether originally introduced there or not, in a form which the Government thought prejudicial to peace, order and good government. In this case also if the Governor-General in Council were prepared

to give a certificate in the terms already stated, the Bill would go or go back to the Council of State and could only become law in the form there finally given to it.

281. Our object has thus been where possible to make assent by both bodies the normal condition of legislation, but to

*Advantages of this procedure.* establish the principle that in the case of certificated legislation the will of the Council of State

should prevail, and in other legislation the will of the non-official members of both chambers taken together should prevail. In time to come, if and when the procedure by certification becomes unnecessary, the Council of State will become, as in other countries a purely revising chamber, and differences between the two chambers will be adjusted by joint sessions. We considered the alternative course of leaving non-certificated Bills wholly to the Legislative Assembly and using the Council of State only for certificated Bills. We dismissed this plan, first because we regard it as important to establish what may hereafter become a normal second chamber; secondly, because we were unwilling to exclude the non-official members of the Council of State, to which we wished to attract the best men available, from all share in the passing of non-certificated business, and all opportunities of introducing Bills. Finally, our own proposal which gives the Government an opportunity of amending a private member's Bill, instead of leaving the Government with no alternative but to veto a measure some features of which it may disapprove, affords the means by which beneficial changes in the law may result from non-official initiative. It will, we believe, be found to be not the least advantage of the institutions which we propose that by allowing questions to be freely discussed first in a popular assembly and then reviewed by a revising body in which Government is in a position to exert as little influence as it likes the course of social legislation to which our Indian advisers attach particular importance will be materially promoted. For if Government is assured that projects of social reform have the support of the Indian element in two chambers so differently constituted it will have the less reason for offering any obstacle to their progress.

282. The objection may be raised to our proposal for joint sessions that

*A possible objection.* the non-official members of the Assembly will be swamped by the official members of the

Council of State in combination with the official members of the Assembly. We think that this criticism will be disposed of by further consideration of the figures. The Assembly will consist of, let us say, at least 78 non-official and at most 22 official members. The Council of State will consist of 25 non-officials and at most 25 officials, because the whole number of officials in either chamber need not necessarily be appointed. In a full joint session, however, there might be 103 non-officials, and about 40 officials, because the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council will be members of both bodies. But we have provided that the official members of the Assembly may also be nominated to membership of the Council of State, and we imagine that this will be the rule rather than the exception. It would be difficult, and also inadvisable from the point of view of departmental business, to bring 40 official members to the meetings of the legislative bodies, and we conceive therefore that, including the members of the executive council, the official element in a joint session might be taken at 30. Moreover in debates on a non-certificated Bill, official members would be left free to vote and speak as they please, and therefore should not be expected to act as a solid body. In these calculations we have classed together the nominated non-officials and the elected members

of both chambers. But the 15 nominated non-officials will be nominated to represent particular interests, and we see no reason to anticipate that they will act less consistently than they have done in the past with their elected fellow representatives.

283. The Governor-General should, in our opinion, have power at any time to dissolve either the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State or both these bodies. Powers of dissolution, assent, etc. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the Governor-General and the Secretary of State should retain their existing powers of assent, reservation, and disallowance to all Acts of the Indian legislature. The present powers of the Governor-General in Council under section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1915, to make regulations proposed to him by local Governments for the peace and good government of backward tracts of territory should also be preserved; with the modification that it will in future rest with the Head of the province concerned to propose such regulations to the Government of India.

284. Fiscal legislation will of course be subject to the procedure which we have recommended in respect of Government Bills. The budget will be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, but the Assembly will not vote it. Resolutions upon budget matters and upon all other questions, whether moved in the Assembly or in the Council of State, will continue to be advisory in character. We have already given our reasons for holding that it is not feasible to give resolutions a legal sanction. But since resolution will no longer be defeated in the Assembly by the vote of an official majority they will, if carried, stand on record as the considered opinion of a body which is at all events more representative than the Legislative Council which it displaced. That in itself will mean that the significance of resolutions will be enhanced: there will be a heavier responsibility upon those who pass them, because of their added weight; and the Government's responsibility for not taking action upon them will also be heavier. It will be therefore incumbent on Government to oppose resolutions which it regards as prejudicial with all the force and earnestness that it can command in the hope of convincing the Assembly of their undesirability. There must, however, remain to the Government power not to give effect to any resolution which it cannot reconcile with its responsibility for the peace, order and good government of the country.

285. We wish to apply the procedure of standing committees, described in the last chapter, as far as may be, to both portions of the Indian legislature. The committees would be drawn jointly from the Assembly and Council of State. We do not overlook the difficulties entailed by the nature of many of the subjects with which the central Government is concerned, and also by the comparative infrequency with which, owing to considerations of distance, such committees can assemble. The fact that many matters of ordinary internal administration will in future be left to provincial Governments also limits the scope of utility of standing committees in the central legislature. We would leave it to the Government of India to decide with what departments standing committees can be associated; and to the member in charge to decide what matters can be referred to the committee. Our idea is that the non-official members of the Assembly and Council of State might elect by ballot in proportion to their respective strength two-thirds of the members of each committee while Government nominates the remaining one-third. It is obvious that these committees cannot play such an important part in the work of the Government as the



similar committees which we have suggested in the provinces. It will be difficult to obtain their assistance in practice, except during the session or immediately before and after it, but we think there should be no difficulty ordinarily in obtaining their views on important new projects, whether legislative or administrative. Their functions might be determined by regulations to be made by the Governor-General in Council.

286. A few subsidiary matters of minor importance remain to be dealt with. We think that any member of the Assembly or the Council of State (and not merely the member who asks the original question) should

Questions and rules of procedure.

have the right to put supplementary questions. The control of questions in both bodies should be regulated on lines similar to those which we have suggested in the case of provincial councils; and the question of restrictions upon resolutions should also be similarly treated. But apart from matters affecting the powers of the legislature we think that the rules of procedure for both bodies should be made in the first instance by the Governor-General in Council. The Assembly and the Council of State should both have power to modify their rules with the sanction of the Governor-General. The approval of the Secretary of State and Parliament should not be required.

287. We have a further recommendation to make. We would ask that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to approve

An Indian Privy Council.

the institution of a Privy Council for India. From time to time projects of this kind have been mooted and laid aside; but with the changed conditions we believe that such a body would serve a valuable purpose and do useful work. India for all its changing ideas is still ready to look up with pride and affection to any authority clothed with attributes that it can respect and admire. Appointments to the Privy Council should be made by the King-Emperor and for life, which would ensure that they would be valued as a high personal distinction. Officials and non-officials, both from British India and the Native States, would be eligible; but it would be necessary to confine appointment to those who had won real distinction, or had held or were holding the highest offices, such as Members of the Governments, Ruling Princes, Members of the Council of State and High Court Judges. Indian Privy Councillors should enjoy the title of "Honourable" for life. The Privy Council's office would be to advise the Governor-General when he saw fit to consult it on questions of policy and administration. It is our hope that for one purpose or another Committees of the Council comparable to those of the Privy Council in England, which have done such valuable work in connexion with industrial and scientific research and education, will be appointed.

288. At the end of the last chapter we recommended that ten years after

Periodic Commission.

the institution of our reforms, and again at intervals of twelve years thereafter, a commission approved by Parliament should investigate the working of the changes introduced into the provinces and recommend as to their further progress. It should be equally the duty of the commission to examine and report upon the new constitution of the Government of India, with particular reference to the working of the machinery for representation, the procedure by certificate, and the results of joint sessions. The commission will, doubtless, if they see fit, have proposals to make for further changes in the light of the experience gained. There is no need for us at this stage to attempt to anticipate the line which their recommendations may take.

289. Let us now sum up our proposals. We seek to create an enlarged

Summary.

Legislative Assembly with an elective majority ; to reserve to the decision of the Council of State, in which the Government will command a bare majority, only those measures which it must have power to carry in the discharge of its continuing responsibility for the good government of the land ; to restrict the official *bloc* to the smallest dimensions and the least frequent activity that is compatible with the same guiding principle ; to institute a Privy Council of India as a means of honouring and employing ripe wisdom or meritorious service ; to admit a second Indian member into the innermost counsels of the Indian Government. It is true that we do not offer responsibility to elected members of the Legislative Assembly ; and that we define the sphere in which the Government will defer to the wishes of the elected members not by specific directions in a schedule, as we have done in the provinces, but by a general prescription which we leave the Government to interpret. But we have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go, and by confining the use of the special machinery of autocracy to essential cases where a public declaration of necessity must be made, we have gone definitely beyond the position implied in the Morley-Minto Reforms. If there be among Indian politicians those who are impatient of any delay that they encounter on their way to occupy the citadel they may remind themselves how often before in Indian history has it been said '*Hanoz Delhi dur ast*'. Impatience we cannot and ought not to seek to satisfy. What we have done is to afford Indians a fair share in the government of the entire country, while providing in the provinces the means for them to attain the stage of responsible government to which the beginning of responsibility for the Government of India itself must be the sequel.

### Chapter X.—The Native States.

296. As we have said already it is impossible to deal with the constitutional

Introductory.

position in British India without also considering the problems presented by the Native States. India is in fact, as well as by legal definition, one geographical whole. The integral connection of the States with the British Empire not only consists in their relations to the British Crown, but also in their growing interest in many matters common to the land to which they and the British provinces alike belong.

297. Although compared with the British provinces the States are thinly

Position of the States.

populated, they comprise among them some of the fairest portions of India. The striking differences in their size, importance, and geographical distribution, are due partly to variations of policy, partly to historical events which no Government could control. Wherever consolidating forces were at work before the British advance occurred, we find that large units of territory were constituted into States : wherever disorder or other disintegrating factors were at work longer as in Bombay and Central India, we find a large number of fragmentary territories. " Political as well as physical geography bears witness to the stress of the destructive forces through which a country has passed." The policy of the British Government towards the States has changed from time to time passing from the original plan of non-intervention in all matters beyond its

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\* Delhi is yet far off.

own ring-fence to the policy of "subordinate isolation" initiated by Lord Hastings; which in its turn gave way before the existing conception of the relation between the States and the Government of India, which may be described as one of union and co-operation on their part with the paramount power. In spite of the varieties and complexities of treaties, engagements, and *sanads*, the general position as regards the rights and obligations of the Native States can be summed up in a few words. The States are guaranteed security from without; the paramount power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other States, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the States' relations to foreign powers are those of the paramount power; they share the obligation for the common defence; and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories.

298. Now let us consider what factors have been at work to bring the

Effects of the war.

Ruling Princes into closer relations with the Government of India. Foremost is the war.

No words of ours are needed to make known the services to the Empire which the States have rendered. They were a profound surprise and disappointment to the enemy; and a cause of delight and pride to those who knew beforehand the Princes' devotion to the Crown. With one accord the Rulers of the Native States in India rallied to fight for the Empire when war was declared; they offered their personal services, and the resources of their States. Imperial Service Troops from over a score of States have fought in various fields, and many with great gallantry and honour. The Princes have helped lavishly with men and horses, material and money, and some of them have in person served in France and elsewhere. They have shown that our quarrel is their quarrel; and they have both learned and taught the lesson of their own indissoluble connexion with the Empire, and their immense value as part of the polity of India.

299. For many years, however, influences more persistent though less

Points of contact.

forceful than war have been at work to increase the range of matters in which the States realize their solidarity with British India. A perceptible process of infiltration has been going on. We have helped the States in times of famine; we have lent them officers trained in British India to revise or supervise their revenue or financial administration, or to improve their agriculture and irrigation. Many of them have adopted our civil and criminal codes. Some have imitated and even further extended our educational system. Co-operation in matters of police and justice has been developed. Our railway and telegraph systems have been carried through and serve many of the States. The Indian customs tariff is a matter of concern to all States including those which have ports of their own. It is of course true that external influences have not affected the States equally. They have not all been equally able to assimilate new principles. They are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal or more advanced, while in a few States are found the beginnings of representative institutions. The characteristic features of all of them, however, including the most advanced, are the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice. Nor have any changes which have occurred in the least impaired the validity of the treaties which assured to the States their powers of internal administration. Indeed, it may be said that in a composite society like India's and in times when ideas are changing rapidly, the existence of States in which ideals of chivalry and personal devotion survive as the motive principle of government has been the more clearly seen to have an abiding value. The independence of the States in matters of interna

administration carries with it the counter obligation of non-interference in British Indian affairs. If the Princes were to intervene, either informally or formally, in the internal affairs of British India, such action would, we think, be reasonably questioned, unless the representatives of British India were given a corresponding right of influencing the affairs of the States. On either hand, we believe there is no desire to cross the frontier. Rulers and politicians alike recognize that they are best employed in attending to their own progress. The obligation of mutual abstention must be always borne in mind in estimating the future position of the Native States in a changing Indian empire.

300. We know that the States cannot be unaffected by constitutional

Modern influences.

development in adjoining provinces. Some of the more enlightened and thoughtful of the Princes, among whom are included some of the best known names, have realised this truth, and have themselves raised the question of their own share in any scheme of reform. Others of the Princes—again including some of the most honoured names—desire only to leave matters as they are. We feel the need for caution in this matter. It would be a strange reward for loyalty and devotion to force new ideas upon those who did not desire them ; but it would be no less strange, if out of consideration for those who perhaps represent gradually vanishing ideas, we were to refuse to consider the suggestions of others who have been no less loyal and devoted. Looking ahead to the future we can picture India to ourselves only as presenting the external semblance of some form of ' federation '. The provinces will ultimately become self-governing units, held together by the central Government which will deal solely with matters of common concern to all of them. But the matters common to the British provinces are also to a great extent those in which the Native States are interested—defence, tariffs, exchange, opium, salt, railways and posts and telegraphs. The gradual concentration of the Government of India upon such matters will therefore make it easier for the States, while retaining the autonomy which they cherish in internal matters, to enter into closer association with the central Government if they wish to do so. But though we have no hesitation in forecasting such a development as possible, the last thing that we desire is to attempt to force the pace. Influences are at work which need no artificial stimulation. All that we need or can do is to open the door to the natural developments of the future.

301. In this respect the trend of recent events has helped. The desire to

Evolution of the Chiefs' Conference.

give greater reality to the consciousness of common interests is stirring among the Princes, and it is now possible and desirable to turn it to more practical account than our predecessors were able to do. Lord Lytton's proposal to constitute an Imperial Privy Council which should comprise some of the great Princes resulted only in the ephemeral and purely honorific body known as the Councilors of the Empress. Lord Dufferin's institution of Imperial Service Troops was of much greater value in giving actual and useful expression to the feeling of community of interests. Lord Curzon's plan for a Council of Ruling Princes and Lord Minto's schemes first for an Imperial Advisory Council and then for an Imperial Council of Ruling Princes were suggestions only a little in advance of the time. The idea which attracted his two predecessors gained fresh life as a result of the conferences which Lord Hardinge held with the Princes to consider questions of higher education in the States. Lord Hardinge made no secret of his desire to seek the collective opinion of the Princes as trusted colleagues whenever possible on matters affecting their

Order ; and in responding to His Excellency's invitation Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior and Indore also laid stress upon the essential identity of interest between the two halves of India. Lord Chelmsford carried the system of conferences further by utilizing them for the purpose of discussing general questions affecting the States as a whole : and His Highness the Gaekwar in welcoming the new development expressed the hope that what had by that time become an annual conference would develop into a permanent Council or Assembly of Princes. Moreover, only last year the claim of the States to be heard in matters of Imperial concern were signally recognised by the deputation of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to the meeting of the Imperial Conference and the War Cabinet.

302. In view of the fact that constitutional changes in British India may react in an important manner on the Native

Effects of British policy. The States, we have carefully considered their term "Native States."

present relations with the Government of India. We became aware at the outset that although the policy which has been followed for more than a century towards the States has been amply vindicated by the trust and confidence which the Princes as a body repose in the British Government, yet in some quarters uncertainty and uneasiness undoubtedly exist. Some Rulers are perturbed by a feeling that the measure of sovereignty and independence guaranteed to them by the British Government has not been accorded in full, and they are apprehensive lest in process of time their individual rights and privileges may be whittled away. We ascribe this feeling to two causes. In the first place, the expression "Native States" is applied now and has been applied during the past century to a collection of about seven hundred rulerships which exhibit widely differing characteristics ; which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which Government exercises, through its Agents, large powers of internal control, and even down to the owners of a few acres of land. Uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinctions of status ; and practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also. We are convinced that it would improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States if a definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. Our own proposals in paragraphs 306 to 311 below assume that such classification can and will after due inquiry be effected, and are intended to relate only to States of the former class.

303. In the second place, we cannot disregard the fact that the general

Government Intervention.

clause which occurs in many of the treaties to the effect that the Chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country, has not in the past precluded and does not even now preclude "interference with the administration by Government through the agency of its representatives at the Native Courts." We need hardly say that such interference has not been employed in wanton disregard of treaty obligations. During the earlier days of our intimate relations with the States British agents found themselves compelled, often against their will, to assume responsibility for the welfare of a people, to restore order from chaos, to prevent inhuman practices, and to guide the hands of a weak or incompetent Ruler as the only alternative to the termination of his rule. So too, at the present day, the Government of India acknowledges as trustee, a responsibility (which the Princes themselves desire to maintain) for the proper administration of States during a minority, and also an obligation for the prevention or correction of flagrant misgovernment

304. Moreover we find that the position hitherto taken up by Government has been that the conditions under which some Interpretation of treaties. of the treaties were executed have undergone material changes, and the literal fulfilment of particular obligations which they impose has become impracticable. Practice has been based on the theory that treaties must be read as a whole, and that they must be interpreted in the light of the relations established between the parties not only at the time when a particular treaty was made, but subsequently. The result is that there has grown up around the treaties a body of case law which anyone who is anxious to appreciate the precise nature of existing relations must explore in Government archives and in text-books. The Princes, viewing the application of this case law to their individual relations with Government, are uneasy as to its ultimate effect. They fear that usage and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty rights of individual States.

305. It is thus clear that some ambiguity and misunderstanding exist as to the exact position. The Government of India Need for re-examination of the position. has already taken cognizance of this, and is affording opportunity for the verification of any specific complaints that may be made. We do not desire to say anything that might prejudice the issue of these inquiries. In the meanwhile, however, we suggest that the time has come when it would be well to review the situation, of course only by consent of parties, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future. Before we pass on to state our own proposals we wish to say that we think that the Princes should be assured in the fullest and freest manner that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements or by established practice.

306. We have explained how, on various occasions in recent years, the Princes have met in conference at the invitation of the Viceroy. These conferences have been of great value in assisting in the formulation of the Government's policy on important matters like minority administration and succession and in promoting interest in such questions as scientific agriculture and commercial and agricultural statistics. The meetings have given the Princes the opportunity of informing the Government as to their sentiments and wishes of broadening their outlook, of conferring with one another and with the Government. But although the meetings have in the last few years been regular, they depend upon the invitation of the Viceroy; and our first proposal is to replace them by the institution of a Council of Princes. We wish to call into existence a permanent consultative body. There are questions which affect the States generally and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common, upon which we conceive that the opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value. The Viceroy would refer such questions to the Council, and we should have the advantage of their considered opinion. We think it is all important that the meetings should be regular, and that ordinarily the Council should meet once a year to discuss agenda approved by the Viceroy. Any member of the Council or the Council as a whole might request the Viceroy to include in the agenda any subject on which discussion was desired. If questions of sufficient importance arose in the intervals between the annual meetings the Princes might suggest to the Viceroy that an extraordinary meeting should be held.

We contemplate that the Viceroy should be President and should as a rule preside, but that in his absence one of the Princes should be Chairman. The rules of business would be framed by the Viceroy after consultation with the Princes, who might perhaps from time to time suggest modifications in the rules. We believe that most of the Princes desire to see such a Council created although some of the most eminent among them have not taken part in the conferences in 1916 and 1917. The direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State would of course not be affected by the institution of the Council. We have used the name "Council of Princes" to describe the body which we desire to see instituted. We have had difficulty, however, in finding a name appropriate to such a unique assembly. We wish to avoid a designation associated with other institutions, and to find one which will connote the real position of this body of Rulers with the representative of the King-Emperor as Chairman. From both these points of view the terms Council or Chamber or House of Princes are open to criticism. There is much to be said in favour of an Indian name for an Indian body which, from the circumstances of the case, would exist nowhere else; but it would be necessary to choose one not peculiarly associated historically either with Hindus or with Muhammadans. While therefore we have adopted the term Council for temporary purposes, we hope that discussion may produce some happier alternative.

307. It has been represented to us that difficulties have occurred in the past by reason of the fact that the Political Department comes to decisions affecting the Native States without being in a position to avail itself of the advice of those who are in a position to know from their own personal experience or the history of their States the right course to pursue. On matters of custom and usage in particular we feel that such advice would be of great value, and would help to ensure sound decisions. Our second proposal therefore is that the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small standing committee, to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer such matters. We need hardly say that no reference affecting any individual State would be made to the Committee without the concurrence of its Ruler. The Council of Princes might appoint to the standing committee not only Princes but also Dewans or Ministers, who were willing to place their services at the disposal of the Viceroy when called upon for advice. This machinery is based on the principle of consultation which in so many matters underlies our recommendations in regard to British India.

308. Our next proposal is concerned with disputes which may arise between two or more States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India, and with a situation caused when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the Government of India or the advice of any of its local representatives. In such cases there exists at the present moment no satisfactory method of obtaining an exhaustive and judicial inquiry into the issues, such as might satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, that the issues have been considered in an independent and impartial manner. Whenever, therefore, in such cases the Viceroy felt that such an inquiry was desirable, we recommend that he should appoint a commission, on which both parties would be represented, to inquire into the matter in dispute and to report its conclusions to him. If the Viceroy were unable to accept the finding, the matter would be referred for decision by the Secretary of State. The commission that we have in mind would be composed

of a judicial officer of rank not lower than a High Court Judge and one nominee of each of the parties concerned.

309. In another class of cases we have a similar proposal to make. It has happened, and we conceive that it may happen though rarely in the future, that the question arises of depriving the ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family. If such cases occur in the future we think that they should be always referred to a commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him. It should consist of five members, including ordinarily a High Court Judge and two Ruling Princes. The names of the commissioners should be intimated in advance to the defendant before they were appointed : and the proceedings of the commission should be made public only if the defendant so desired.

310. Our two remaining proposals bear a direct relation to our constitutional scheme for British India. We recommend that as a general principle all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India. We feel that the necessity of communicating with the central Government through two or even more intermediaries is an obstruction to good understanding and a great obstacle to business. The present position is that while four large States and one small State deal directly with the Government of India through their Resident there are in the Central India Agency some 150 States and in the Rajputana Agency some 20 States and in Baluchistan two States under the Agents to the Governor-General. The remaining States are in political relations with Local Governments. Madras deals with 5 States ; Bombay with over 350 ; Bengal with 2 ; the United Provinces with 3 ; the Punjab with 34 ; Burma with 52 ; Bihar and Orissa with 26 ; the Central Provinces with 15 ; and Assam with 16. We have already laid stress in our report upon the need in domestic affairs for dividing matters of all-Indian from those of provincial concern. Now on general grounds the relations between the States and Government are clearly a matter for the central Government ; and where this principle has been departed from it has been on grounds of history or convenience. It seems to us that the changing conditions of the time afford strong reasons for affirming the principle ; both because the institution of a Council of Princes will give greater solidarity to the views of the States, and also because the growth of responsibility in provincial Governments will to some extent unfit them to act in political matters as mere agents for the Government of India. There will, we recognize, be difficulty in some cases where the territories of the States and British provinces intersect, but such obstacles are not insurmountable. As a general principle, therefore, we recommend that all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the central Government. We do not intend of course that the Darbars should write direct to the Political Secretary, but that there should, wherever possible, be only one political officer through whom the State would correspond with the Government of India. This is already the case with the States of Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore and Kashmir. In other cases it will be necessary to revise the existing arrangements by which correspondence passes through a Local Political Agent or Resident to an Agent to the Governor-General or a local Government and thence to the Government of India. Where the authority immediately subordinate to the Government of India is an Agent to the Governor-General, the choice lies generally between abolishing the offices of local Political Agents or Residents, while transferring their functions to the Agent to the Governor-General with an increased staff of Assistants, and abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor-General



while retaining Residents accredited to States or groups of States. In other cases instead of abolishing either the Agent to the Governor-General or the Resident where both officers exist, the Residents of particular States might be allowed to communicate direct with the Government of India, sending a copy of such communications to the Agent to the Governor-General for his information. The future position of other States which are now in relation with provincial Governments, cannot be determined immediately, since both the wishes of the Darbars and also the administrative advantages must be considered. It may be that the Government of India will assume direct relations with these States, or that they may be left for the time being in relation with the provincial Governments ; but in the latter case it seems to us that the Head of the province should in each case act in his relations with the States as agent for the central Government, and that relations with the Native States should not be matters of provincial concern in the sense that they are intended ever to be transferred to the control of the legislative council.

311. Our last proposal is intended to provide some means of deliberation

Joint deliberation on matters of common interest. between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest both, and so to ensure that as far as possible decisions affecting India as a whole shall be reached after the views of the Darbars have been taken into account. In the past it certainly has occasionally happened that the States were vitally affected by decisions taken without reference to them ; and yet no machinery for such collective consultation with them has hitherto existed. It seems to us that they have a clear right to ask for it in the future. We have abandoned for the present all consideration of suggestions that the Ruling Princes or some representatives of their Order should be members of the Council of State. Not only would this at the present stage infringe the doctrine of non-interference on the part of the Princes in the affairs of British India, but we are satisfied that few, if any, of the Princes themselves are ready for such a step. On the other hand, it seems to us that, when a Council of Princes has been established, and when a Council of State and a Privy Council have been created, the machinery will exist for bringing the senatorial institutions of British India into closer relations when necessary with the Rulers of the Native States. Matters affecting the Native States generally, or the Native States and British India in common or the Empire might, as we have seen, be referred to the Council of Princes. It would thus be possible for the Viceroy, when he thought fit, to arrange for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Council of Princes or between representatives of each body. He might also invite members of the Council of Princes to serve on committees of the Privy Council.

312. With these indications of the position to be occupied by the Native States in future we may rest content. We

Future position of the States. believe that the trend of events must draw them still closer into the orbit of the Empire ; we think that the process need give rise to no alarm lest their internal autonomy be threatened. We need not conceal our conviction that the processes at work in British India cannot leave the States untouched and must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character. But in that respect there can be no intention or desire to accelerate growth by artificial means. We believe that our proposals will afford satisfaction to the progressive Rulers while respecting the legitimate desire of those less advanced to go forward at their own pace.

**Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. II.**

*Resolution passed by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs held at Delhi on the 5th November 1917 and following days.*

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*Resolved.*—That consideration of the question of precedence of Ruling Chiefs *inter se* at social functions should be postponed until the next Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.***20th January 1919.***HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.****YOUR HIGHNESSES,—**

Before we proceed to business it is fitting that I should refer to the losses which this Conference has sustained during the past year. Since last we met no less than six of those who have attended these gatherings on previous occasions have passed away, viz., the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Rewa and Faridkot, the Maharawal of Dungarpur, the Nawab of Palanpur, and the Raja of Khairagarh. I am sure that Your Highnesses will wish to join with me in recording our sympathy with the families of these Princes, whose loss we deeply deplore.

The year which has passed since I last welcomed Your Highnesses in this hall has been a momentous one. I allude not only to the great drama which has been enacted on the battle fields of Europe and of Asia, where the fate of India was decided in common with that of the Western Nations, but also to events which have taken place in India and in which India has a more exclusive interest. The year has witnessed the greatest war efforts which this country has yet put forth and the share which the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India have taken in the victory of the Allies is one of which Your Highnesses may well be proud. It has also seen a further step in the evolution of the relations between this great country and the Empire with which its destinies are linked. The Report on Indian Constitutional Reform has now been public for some seven months. Our principal business during this Conference will be to consider that Report so far as it affects the Indian States.

At the outset it will be well to refer to the course of events leading up to Chapter X of the Report. In closing the proceedings of the last Conference, I assured Your Highnesses with reference to the development of these annual meetings that any scheme which you might put forward would receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of the Government of India. That same afternoon I understand that Your Highnesses appointed a Committee to draw up such a scheme and this Committee in successive meetings, held in November, December and January, prepared draft proposals which were informally placed before the Government of India. Communications from various quarters indicated that the scheme thus formulated did not represent the unanimous opinion of all the Princes, but considerations of space made it impracticable at that time to invite Your Highnesses to a full Conference, and we had to be satisfied with an informal discussion with certain of your number. This discussion was held at Delhi on the 4th and 5th of February of last year and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India was present at it. A digest of the proceedings was circulated in the following month and Your Highnesses will have noted that at the outset of the meeting I explained that it was not intended to arrive at any final and binding decisions. The discussions were, however, of very great value to the Secretary of State and myself when subsequently we came to draft Chapter X of our Report and I now invite Your Highnesses' considered opinion on the recommendations that we have made in that Chapter.

The first recommendation is that, with a view to future improvement of relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. The question of such a line has arisen in practical form in connection with the issue of invitations to Conferences on previous occasions. But Mr. Montagu and I felt strongly that, quite apart from this consideration, such a dividing line would be likely to be of advantage both to Your Highnesses and to the Government of India as tending to minimise the risk that, in the words of the Report, "practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also." I am aware that the form in which our recommendation is framed has aroused anxiety among some of those Rulers who though invited year by year to past Conferences are not entitled to be regarded as exercising "full powers of administration," if the phrase is to be strictly interpreted. All such have been invited to attend to-day and they are thus in a position to represent their claims in person; but in order to clear the air of possible misunderstandings I should like to take this opportunity of explaining our reasons for wording the proposal in the form in which it appears in paragraph 302 of the Report.

Your Highnesses' Committee in the final draft Scheme recommended that the Council or Chamber should be composed of :—

(a) The Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws.

(b) All other Princes enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over, provided that no State or Estate having feudatory relations with any sovereign State shall be eligible for membership of the Chamber.

In a previous draft of the Scheme it had been suggested that the Chamber "should be composed of the Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws." After full consideration Mr. Montagu and I were of opinion that the Committee's first thoughts were on right lines. We felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation in view of the anomalies which appear to exist and we held, therefore, that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder. It appeared to us that if such a distinction is made, it must be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The definition as now worded automatically excludes any States or Estates having feudatory relations with a full powered State, though I would here remark that it would not, of course, be appropriate to regard mere payments, originally of a tributary nature made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations.

I look to Your Highnesses to advise, in the first place, whether it is desirable that such a distinction should be drawn, and in the second place, if so, how the phrase "full powers of internal administration" should be interpreted in cases where doubt may arise. I may say at once that, in my opinion, the question whether a State is "full powered" or not should be regarded as unaffected by the fact that the Ruler's powers may be, for personal or local reasons, temporarily in abeyance or limited, though circumstances might exist in which the imposition of restrictions on a Ruler's powers might connote the desirability of his personal withdrawal from membership of the Princes' Conference. The essential question for classification purposes would seem to

be whether the Ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of his subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials. I am aware that the power to pass death sentences is usually regarded as the most important test of the internal independence of a Ruler, but where this power, actually inherent in the Ruler, has been held in abeyance by Government pending the attainment by the State's judiciary of a reliable standard of efficiency, it would not seem necessary that the State should be excluded merely on this account from the full power list. In cases where restrictions still in force were imposed by the treaties or engagements which regulated our earlier relations with particular States or groups of States it may well be a matter for consideration by Government whether, in some cases, these restrictions might now reasonably be abrogated.

A memorandum has been prepared by the Foreign and Political Department showing existing restrictions on the powers of various Rulers whose eligibility for membership of the Chamber may be in doubt. Copies of this memorandum will be available for Your Highnesses' confidential information. Before quitting this point I should like to repeat a statement which I made a few months ago at Dhar, namely, that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges and interests of the relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours and welcome their Rulers equally cordially as partners and co-workers.

The next recommendation is that with the consent of the Rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify the existing practice for the future. In his Journal written more than a hundred years ago, Lord Hastings referred to "the formidable mischief," I quote his own words, "which has arisen from our not having defined to ourselves or made intelligible to the Native Princes the quality of the relations which we have established with them." In the memorandum prepared in January last by a committee of Your Highnesses' this sentence is quoted with approval. I realise that that memorandum must not be taken as conveying the considered opinion of those who did not share in its preparation, and I believe that in regard to this proposal, also, some concern has been felt by some among your number lest standardisation should involve a diminution of treaty rights. With a view to remove this concern, I desire to explain that the phrase "of course only by consent of parties", which occurs in paragraph 305 of the Report, means that it will rest entirely with the discretion of individual States whether to apply for the revision or modification of their existing treaties, engagements or *sansads*. It would clearly be absurd to imagine that the British Government would try to force upon a disapproving minority revised treaties in a standard form which might seem desirable to a differently situated majority.

On the other hand, although direct agreement naturally constitutes the most important source of obligations existing between the British Government and the States, yet it does not supply the full volume of them, and study of long established custom and practice is essential to a proper comprehension of the true character of the bond. The Government of India are anxious that the matter should be most fully ventilated because the suggestion has been made that custom and practice have in the past tended to encroach in some respects on treaty rights. Since we last met Your Highnesses have all, I believe, through your Residents and Political Agents, been invited to bring to notice instances of such encroachment, and I need hardly assure you that your representations will receive the most careful examination. I shall further welcome any general observations which any of Your Highnesses may desire to make

during the Conference either on the subject of infringement of treaty rights or in regard to the possibility of revising treaties or simplifying and standardising custom and practice. There is an obvious risk that any over rigid standardisation might fail to take due account of the peculiar circumstances of particular States and of the special obligations which we owe to them by treaty. But the advantages of cautious codification are also clear, and the tendency of all progress is towards greater definition. Of recent years we have endeavoured to review our practice under various heads. Sometimes we have done this in consultation with Your Highnesses assembled here in Conference, as in such matters as minority administration and succession procedure. Sometimes we have proceeded by other means, as in the case of our policy in respect of telephones, tramways, compensation for land acquired for railways, the procedure for the grant of mining rights and so forth. We believe that in all these matters the result of our review has been to bring our practice more abreast of the requirements of the times and to harmonise it with the Darbars' needs. Your Highnesses will no doubt advise me whether, in your opinion, this policy can well be carried further in consultation with Your Highnesses and, if so, in what direction. It is possible that many of Your Highnesses may consider that if the recommendations made in the remaining items of the Agenda are eventually adopted, and especially the recommendation in regard to the placing of important States in direct political relations with the Government of India, the desired unification of practice and development of constitutional doctrine will automatically follow.

There are other observations which I have to make on the subject of treaty rights and the obligations of the States, but I reserve these for a later occasion, when we come to discuss the Agenda in detail.

Next comes the proposal to establish a permanent Council of Princes. At the last meeting I expressed the view that if an institution is to meet a real want and to give real help towards the progress of India, it must evolve gradually on the lines which experience may show are best suited to its healthy growth. To this view I still adhere. In any measures you may suggest in pursuance of the scheme, Your Highnesses will, I am sure, recognise the wisdom of proceeding with the greatest caution and of avoiding unnecessary restrictions or complications. I desire, at this point, to make it quite plain that the institution of the Council of Princes will not prejudice the relations of any individual Darbar with Government. It has already been said in paragraph 306 of the Report that the direct transaction of business between the Government of India or any State would not of course be affected by the institution of the Council, but it is important to emphasize this in the clearest possible terms. The Darbar of a very important State in their written memorandum have said, in this connection, that "it would be more desirable to have a properly constituted deliberative assembly with defined powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally as well as questions of common interest between British India and the Indian States." The Darbar do not, however, explain how the assembly could be vested with defined powers unless the Rulers who compose it are willing, in some measure, to entrust to a corporate body rights which they at present enjoy as individuals. Such delegation of powers is apparently deprecated by the Darbar because they say, later, that "the preservation of the right of dealing direct with the Government of India should, in fact, be an absolute *sine qua non* of the working of any such general Advisory Council."

In all matters relating to the constitution of the proposed Council, it is necessary to realise, firstly, that attendance and voting will be voluntary, and, secondly, that each individual State represented in it will retain the right

of separate negotiation with Government and the right to expect that Government will consult the Darbar in writing in regard to important matters affecting their interests. Lastly, there is another essential point which I feel confident Your Highnesses will bear in mind. We, on our part, are glad to develop means whereby Your Highnesses may maintain your rights and increase your *izzat*. You, on your part, will not forget that the British Government *is* the Paramount Power in India and that this fact must colour its relations with Your Highnesses in respect of the institution and proceedings of this Council as in other matters. With these words, I will leave the development of the theme to Your Highnesses and I am sure that there will be much thoughtful and fruitful discussion on this all-important subject.

Following on the proposal for a Council is that for a Standing Committee of this body. Of the working of a Council we already have some experience gained at annual Conferences in the past. The appointment of a Standing Committee would be a new experiment and there is therefore all the more need for treading cautiously. I understand that the suggestion has not met with unanimous approval and that some of the Central India Darbars think that a series of local Standing Committees would be more useful than a Central body.

Then there is the recommendation for Commissions of Enquiry. I believe that this may well prove one of the most fruitful of our proposals not only by reason of the differences that it may settle but by reason of the increased spirit of confidence which we hope it may engender. The findings of a judicial tribunal are not always acceptable to the parties concerned in a particular case. But the knowledge that a competent and independent Court of Enquiry may at any moment be called into existence is in itself a valuable asset and should go far to remove any feeling which may exist that the Government of India are both judge and advocate in their own cause. It should also obviate any complaint that the reasons by which Government are actuated in their decisions are either not disclosed or only inadequately stated. I have heard it said that some of the less affluent States are afraid that if disputes between them and wealthier States were referred to a Commission of Enquiry, they would be at a disadvantage, since the expense of preparing their cases and engaging competent counsel would be prohibitive. The answer to this is that the Viceroy has entire discretion whether to refer a case to a Commission of Enquiry or not, and he would undoubtedly never do so if there were likelihood that reference to a Commission would involve unfair disadvantage to one of the parties. It would never be allowed that the Commission of Enquiry should develop into an engine of oppression to be used by the richer against the poorer States.

Your Highnesses will have observed that it is proposed that the Court should be a Court of Enquiry only. It will be obvious, however, that the finding of a Court constituted as we propose must carry the greatest weight with the Government of India, and in what we hope will be the rare case of the Government being unable to accept its findings, we propose a right of appeal to the Secretary of State.

Next we have the proposal for a Commission of Enquiry to advise on any question that may arise—we hope but very rarely—of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers or of debarring from succession a member of his family. This too is based on the recommendations of your Committee and I trust that in the definite formulation of this principle Your Highnesses will recognise the desire of the Government of India to afford the amplest security against any risk of hasty or arbitrary treatment in a matter which must always be one of deep concern to your Order.

The seventh proposal is that, as a general principle, all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Central Government. In paragraph 310 of the Report we have discriminated between the States which are now in relation with Local Governments and those which are in relation with the Government of India through Agents to the Governor-General. As regards the former, we said that their future position cannot be determined immediately, since both the wishes of the Darbars and also the administrative advantages must be considered. We thought that in some cases the Government of India might assume direct relations with these States while in others they might be left for the time being in relation with the Provincial Government. There are, as Your Highnesses know, very real difficulties in the way of inaugurating any uniform rule in the matter. In the case of some States their remoteness from Delhi and Simla is a bar to closer relations with the Central Government. In other cases the administrative interests of British Provinces and States are so closely interwoven that any proposal for change of method requires most careful scrutiny. We may keep the principle of direct relations before us as an objective at which to aim, but we must beware of hasty action and proceed circumspectly.

The cases of States in relation with Local Governments will accordingly be considered in due course with reference to the wishes of the Darbars and the administrative requirements of the situation.

I turn next to consideration of the principle which should govern communication with States which are or may be in direct political relations with the Central Government. The ideal to be aimed at is that there should be, wherever possible, only one Political Officer through whom the State should correspond with the Government of India. In paragraph 310 of the Report it is stated that where the authority immediately subordinate to the Government of India is an Agent to the Governor-General, the choice should lie generally between abolishing the office of local Political Agents or Residents, while transferring their functions to the Agent to the Governor-General with an increased staff of assistants, and abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor-General while retaining Residents accredited to States or groups of States. A third alternative is that, instead of abolishing either the Agent to the Governor-General or the Resident, where both officers exist, the Residents of particular States might be allowed to communicate direct with the Government of India, sending a copy of such communication to the Agent to the Governor-General for his information. Before discussion opens as to the feasibility of these suggestions, or others that may be put forward, I wish to make it plain that the Government of India do not contemplate the possibility of stereotyping their means of communication with States by sweeping changes which shall be of universal application. Some States have reached the stage of advancement at which it would be both convenient and suitable for them to have direct political relations with the Agent to the Governor-General, should they desire this. In other cases, Darbars both need and would doubtless prefer to retain for the present the advice and assistance of an officer living on the spot, or near by, who is acquainted with local conditions. Again, while it is eminently appropriate that the greater States should be in relation with the Government of India through their individual Residents, the system is not capable of indefinite extension, since over-centralisation is incompatible with wise and sympathetic conduct of affairs. We wish to clear and straighten the channels of communication where they are choked or devious, but this does not mean scrapping the distributary system. Groups of States will, for a long time to come, need the advice and assistance of a senior Political Officer equipped with a staff of specialists trained in the different branches of administration, while, on the



other hand, the Government of India equally need the intervention of such an officer both as a convenient channel of communication and to relieve them of minor responsibilities with which they are not fitted to deal. Co-ordinating influence and external stimulus are particularly necessary when difficulties arise, such as famine or plague or matters of common obligation, affecting many States, or for the solution of local problems not justifying reference to the Central Government. Recent war emergencies have illustrated this very forcibly.

The last proposal is a further development from the scheme for a Council. Your Highnesses will recollect that in dealing with the constitution of British India we have proposed in the Joint Report a Council of State which, to use the words of the Report, "shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential." What we have in view is to provide means of deliberation between the Government of India and Your Highnesses on matters of common interest by joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Council of Princes or between representatives of each body. Such joint deliberation would take place only at the instance of the Viceroy and it will be obvious that in making use of the provision the Viceroy would attach the greatest weight to any wishes which Your Highnesses might from time to time express in the matter. The arrangement would be permissive only and at the outset I suggest that simplicity and freedom from restrictions will be a supreme merit of a scheme which, rightly used, may well hold a rich store of benefit for this great country which we all love and in which the Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India.

Now, Your Highnesses, may I suggest, before the deliberations which are going to take place during this week commence, that, as the Political Secretary has most carefully divided up the various heads which you will be asked to discuss and appointed various days for their discussion, Your Highnesses, in discussing the various heads, should confine your remarks to the head which is under discussion and not let your remarks roam over the vast field which I have unfolded to you this morning. We shall have very little time really to consider these grave matters during this week, and it is of the greatest importance that we should endeavour to circumscribe our remarks to the best of our ability and confine them entirely to the matter in issue.

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#### SPEECH BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

We are deeply touched by the kind and sympathetic reference which Your Excellency has made to the sad demise of six Ruling Princes, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Rewa, and Faridkot, the Maharawal of Dungarpur, the Nawab Sahib of Palanpur and the Raja Sahib of Khairagarh, who were amongst us at the last Conference; and we desire to associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the expression of sympathy with which Your Excellency has prefaced the important address to which we have just listened with profound interest. It has been an eventful year through which we have passed, not only in the darker phases such as famine, pestilence, war, and their attendant evils and sufferings, but in the dawn of a happier time which is heralded by the glorious termination of the conflict that was devastating the world for the last four years.

Your Excellency,—The Agenda of business before the Conference is an important one, and we look forward to important and early results, as the outcome of deliberations and discussions which the Agenda invites and which will occupy our time for the whole of the current week. We hope to address Your Excellency more fully on the last day and so we will not take up any further time to-day.

## RESOLUTION BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF KAPURTHALA ON THE SUCCESS OF IMPERIAL AND ALLIED FORCES.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

I beg leave to move the following resolution :—

*That the Ruling Princes of India assembled in this Conference request His Excellency the Viceroy kindly to transmit to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor their respectful but warmest congratulations on the glorious termination of the war, coupled with an assurance of their abiding loyalty and attachment to His August Person and Throne. They also desire to seize this opportunity of paying a collective tribute to the brilliant achievements of the Imperial and Allied Naval, Military and Air Forces on all fronts, which have so completely crippled enemy power and resistance and have brought the prospect of an enduring peace within measurable distance.*

Your Excellency,—No task could be pleasanter for me than to introduce such a resolution, and no subject, without a shadow of doubt, would be more congenial to this distinguished assemblage or more certain of an enthusiastic reception than the one the resolution embodies. For over four years our Empire and its Allies were engaged in a deadly conflict with an enemy whose ethics of warfare knew no scruples and who treated international obligations as mere scraps of paper. Throughout this crisis no effort was too huge and no sacrifice too great for the Associated Powers to undertake in order to achieve the common goal. The high and noble example set by His Imperial Majesty himself acted as an inspiring force throughout his far-flung Dominions. The resolve to end the military tyranny responsible for the war was everywhere solid as rock. But above all the undaunted spirit of the armed forces of the Empire and its Allies, which sustained them through fair weather or foul, is worthy of the highest admiration. The masterly skill with which the advancing hordes of Germany in France were brought to a standstill and then swiftly thrust back last year was a marvellous military feat and one that definitely sealed the fate of German dreams of world domination. No less brilliant were the valiant deeds of our armies in Palestine, Mesopotamia and East Africa. Each front contributed its quota, proportionately to its sphere and character of operations, to the general result. At length the final collapse came on all of a sudden like a house of cards, and right and justice scored a definite triumph over the forces of barbarism. The men whose prowess and sacrifices have secured for us such a splendid blessing are, therefore, entitled to our deepest gratitude. The Indian Princes are proud to feel that they have been privileged to participate in this historic struggle. We all sincerely hope that the deliberations of the leading statesmen of the world now foregathered in Paris, in which we rejoice to think a distinguished member of our Order is taking an active share, may fructify in ushering in an era of lasting and glorious peace.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency,—It is with genuine delight that I rise to second the resolution so eloquently introduced by my esteemed friend His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Kapurthala. The feeling of relief at the termination of this catastrophic struggle between two world-old principles of Force and Freedom, Darkness and Light, Repression and Progress, is so great that any attempt on my part to clothe it in words is bound to fail. We have all passed through the crisis hand-in-hand ; and if the ethics of an abiding moral purpose running through all happenings, however dark and evil, need an illustration, there is none better than the wonderful consolidation of the various constituents of the British Empire in the face of the grave danger that threatened civilization for fifty-two terrible months of trial and effort.

Your Excellency, our thankfulness to Almighty God is truly great, in that India, its Princes and its peoples were given an opportunity of shouldering the common burdens of the Empire in a manner worthy of India's traditions and position in the Family of Nations ; and may I venture to submit that India's whole-hearted participation was the outcome of loyalty and devotion which we all feel for His Imperial Majesty, our beloved Emperor, whose sympathy and solicitude for India's peoples and Princes have bound them to His August Throne and Person, with cords of love, indissoluble and enduring. If in His Imperial Majesty's gracious words, India had an opportunity in the need of the Empire, we beg respectfully to express a hope that we, as component parts of the Empire, have not fallen far short of the expectations formed of us : and may we be allowed to cherish a belief that the glorious victory will open a brighter and nobler chapter in the historic relations subsisting between the Crown and the Indian States.

My Lord, the sufferings of the world have been immense : Belgium and Serbia have passed through a cruel spoliation, unparalleled in history, France has withstood the onslaught with magnificent courage, chivalry and stubbornness ; the armies of the Associated Nations have achieved wonders of resistance and heroisms. That great Republic, the United States of America, has stepped in at the right moment and her brilliant assistance has laid " Civilization " under an abiding obligation. Our own armies have been the emblem of the wonderful organisation of the British Empire and each part representing the ready and jealous response of the daughter-nations of the Empire has endeavoured to surpass the other in bravery and sacrifice. What shall we say of those immortals, the glorious contemptibles, who, as the Premier has truly observed, have gathered the spears of the advancing Huns on their breasts and shown the world what patriotism can achieve, in the first months of dark suspense on the fields of Flanders and France. We can never forget the Royal Navy, that sure shield not only of England, but, as the events have proved, of the whole civilised world and humanity at large. We are proud to know that the Indian Forces have fought with great gallantry side by side with their Western brothers in five theatres of the far-flung war : France, Gallipoli, Africa, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Our tribute of admiration for the Navy and the Army would be incomplete unless it were coupled with a request to Your Excellency to convey our united congratulations to the great Commanders, who have led the units under their charge to victory : Field Marshals Lord French and Haig, Admirals Jellicoe and Beatty, and Generals Allenby and Marshall.

May we include in this list of congratulations the honoured names of Lord Hardinge and that of Your Excellency, who have marshalled the resources of India in the service of the Empire during critical times with such signal

success, and also that of His Excellency General Sir Charles Munro, our Commander-in-Chief, whose masterly withdrawal from Gallipoli is one of the epics of the present war.

Your Excellency, I must resist the natural temptation of dwelling at length on the glorious page in the history of our Empire and resume my seat with a very hearty endorsement of the resolution before us.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Highnesses,—As the only means available to us at this moment of giving our hearts' expression to this resolution, may I request you to rise and whole-heartedly join in three cheers for His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor.

*Three cheers were then given for His Majesty the King-Emperor.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think I may conclude from those cheers that it is unnecessary to put the motion which has been formally moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala and seconded by His Highness the Jam Sahib. It will be a great pleasure to me to convey to His Majesty the resolution which you have passed in this fashion.

**The Conference then adjourned.**

*After re-assembling.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**Your Excellency and Your Highnesses,—Before I proceed to deal with the day's business I beg to be permitted to express a few remarks regarding the evolution of our Conference. We, the Rulers severally of the various provinces of India, meet this year under conditions extremely auspicious but very different from those that prevailed during our previous Conferences. It must be acknowledged at the outset that it required very bold statesmanship to allow us all to meet and to confer with one another on questions that affect us all and the Empire. Judged strictly, our existing compacts could hardly admit of such an event. Our individual original contact with the British Power is not all of one definite period, and even such contact, in many instances, has undergone a chequered and varied fortune. But about or during the régime of Lord Canning, our first Viceroy, it can safely be asserted to have reached a solid and permanent footing. This fact by itself speaks volumes in favour of the Power which stepped in our midst at a time when we severally were cut up by mutual dissensions and warfare and were absolutely at the mercy of any rapacious intruder—not to devour us one by one and all but collectively to protect the Indian powers and the British Indian humanity; nay, further to maintain us as far as circumstances and exigencies permitted. Can there be a grander and more eloquent testimony to British sense of justice and fair play than this? I am sure Your Highnesses will agree with me in saying *no*. Well, then, it is as a continuous result of that policy which first declared itself in the historic and Majestic utterance of our Gracious and Sovereign Lady under command of Parliament, I mean Her Most Illustrious Majesty Queen Victoria of revered memory, the first Empress of India's proclamation of 1858, that we have been meeting together all along and have so met here to-day. But you, Sir, Lord Chelmsford, have earned our special gratitude and esteem, inasmuch as our Conferences began to assume during your régime a form and shape that they had not before, and which spells very good augury for the future. We met year after year during the most convulsing period of the world's history and an invaluable chance was extended to us, thanks to

Your Excellency's sagacity and foresight, to prove to the world how loyally and intimately we thought our destinies were bound up with those of the British Power and to dispel the likely fears of us at such a critical juncture. To quote from the Report "our services were a profound surprise and disappointment to the enemy, and a cause of delight and pride, to those who knew beforehand the Princes' devotion to the Crown. They have shown that our quarrel is their quarrel and they have both learned and taught the lesson of their own indissoluble connection with the Empire and their immense value as part of the polity of India."

I now turn to the immediate task before us. Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I hope I shall not surprise you if I say that the task before us is a real task demanding on the part of us all sincerity of purpose and fellow-feeling, prudence and sagacity, delicacy and intelligence—all of a very high order. Each one of us individually may prove very unequal, but all of us collectively may bring to bear on our purpose united action, and under Your Excellency's leadership I am sure a solution much to the relief of all concerned will ensue.

We are met here to consider, firstly, Chapter X of the Joint Report with particular reference to the recommendations indicated in the Agenda, and secondly, the question of precedence of Your Highnesses *inter se* at social functions.

With a view to a proper and adequate consideration of the Agenda, it is very essential firstly to trace the genesis and grasp the scope of the Report as a whole, and secondly to understand Chapter X of the Report as a whole before taking up the points on the Agenda.

Touching the first aspect I cannot do better than invite your kind attention to the following salient passages which I quote from the Report almost *verbatim*.

The Joint Report embodies the conclusions to which both Your Excellency and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India have come touching the constitutional changes which are desirable in India, on completion of the enquiry which you both were directed to undertake in the decision announced in the House of Commons on the 20th August 1917; while the said decision was rendered necessary because Your Excellency's Government, from the fact that the situation demanded new handling, felt and pressed that without the declaration of policy it was impossible for Your Excellency's Government to act effectively on a directed course. Consequently, the policy was declared on that memorable day in the following terms:—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible."

So far, however, there is nothing that we can take exception to. But the Report says further:—

"We take these words to be the most momentous utterances ever made in India's chequered history. They pledge the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people." "The announcement marks the end of one epoch, and the beginning of a new one." "Hitherto we have ruled India by a system

of absolute Government, but have given her people an increasing share in the administration of the country and increasing opportunities of influencing and criticising the Government." "Our immediate purpose is to point out how changes in British India may react upon the States. As we shall see, the volume of business, which is of common concern to the States and to British India, is steadily growing in importance. So long as such matters remain ultimately in the hands of the Governor-General in Council, the Princes may perhaps rest content with the means which they have at present of securing the due consideration of their views. But if the control of matters common to India as a whole is shared with some popular element in the Government, it must be anticipated that these Rulers may wish to take a share in such control also. There is a stronger reason why the present stir in British India cannot be a matter of indifference to the Princes. Hopes and aspirations may overleap frontier lines like sparks across a street. There are in the Native States men of like minds to those who have been active in spreading new ideas in India."

I confess I fail to follow the drift and force of the above observations. I am rather inclined to think that we, Rulers of Indian States, have very little to do with the system of internal Government of British India and have everything to do with the final decision of all such matters concerning British India as directly affect us and our subjects. Beyond this above limitation, there is no other so far as I can judge and see. To quote again from the Report—"The independence of the States in matters of internal administration carries with it the counter-obligation of non-interference in British Indian affairs".

This brings us presently to a consideration of the crucial point—"Position of the Native States with respect to British Government"—and when once this fundamental relation is clearly perceived and grasped, the path before us becomes clear and pitfalls are avoided. I venture to say that without a clear perspective of this, much of what we may say regarding the recommendations will lose value and consequently fail to command the attention of His Majesty's Government.

I now turn to the second aspect. Although India may be in fact, as well as by legal definition, one geographical whole, yet the integral connection of the States with the British Empire consists in their relations to the British Crown. In spite of the varieties and complexities of treaties, engagements, and *sansads*, the general position as regards the rights and obligations of the Native States and the British Crown *inter se* can be summed up in a few words. The States are guaranteed security from without; the Paramount Power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other States. On the other hand, the States' relations to foreign powers are those of the Paramount Power; they share the obligation for the common defence. It is thus clear that this is how we severally came to be connected and have to this day continued to be connected with the British Crown; and it redounds in no small measure to the credit and glory of British Power, in that she has publicly declared, time and again, and acted up to the obligations she took on herself. Say the distinguished authors of the Report:—"Our business, however, is to observe our treaty obligations and to refrain from interference, and to protect the State from it." "Before we pass on to state our own proposals, we wish to say that we think that the Princes should be assured in the fullest and freest manner that no constitutional changes that may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sansads* and engagements, or by *established practice*."

Here, then, is a definition in clear and unmistakeable terms of our connection with British Crown which must be carefully borne in mind in considering the proposals of recommendations before us as well as in estimating the future position of the Native States in a changing Indian Empire.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I might suggest to Your Highnesses that you might impose upon yourselves a time-limit with regard to the speeches. We have to get through a great deal of work, and if every speech is likely to take more than half an hour we shall have to sit for many weeks and I don't think it will be possible for us to do that.

**The Chief of Sangli :—**Your Excellency,—Kindly allow me to offer my most grateful thanks to Your Excellency and to the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, for having inaugurated by the proposed new measures a policy of trust and confidence towards the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Indian Empire. This measure involves to my mind issues of historic moment and profound significance to the whole of the Indian Empire. The Reform proposals of Your Excellency recognise the budding of a new political life in Feudatory India and make a generous attempt to satisfy its hopes and aspirations. They place the Ruling Princes and Chiefs as a body in a position in which they will be able to co-operate with the Government more effectually than heretofore, and stimulate the forces which will go to weld together the Ruling Princes and Chiefs on the one hand and the Government on the other. They constitute a marked fulfilment of the historic promises made to the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Indian Empire by Queen Victoria, the Good, in Her memorable proclamation of 1858 confirmed by subsequent proclamations of King-Emperors of India. From whatever standpoint we may look at them they constitute a far-reaching and deep-reaching move. No more momentous Indian topic has been so smoothly attempted to be settled and we must frankly and freely recognise the courage and steadfastness and magnanimity of Your Excellency and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State in proposing them. They open a new era in the history of India and they will secure for Your Excellency and the Secretary of State a lasting place in the love and affection of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

The principal feature of the new scheme consists in the honest attempt which it makes, to secure greater fusion and unity between British India and Feudatory India than what has hithertofore been possible to achieve. It is true that some of Your Excellency's illustrious predecessors, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, and Lord Hardinge, had this principle in view to which they gave expression on more than one occasion, but it was reserved for Your Excellency and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India to take the first decisive steps towards the accomplishment of this noble object. In my humble opinion nothing is more calculated to secure this end in a most satisfactory manner than the Council of Ruling Princes which Your Excellency proposes to establish. Such a Council will enable the Ruling Princes and Chiefs to meet together and meet the Supreme Government and to place before them its collective opinion on matters connected with its own interests and welfare and with those of the Empire. Government, too, on their side will be able to ascertain from the Ruling Princes and Chiefs their wishes, hopes and aspirations. But the sphere of usefulness of the Council of Princes like this would seem to lie in its basis being broadened by the inclusion within its orbit of a large number of Ruling Princes and Chiefs. The larger the number of States taking part in the Council the more powerful its voice would be. It is, moreover, due to the several States which, on the basis of qualification prescribed by the scheme, are likely to be excluded from the

Council that they should have their interests properly represented in the Council. Another feature of the scheme which is equally satisfactory and for which we are very grateful to Government is the attempt to place on a sounder basis the system of dealing out justice to Indian States. The system of appointment of independent commissions for the purpose of adjudicating between a State and Government or between State and State is worthy of all praise and it is sure to give universal satisfaction. But it would be more graceful and more in keeping with the generous and liberal scope of this proposal if the right to ask for the appointment of a commission be conceded to the party concerned instead of reserving the matter in the sole discretion of Government. In conclusion, I beg to assure Your Excellency that I have very strong hopes that the new scheme will be a source of deep contentment to the Indian States, of peace, strength and stability to the British Empire and of prosperity to the people of the Indian States.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency,—I have been asked by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar to express his views on the general question. His Highness is absent to-day because he has been operated upon for a boil on his neck. May I have your permission to read them ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Yes.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** then read the speech of **His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar :—**The proposals, embodied in Chapter X of the Report on Indian Reforms, have been made in a very fair and liberal spirit. The new conception of the relationship of the Indian States to the British Empire lays the foundation of a healthy political unity and growth and opens up a vista of immense possibilities. The proposals are, on the whole, acceptable with slight necessary modifications. The creation of a Council of Princes is, in itself, a momentous event in the history of Indian politics and is fraught with great significance. It would bring the States out from their stagnant isolation and let their energies have a free flow towards Imperial unity and co-operation. We may start with a moderate beginning, limiting our deliberations to a few subjects of importance in relation to the constitution of the Council. But I am sure that, in the fulness of time, we shall have a wider range of subjects and ample opportunity to settle all the questions of vital importance to our States.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**I agree fully with the general trend of the proposals in Chapter X of the Report and wish to express the obligation which I for one feel that I am under to Your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu for this very important step forward thus taken in the evolutionary history of the Indian States ; a step which I feel to be essential if the States are to keep abreast of the times.

With all due deference, however, to the proposals as they stand, I would submit that, in my opinion, a still further advance could be safely made (and should, I think, be made) even at this stage in the interests both of the Empire and of the States themselves.

We have now a unique opportunity, which I firmly believe should be taken full advantage of to-day when a spirit of co-operation is abroad, born of the evil times from which the Empire has so generously emerged ; a spirit which has engendered a new feeling of material trust resulting every where in the disappearance of restrictions and limitations, now out of date, a legacy of the past.



May I remark, it seems to me, that there are but two ways of dealing with far-reaching reforms such as these ; one is to advance slowly imposing restrictions and limitations to be gradually removed ; the other is to grant all possible liberty at the outset, subject of course to the proviso that abuse of such liberty will naturally result in its curtailment. I think there can be no two opinions that, especially where the strong is making a gift to the weaker, the second method is the more generous and also the safest to pursue. For in this case the absolute paramountcy of the giver and his final voice in all matters, as well as the loyal acknowledgment thereof by the receivers who flourish under his aegis, is beyond all question.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency,—Speaking on behalf of the Princes of the Bombay Presidency, and more particularly Kathiawar and Guzerat, I beg to convey our best thanks to Your Excellency and Mr. Montagu for having given us an opportunity of discussing the various provisions of the scheme prepared by the Committee of Princes and for the very sympathetic consideration that both of you have given to those proposals. We are gratified to find that the general principles underlying our recommendations have been approved of and adopted in Chapter X of the Report.

To me personally, as a member of the Committee, it is a matter of great satisfaction that our labours have borne some fruit and have not been altogether in vain. We must gratefully acknowledge that the general lines on which the Report has been framed are quite acceptable to us. It is true that it would have given us much greater satisfaction had our proposals been accepted *in toto*, for we firmly believe that in our opinion they were quite reasonable, as we hope to show in the discussion on the details of the scheme. Whatever may be the result of these discussions, we whole-heartedly support your recommendations which have been made in a spirit of sympathetic liberality and we trust that modifications more in accordance with our wishes will be made as a result of our deliberations in this Conference.

We miss the presence, to-day, of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner, who had taken a prominent part in framing the scheme which the Committee has put forward. I am sure it would have given him the greatest pleasure to have personally expressed to Your Excellency his gratification that the labours of the Committee have borne fruit. The proceedings of the Committee were not quite unruffled ; they were sometimes amusing, at times tragic, but they were always strenuous. It is pleasing to realise that the mature consideration given to them has at last brought about a harmonious conclusion, thanks to the really kind reception the scheme has been given by Your Excellency and the Secretary of State.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**Your Excellency,—We owe a debt of deep gratitude to Your Excellency and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India for your proposals in regard to the Indian States in Chapter X of your Joint Report, which, on the whole, adequately meet our requirements, and give reality to the consciousness of common interests increasingly felt by the Princes, and their desire to be more intimately associated with the Paramount Power. Our own ideas on the subject gain fresh life as a result of these proposals, which appropriately provide for the collective opinion of the Princes being sought by the Government of India as trusted colleagues and partners in the administration of the Indian Empire. We will all shortly discuss the various proposals in detail, but at the commencement of our labours I feel it my duty to express our sense of gratefulness to Your Excellency and the Secretary of State.

Your Excellency, in view of the essential identity of interests between British India and the Indian States, is affording us a great opportunity for

starting a new development along most hopeful lines, and the remarkable consideration for our Order, which is written on every page of the chapter on the Indian States, cannot but be most cordially appreciated by all Rulers of Indian States. That the proposals of the Joint Report will immensely improve and assist the future relations between the Crown and the States, is undoubted, and, when the history of these days comes to be written, I assure Your Excellency that the proposals of the Joint Report will be looked upon as a memorable commencement of the epoch which is destined to see a more intimate association of the States with the Government of India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency,—I feel it my very pleasant duty to join in the chorus of praise which has been showered on the portion of the Reforms Report relating to the Indian States. The Report has been framed with such a depth of vision, such a breadth of view, and it has been so happily worded in expressing many sentiments regarding our Order, that he would indeed be a sourminded critic who did not appreciate the generosity of mind and the general note of sympathy which pervades throughout its paragraphs. Your Excellency, in your very important speech to-day, has surveyed the ground as to how the results of the Conferences during the viceroyalties of Lord Hardinge and yourself encouraged the Princes to entertain hopes for the early establishment of the annual Conferences on a permanent footing, and how the Princes assembled at an informal meeting last year elected four members, of whom I had the privilege of being one, to draft proposals for the consideration of Your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State. These proposals, we feel grateful to think, have been taken by the distinguished authors of the Reforms Report as the basis for many of the recommendations that have been made, and Your Excellency has invited us to the present Conference in order that, by the exchange of frank and candid views on both sides, important proposals regarding the future of Indian States may materialise in the near future. The great war of liberty has now, thanks to the Allies, come to a victorious and satisfactory end. The silver lining to the cloud is at last on the horizon and peace, we hope, is now only a matter of a few more months. The world will soon be busy working out the great design of the master-hand of Providence who worked these great upheavals, no doubt for a great cause. While India's destinies will be re-shaped, the proposals regarding our Order which are under consideration at the present Conference will, we sincerely hope, also, at an early date, become an accomplished fact. On the eve of such an important occasion, when we are assembled to discuss these all-important questions, I am sure I can say that we come here in no spirit of mere selfish gain, nor with the only idea as to how we can exchange new lamps for old. The welfare of the Empire and of our motherland, which are synonymous with the cause of His Imperial Majesty the King and his Imperial Government are surely as much our concern as is the safeguarding of the interests of our States. To want is only human and I have no doubt we want many things, but that tendency does not signify the necessity of encroaching on each other's rights. On the other hand, it is the mutual and liberal recognition of each other's positions that leads to that great spirit of co-operation and good-will with which I like to think we have equipped ourselves for proceeding with the different subjects on our Agenda. It is not gain but sacrifice which leads to that high ideal where friendship ripens and the bonds of good-will strengthen their permanent hold. That these sentiments may guide our proceedings is my ardent wish, and that our deliberations may fructify at an early date in creating the organisation of a Chamber of Princes which may be a source of strength to the Empire and of benefit to the States is, in conclusion, my fervent hope.

**Agendum I.—Item (1).**

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**As I understand none of Your Highnesses wish to address the Conference further on this subject, we might now come to item 1 of Agendum I. Let me remind Your Highnesses what that is :—

- (1) that, with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full power of internal administration from the others.

What I would suggest to Your Highnesses is that this is evidently a matter which will have to be considered in committee ; while it would be well for us to have a preliminary discussion here in full Conference, I would suggest that the best way to treat this important subject is through the work of a committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**Your Excellency,—Neither my eyes nor my voice are clear, so I hope Your Lordship and my brother Princes will excuse my indistinctness. The whole of the Reforms Scheme concerning the Indian States is based on the assumption that a “ definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others ” and “ that such a classification would be effected after due inquiry. ” The Report further distinctly says that “ the proposals are intended to relate only to States who enjoy full powers. ”

At the outset this clearly leaves out of account more than 600 out of a total of about 700 States. Any general scheme of reforms regarding the whole of British India and the Native States would be incomplete if it leaves out of account so many principalities. The Rulers of these States are bound to the Crown by treaties, and their rights and dignities and *izzat* are preserved by the same general proclamations and promises, which have been given to the larger States. The future position and development of these States is as much a matter of Imperial concern as the progress and the dignity of the larger ones. Some of them have a glorious past and traditions which some of the full-powered States cannot claim. These States have shared a full portion of the contributions towards the present war in men and money. The loyalty of these Rulers is no less genuine. In short, these States have as much right to live intact and develop as the larger ones. Their exclusion will cause bitter disappointment to their Rulers at a time when the position of everyone else is being treated with unusual generosity. If the views and opinions of these Rulers are not before Government, the fault is not theirs. There is yet sufficient time to consult and ascertain their wishes. All classes and communities and shades of opinion have had their say. To deny or even defer the consideration of the rights of these Rulers of being heard is an anomaly, the consequence of which would be quite clear to politicians of the type of the Secretary of State and Your Excellency. I propose that their wishes may at once be ascertained by holding their conferences at the principal centres, and a committee on which they ought to be represented be appointed to consider their incorporation in the general scheme of reforms about the Native States, on the basis of Bundesrath in Germany. I would go further and say that it is not good to cast any Rulers outside as “ political untouchables ”. The geographical position, the smallness of the size, the want of full jurisdiction and the want of prestige which is due to the bigger States, make the position of these smaller States very difficult. If the bigger States are in fear of being unfavourably affected by the coming political changes, the smaller ones require by far the greater protection. In the above remarks I have taken

for granted that a line, as suggested in the Report, can be drawn separating the Princes with full internal powers from others. I am sorry I have not got the copies of all up-to-date revised treaties of all the States. So I am taking my facts from the last edition of Sir Charles Aitchison's. I think it is no easy task to draw a clear line that will so separate the greater ones from the smaller States.

The meaning of the phrase "full powers of internal administration" is nowhere defined in the Report. Many inroads have been made into the internal autonomy of the States, in spite of such terms in the treaties as "the Maharaja is full master of his territories," or "the British Government shall not interfere with the country of the Maharaja". Most of these inroads have been necessitated by the stress of circumstances, the political exigencies, and the oneness of the Empire. The cession of territories for the railways, trunk-roads, or major irrigation works, the acceptance of the postal and telegraphic rules, the acquiescence in the currency policy, the taking over of administration during minority, the very power of deposing a Ruler, and a hundred and one other obligations accepted by the States have carried on the pruning process to such an extent that the international lawyers hesitate to use the expression "full internal powers" with regard to any Indian State.

If the intention of the great authors of the Report be to interpret the expression in the sense given to it in the Scheme of Reforms proposed by the Princes at Delhi, still the question is not free from difficulties. Taking the expression in the sense given to it in the Delhi proposals, namely, "full civil and criminal jurisdiction with power to make their own laws", the following facts confront us. How are such conditions as 'advice in important matters' to be reconciled? Moreover, there are various shades in what are considered "full internal powers." No State does try, as a matter of fact, British European subjects for criminal offences committed within the territorial limits of the State. Even in some big States the powers are subject to the "control and advice" of the Resident. With regard to some big States such a condition as follows is laid down:—"The Maharaja shall be entitled to hold possession subject to the conditions of the treaties", and those conditions lay down the details of policy and of criminal and civil justice, and leave to the States very little, if any, power of making their own laws. Some States have full powers to try capital offences of their own subjects only; there are others who can try capital offences of any persons except British subjects; again there are some who send their papers to Government in cases of capital offences. All these States consider that they have full powers. If some of these States are excluded, it will mean no small offence to them. To give additional powers to some big States, in order to include them in the higher order, is to beg the question. It would not then be the internal autonomy that would be the separating line, but some criterion other than such powers.

Even if these shades be neglected, which are by no means small matters, the line then drawn would not be useful in separating important States from unimportant ones. Among the 86 States regarded as possessing full internal powers, 42 have revenues less than five lakhs of rupees, 39 have population less than one lakh souls, 40 have an area less than one thousand square miles and 8 are without salutes. Among the States on the other hand which have not got full internal powers, there are 13 which have revenues over five lakhs, 33 which have a population over one lakh and 29 which have an area more than one thousand square miles. I have quoted these figures with a view to show that the desired classification will by no means secure the purpose for which the classification is intended in the Report to be made, *viz.* :—to stop

the "practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs being inadvertently applied to greater ones." Personally I am not in favour of any such new division being made, but if it is to come about, I think it should be made after taking into consideration the status, the salutes, the revenue, the population, the traditions and history, and the internal powers of the States. No single distinguishing feature will give the desired classification. A smaller number of about 40 or 50 States might be classed into a special group, and the Rulers may be called "Ruling Indian Princes", which term is not yet the property of all the Indian Rulers. This expression would also be free from all objections which are raised against the use of the word "Sovereign". The expression Ruling Princes at present does, as a matter of fact, apply to bigger Princes only. I propose that all the States should be included in the Council of Princes on the principle of German Bundesrath.

**The Chief of Sangli :—**I beg to support the motion put forward by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur. We are at the present moment on the crest of a great uplifting movement which has influenced the whole of India. At such a time when the greatest nations of the world have borne most heroic sacrifices to vindicate the principle of justice and humanity towards weaker nations, ignoring all other considerations in order that the weaker might not only not suffer at the hands of the more powerful but that they might live and prosper at such a time as this, I beg to submit Your Highnesses will not allow the lesser States to be left out of account. It is your duty, therefore, to take them in hand with Your Highnesses and lead them on the path of progress and advancement, making available to them all the opportunities and advantages which Government have been graciously pleased to offer to Your Highnesses. If Government have been pleased to treat Your Highnesses as colleagues and co-workers in the Government of India, it would not be unreasonable if the smaller States, who are only Your Highnesses' junior partners, look up to you for support and expect Your Highnesses to hold out to them your hand of fellowship. Looking at the question from the Imperial point of view, I beg to submit that it would be most appropriate to include in Council as large a number of Indian States as it is practicable to do at the present time. A larger body of Indian Princes, in my humble opinion, will be better able to discharge its Imperial duties and obligations than a smaller body of States. If it be considered impracticable to admit most of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs on account of their number being too large, I would respectfully suggest that the smaller States may be distributed into territorial groups, each group being allowed to elect one of themselves to represent them on the Council. With these remarks I heartily support the proposition of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

**The Nawab of Loharu :—**Your Excellency,—I respectfully beg to say that in my reply to the circular letter of the Government I have already agreed to the drawing of a line separating the Rulers of certain States from the others. In my humble opinion the said line may be drawn on the following two principles :—

Firstly, Ruling Princes who had received the honour of an audience of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor at the Delhi Durbar should be included.

Secondly, Ruling Princes who have been mentioned in certain official records as enjoying sovereign powers over their subjects.

In my own case the mere restriction of asking for the confirmation of death sentences has unfortunately been imposed against the wording of the *sanad*, for sake of uniformity with other States in the province.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**Your Excellency,—With a view to avoid misunderstanding and to secure clearness I beg to premise that I consider myself to be a Treaty Ruler and that all that I say and have been saying is based on that consideration.

However galling to our sentiments may be the attempt to draw any distinctions among the great body of Rulers facts are stubborn and we cannot ignore or be blind to them. Rulers with treaties or engagements as the connecting link between the British Government and themselves stand out as a class of their own inasmuch as they enjoy each of them, by the very nature of their status, powers of rule only short of the limitations they have imposed on themselves in their said treaties or engagements; while the rest of the body of Rulers who have not entered into relations with the British Government on the basis of a treaty or engagement cannot as long as matters so stand enjoy the powers or the status of the former class. I beg to be understood as being no apologist for any accentuation or perpetuation of differences amongst our ancient and historic Order. This is how the matter stands at present. But it is always open to the British Government to clothe the latter with all the attributes pertaining to the former body. All I am concerned to point out is that the above distinction is not wantonly created or twisted into being for satisfying any one's personal ambition or end but one that is thoroughly legitimate. A treaty or engagement, once it is concluded between any two powers, carries, during its existence, its jural results as a logical inseparable accident. There can be no altering or avoiding it unless it is revised by consent or force.

It is thus clear from the foregoing analysis of the situation that a line of distinction perforce has got to be drawn separating the class of Rulers with a treaty or engagement from those with no such treaty or engagement. I am further of opinion that no other distinctions based on either wealth, area, ancestry, title or salute will stand the test. It might be argued that no line of distinction need be drawn at all if the view is the improvement of future relations between the Crown and the States. But there is an inherent difficulty attending such a course. Those comprising the first group are self-governing while the latter are not. Hence the relations of the Crown with the latter cannot *ipso facto* be similar or on a par with those of the self-governing units. A hotchpotch therefore is bound to lead to difficulties and awkward results.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency,—The question that is now before us for consideration and which is also directly connected with the establishment of the Chamber of Princes is one of considerable importance. I admit at the very commencement that this is a subject that is not without difficulty and is likely to cause some anxiety in the minds of some of the Princes and Chiefs. That this is a fact is evidenced by some of the speeches that have been delivered already. When our Committee began their deliberations at Bikaner this question exercised our minds no less at the time and it was only after careful deliberation of the subject that we decided on giving the proposals the final form that we have done. His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur has just mentioned that he would like the States and the Estates and the Chiefships to be grouped on the Bundesrath system. I hope His Highness does not think that we should inaugurate our Chamber on the lines of the Bundesrath and still less that we should follow it to its tragic end. (Laughter.) The Chief of Sangli, while speaking on behalf of these Chiefships, has said we should regard them as colleagues and partners. This question was taken up and very carefully considered in our Committee and has been explained at length in the proceedings which have been forwarded to Your Highnesses, wherein all the *pros* and *cons* have been explained in detail.

I do not know whether the Chief of Sangli intends that in this group we should also consider as our colleagues and partners the co-called Chiefs, the largest number of whom are in Central India and in the Chief of Sangli's own Presidency, who are called mediatised Chiefs, guaranteed Chiefs, guaranteed Jagirdars and Bhumias and who are even described as alluvial proprietors of small holdings. Their holdings are certainly very small too for in many cases they cannot boast of more than one square mile of territory. His Highness spoke of 650 States and this includes 106 Chiefs who possess no land whatever and are enjoying cash grants only. That Your Excellency was fully aware of these difficulties is clearly evident from the fact that you have discussed this point at length in your own Report when you say—

“Some Rulers are perturbed by a feeling that the measure of sovereignty and independence guaranteed to them by the British Government has not been accorded in full, and they are apprehensive lest in process of time their individual rights and privileges may be whittled away. We ascribe this feeling to two causes. In the first place, the expression ‘Native States’ is applied now and has been applied during the past century to a collection of about 700 rulerships which exhibit widely different characteristics, which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which Government exercises through its agents large powers of internal control and even down to the owners of a few acres of land.”

To amplify this point it would not be out of place to make a slight diversion into ancient history. A brief and flying glimpse at the past shows that the East India Company in its anxiety to settle the country as quickly as possible in order to enable it to start on the benevolent enterprise of building up its newly acquired possessions in peace, did not make any systematic distinctions between the position of the different kinds of States as they existed at the time. Uniformity of policy, principle or action was singularly absent from the documents framed during these different periods. The Company's Directors in England had ordered their officers in India to settle the country as best they could at the earliest opportunity, and because British courts of law were excluded from exercising jurisdiction in most of these territories, the States were jumbled together under the category of Indian States. Subsequent usage has also failed to mark any bold and clear dividing line between the many varieties of States principally due to the fact that the subject was somewhat delicate and complicated to work into any system without raising questions of animated controversy.

An attempt to make distinctions can be detected in the classification of salutes. Rulers of States enjoying a salute of 11 guns or over are entitled to the designation of ‘His Highness.’ As the salute list exists at present, however, there are discrepancies. There are a few 11 gun salute Princes whose States do not possess full powers, while there are some 9 gun salute Princes and some with no salutes at all who enjoy full sovereign rights of internal jurisdiction. There are States which enjoy by right of treaty powers of internal independence with full powers to make their own laws. On the other hand, many of the so-called Native States cannot boast of any such privilege. As a matter of fact some of these estates according to treaties are even under the orders of Thanedars,—such as the 34 mediatised petty Chiefships of the Bombay Presidency, while there are small Thikanas in the Rewa Kantha Agency in Kathiawar and several in Central India and other Agencies where all offences are tried by the Agency courts.

It is obvious that in many cases of importance our interests also are not identical with those of the smaller estates ; and it is no secret that I am divulging when I say that the absence of a clear and distinct line of demarcation separating the Sovereign States from the so-called States has, without materially profiting the latter, been the source not infrequently of considerable and continued detriment to the position of the Sovereign States as Your Excellency and the Secretary of State have admitted.

Apart from the individual interest of the States concerned, it is equally necessary in my opinion in the interests of the Chamber of Princes—which we are now designing to create—that this dividing line should be distinctly drawn by a slight adjustment, firstly, by raising the salutes to 11 guns of Princes who enjoy full sovereign powers and, secondly, by removing the very nominal restrictions that exist on the exercise of full sovereign powers by Princes enjoying salutes of 11 guns and over. If the Imperial Government treated this question in a generous spirit, this anomaly could be permanently removed—thus clearing the air of considerable misunderstanding and misapprehension on this most important subject.

I realise the force of the argument that if some of these petty Chiefships are excluded from our Chamber, how are they to have their voice heard in matters of common concern to them, since they will not have access to the Chamber of Princes nor would they have a voice in the proposed schemes regarding the rights of people in British India. This is a question which time must solve for them in due course and these very Chiefships who are directly concerned in their affairs will probably at a later date afford us an opportunity of considering the question from their standpoint. For the present at any rate—and so far as I can see for the future also—it seems pretty obvious that while the drawing of this line of distinction between the Sovereign States and these petty Chiefships will not affect the latter materially, its absence will most decidedly affect the position of the Sovereign States as it has done in the past.

I am and have always been therefore unhesitatingly of the opinion that it is extremely necessary that the clear dividing line between the Sovereign Princes and the petty Chiefships should be distinctly drawn and I would urge for the favourable consideration of Your Excellency that the question as to where this dividing line is to be drawn be settled early. Your Excellency has been good enough to make it clear in your opening speech that you are prepared to consider the question favourably.

The whole question requires careful examination and I would suggest for the consideration of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses that, after a general discussion has taken place on the subject, a Select Committee should be appointed to thrash out this all-important question so as to be in a position to recommend a sound basis for a final settlement.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**Your Excellency,—I agree with the opinion expressed in the Joint Report by His Excellency and the Secretary of State for India that, with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. This classification will have to be effected with great deliberation and care. There are Ruling Chiefs enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over who do not exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over their States, whereas there are Princes enjoying salutes of 9 guns, and even less, who exercise full powers of internal administration. In such classification not only the enjoyment



of full powers, but the past history, the size and the wealth of the State, the number of salute guns and the services rendered by the State in fulfilling their obligations to the Empire should also be taken into consideration.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**The distinguished authors of the Report start with the assertion that “some Rulers are perturbed by a feeling that the measure of sovereignty and independence guaranteed to them by the British Government has not been accorded in full, and they are apprehensive lest, in process of time, their individual rights and privileges may be whittled away.” They attribute this feeling to two causes. In the first place, they consider that the existing indiscriminate application of the term ‘Native States’ to about seven hundred Rulerships, ranging from vast autonomous dominions to ‘the owners of a few acres of land’ exercising limited authority, levels down distinctions of status and is apt to stereotype uniformity of political treatment. With a view to remedy this situation and to safeguard the superior prestige of important States, the illustrious authors recommend that a clear line of demarcation should be drawn grouping the Rulers who enjoy full internal independence separately from the others. The proposal doubtless marks a move in the right direction, but it seems to me that the desired classification is not unattended with serious difficulties. It would not be safe wholly to rely on the criterion of unrestricted internal autonomy. In judging the importance of an Indian State, more than one factor should, I submit, be taken into account : area, population, income, powers, past history, internal development, and services to the Empire.

For example, it is quite conceivable that the Ruler of a State which maintains Imperial Service Troops and has rendered conspicuous services during the great war or on previous Imperial emergencies, may not be in possession of the powers of life and death over his subjects or exercises his authority subject to certain restrictions which continue merely as a relic of the past. It would not perhaps be difficult to quote concrete cases. Would it be fair or expedient in these or similar circumstances to brand such a State with a mark of inferiority by the application of the ‘full-power’ test ?

Let us invert the case. Imagine a small State whose Ruler possesses, by some chance or other, full internal jurisdiction but which is militarily of no consequence to the Empire or has never been of any material assistance in Imperial crises. What would be the moral effect of elevating that Ruler to the ‘important’ category, merely on the ground of his satisfying the test of internal autonomy ? The point is so perspicuous that to labour it further would be futile. While, therefore, I am strongly in favour of the proposal to draw a distinguishing line between the major and minor States, I would urge that a too rigid and exclusive classification should be deprecated.

My suggestions are—

The Indian Rulerships should be divided into two classes—

- (i) States,
- (ii) Chiefships.

The Rulers of States should invariably be designated as Ruling Princes while the Ruler of Chiefships as Ruling Chiefs. The category to be known as States should include :—

- (i) All States whose Rulers enjoy hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over ;
- (ii) All other States enjoying a full measure of internal autonomy and maintaining Imperial Service Troops.

All Rulerships not included in the above category should be classed as Chiefs.

In suggesting this demarcation I have assumed that all Rulers entitled to hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over have a sufficiently important status to claim a right to belong to the superior class. Moreover, States invested with full powers of internal administration and enjoying the added prestige that participation in Imperial defence and the discharge of Imperial obligations by maintaining Imperial Service Troops confer, would also be embraced in this category.

I do not pretend that the scheme outlined above is free from imperfections or is not open to objections, but I venture to hope it may be of some help in arriving at a final conclusion.

**His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla :—**Your Excellency, in paragraph 302 of the Report, some most important points are raised and it is necessary to offer my observations. From the last sentence of this paragraph it would appear that the distinguished authors of the Report have excluded what are called "lesser Chiefs" from the benefit of the proposals contained in paragraphs 306 to 311, relating to the Council of Princes, commissions of inquiry, etc., etc. While it is certain that His Imperial Majesty's Government are equally anxious to preserve the rights and privileges of all States, great and small, I fear the suggestion as to restricting the scope of the Reform proposals will cause great misgivings and misapprehension in the minds of a vast majority of Rulers. It would, of course, be unreasonable to expect that distinctions of status and grade should not exist or should not be maintained, but with due regard to such distinctions I venture to think it is quite practicable that the entire system of Indian States may in varying degrees participate in most of the measures of the proposed Reforms. Indeed, considering that the proposals are intended to improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States, it is only just that the scope of the proposals should be liberal and inclusive rather than narrow and exclusive. It is alleged that the proposed classification is intended to avoid chances of inadvertent and indiscriminate application of a practice to greater Rulers which may be appropriate to lesser Chiefs only, but I do not think that any harm has resulted from grouping smaller States with bigger ones and the fears are more imaginary than real. The real causes of any uncertainty and uneasiness, such as is referred to in paragraph 302 of the Report, are indeed far deeper, and the surest way to reassure all Rulers that their rights and privileges would not be whittled away would be to devise means to ensure that due regard is paid to such rights and measures of sovereignty as are enjoyed by the smallest of such Rulers. If that is done, the greater Rulers would have all the greater reason for feeling sure of their status and privileges.

I therefore earnestly hope that the Government and the Princes alike will give their best consideration to this aspect of the question and that nothing will be done which may dwindle the strength of the Order by alienating the sympathies of smaller States from the more important ones or which may tend to weaken the splendid fabric which British statesmanship itself has reared up with so much care and foresight during the last century. In that magnificent edifice known as the Indian Empire, all States like so many pillars, large and small, have their own use and place and the smallest of them cannot be disregarded without injuriously affecting the entire superstructure.

As regards the proposed classification I would also remark that considering the conservatism and past traditions of our Order, it is clear to me that

any innovation in this respect will hardly be acceptable. Indeed any arbitrary demarcation may cause unnecessary complications, jealousies and difficulties. The Order is already classified into Princes and Chiefs and in case it may be absolutely necessary, the existing distinction may be emphasized and brought out now in greater prominence and relief than before so as to avoid confusion of terminology and any possible confusion of practice. I think the best solution of the difficulty will be that those who are styled as Their Highnesses may be consistently and invariably described as Princes and their States as Principalities or Princedom, while the rest should be described as Chiefs and their States as Chiefships. In the light of the above distinction the table of salutes may also be revised, if necessary, so as to include in the category of Princes certain important Chiefs.

I would like to add that any classification based on considerations of full measure of sovereignty is bound to open a wide field for controversy, and many difficult and delicate questions of jurisprudence and international law which may not admit of a satisfactory settlement are sure to crop up and might be a constant source of anxiety to the Government and the Princes. Some very important States do not pass capital sentences without the sanction of the Paramount Power, but surely this should not mean that such States have not full powers of internal administration. Any interference or intervention on the part of the Paramount Power in excess of that essential for maintenance of its position as such power is more or less a question of particular circumstances and can be easily accounted for as deriving its origin and sanction from some express or implied consent or delegation of authority from the Sovereign Power as represented in the person of the Ruler of the State and so does not detract from his position as a Sovereign. There is, therefore, really no need for getting involved in the meshes of such intricate questions as the juristic nature and essential characteristics and attributes of Sovereignty. It is obvious that if a State is not a part of British India and its laws and regulations are not *per se* applicable to such State, and if His Majesty the King-Emperor is the Suzerain Power of the State, then it will be only reasonable to recognise that the Ruler of the State is the only Sovereign authority in the State.

It should also be borne in mind that area or revenue can hardly be a reliable index of the importance of a State and any classification which ignores local conditions, past history and traditions or future possibilities of development or which creates fresh and invidious distinctions will do more harm than good and will retard progress.

After giving the matter my most earnest consideration, I am of opinion that in case, as explained by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, full powers of internal administration including sentence of death are accepted as the bases of the fresh line of demarcation which it is proposed to draw, it should be on the distinct understanding that full powers will be automatically and *ipso facto* conferred on such of the Princes as enjoy a permanent salute of 11 guns or upwards, but who for some slight technical defect or restriction are not at present considered as having such powers, and that this will be done before the Reforms are given effect to. Rulers of other important States having a salute of 9 guns or no salute should also be given such powers and their salutes should be raised to 11 guns.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**The recommendation that Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration should be separated from the others is no doubt a good proposal for safeguarding the interests of the States exercising full powers. Such classification should be effected

after a careful enquiry of the terms of the treaty, established practice and their past history.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**Your Excellency, I think considering the controversial nature of the question it would be better in the interest of business and on account of the limited time before us that a Select Committee of Princes representing the four different main groups should be appointed to thrash out this question first and put it before the Conference. After that if any member wishes to make any remarks they will be useful.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**In my opinion it is extremely necessary and highly desirable to draw the line of demarcation proposed in the Reforms Report. It is only fair to the bigger and the more important Rulers enjoying full powers of internal administration, and possessing the power of making their own laws to assure to them a position commensurate with their status, their importance and the magnitude of the interests they represent. Your Excellency has very sympathetically referred to the Rulers on the border line, and since Your Excellency has said that you would be prepared to consider the desirability of raising the status of such Rulers, I think the situation would be considerably improved and would go a long way to dispel any misgivings that might have troubled the minds of some of the Chiefs.

In view, however, of the concluding remark in paragraph 302 of the Report that the proposals contained in paragraphs 306 to 311 would apply only to Rulers of the first class, I consider it necessary to urge that in order to substantiate our claim for representing one-third of India, some means should be devised for enabling the Chiefs of the second category to participate in the benefits of the proposals made by Your Excellency and the Hon'ble Mr. Montagu.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency, there appears to be a good deal of misunderstanding in the minds of some of those who advocated the cause of the lesser Chiefs, and this, I think, is due to the fact that they have not studied the papers with that diligence and that care that we members of the Committee had hoped they would do. I do not mean to say that Their Highnesses have raised the question here in a light hearted manner, but I think that if they had followed in detail the proceedings of the Committee that held its sittings at Bikaner, at Alwar and at Patiala, this misunderstanding would perhaps never have arisen.

As far as the proposition of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Chief of Sangli is concerned, I think if a Committee which I hope will be appointed, is appointed, where their views could be heard, Government would pay due attention. But I think as far as this Chamber is concerned, the recommendations in the Report, *viz.*, to draw a hard and fast line, should be strictly adhered to.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Your Excellency, in my humble opinion, if something is done on the lines I suggest it will answer the purpose. My reply to No. 1 is this, that the classification suggested should be made for purposes of matters dealt with in sub-items 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of agenda I and paragraphs 306, 308, 309, 310 and 311 of the Report. For other matters, the status of each State enjoying full powers will be dependent upon its individual history, I have just heard, Sir, some remarks about enhancing the number of guns to enable those people to get into this Chamber. This is only a mechanical idea in my humble opinion to get more people and keep up their friendship which is, I think, not proper.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I do not know whether any other of Your Highnesses would wish to address the Conference ; if not, we must come to a vote on this question. The first sub-item of agenda I is—

“ That with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.”

It has been moved as an amendment to that by His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) that a Committee should be appointed to consider this question. We, of course, will take the amendment first. Those who are in favour of referring this question to a Committee will signify by holding up their hands.

(His Excellency, after counting the hands, said) :—It is practically unanimous. So the first item on the agenda will be referred to a Committee. Will Your Highnesses say what that Committee should be composed of ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think it would be well if Your Highnesses were to suggest the names of the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch)** :—I think from Rajputana, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur. From Bombay, His Highness the Jam Sahib and His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, as representing two separate blocks. From the Punjab, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala and Kapurthala and for my own block, His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I will ask the Political Secretary to read the names that have been suggested and then it will be open to Your Highnesses to add or suggest any other names in their place.

**The Hon'ble Sir John Wood** :—The suggestion is that a Committee should be formed as follows :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, and His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur from Rajputana ; and

Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior and Dewas (Senior) from Central India.

Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Kolhapur and Navanagar from Bombay ; and from the Punjab Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Kapurthala and Patiala, with 3 Political Officers and the Political Secretary.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—I would suggest that the Chief of Sangli should be taken in. He will represent the Southern Mahratta territories.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Do you propose that in place of yourself ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—Yes, I don't mind if my name goes out, but I would prefer to have the Chief of Sangli.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch)** :—I have no objection if the name of the Chief of Sangli is put in.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Yes, that will be the simplest way if the Chief of Sangli is added.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—I should like to suggest that two members of the conservative element might be introduced here, namely, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur and His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, who on these matters have very decided opinions and represent a body of Princes whose opinions are of very great value.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I second it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch)** :—Among the names that have been suggested there is no Mahammedan Prince, so may I suggest the name of Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal on the Committee ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala** :—Your Excellency, may I suggest that one of the Princes who are directly interested in the matter may also be added ? I should also say that as the number is already too large I should withdraw in favour of His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Maler Kotla.

**The Hon'ble Sir John Wood** :—I understand that the proposed Committee is as follows :—

Rajputana.—His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

Central India.—Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).

Bombay.—His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.

The Chief of Sangli.

Punjab.—His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—May I request a ruling whether we can invite members outside the present Conference also ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I would suggest, Your Highnesses, that in such a case you might ask them to come and give evidence before the Committee and express their views. Otherwise, we shall be in danger of converting this Committee into the Conference. I may take it, then, that Your Highnesses agree to that Committee as constituted for the purpose of discussing item (1) of Agendum No. I.

#### Agendum I.—Item (2).

“ That, with the consent of the Rulers of States, their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future.”

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**While supporting the proposal, I think I might mention that some misapprehensions existed with regard to this item on the Agenda, but these have been removed by Your Excellency's remarks in this morning's opening speech. If I have understood the recommendation in the Report rightly all that seems to be intended in this connection is that the heterogeneous caselaw which has grown up around the body of treaties should be re-examined in the light of the true spirit of the latter. As we are assured that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair our dignities and privileges secured to us by treaties, *sanads* and engagements or by established practice, there is apparently no reason to apprehend that the suggested simplification, standardisation and codification is likely to lead to any infringement of such rights. The intention seems to me to be more to strengthen the treaty rights and to make them clearer than to weaken or obscure them.

Besides this the Report lays down, and to this also Your Excellency referred in the morning, that no such simplification, standardisation or codification will be undertaken except with the consent of the parties. If, therefore, there are any Princes to whom the process is repugnant, there is positively nothing to compel them to undertake it.

In my opinion any simplification, standardisation or codification of such treaties or engagements should be undertaken by provincial committees on which the Ruling Princes and the Government of India should be represented. These committees will be more competent to examine every treaty in its original spirit and I am sure their advice will be highly valuable in coming to a satisfactory decision.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**Your Excellency, at our informal meeting the other day most of the Princes present universally agreed that a committee or conference should go into the whole question carefully with the representatives of the Government of India. The result of this joint consideration and discussion would be presented to the Conference in due course when we should be in a better position to express our views as regards the question of simplification, standardisation and codification of the existing practice.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**The question that with the consent of the Rulers of States the relations with the Government of India should be examined not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future, is of a very delicate nature. It is an established axiom that we the absolute Rulers of the States have direct connection with the Crown through the Viceroy, who is the representative of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor in India, under treaty obligations which are inviolable. I have a firm belief in the solemn assurances from the Crown and their representatives and Ministers that the terms of the treaty will be scrupulously observed, and on the memorable words of Her Most Gracious Majesty the late Queen-Empress Victoria which are :—"We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as Our Own".

On this ground the Indian States, who have the honour of being in alliance with His Majesty's Government, have no apprehension of any thing which may prove prejudicial to the solemn treaties, ancient rights, *izzat* prerogatives, dignity and established practice of the States. It is urged that the terms of these solemn documents should be read in the spirit of the policy when they were composed and not in the light thrown on them subsequently, as by such a

change in the view the sanctity of these sacred documents is sure to be endangered and this will create an atmosphere of uncertainty among Indian States as to their old relations with the British Government which should be handed with great scrutiny and delicacy. Indeed the examination is desirable so far as it is conducted to rectify undesirable and derogatory practices which may have crept in political dealings with the States.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**This is a question which is perhaps the most important one on the Agenda of the present Conference for it is the foundation on which has been built in the past and will be built in the future, the structure that will define and has so far defined our treaty relations with the Imperial Crown. Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, in dealing with this all-important subject I feel somewhat like Bacon's fly which sat upon "the axle tree of the chariot wheel and said Lo ! what a dust do I raise". And some dust has been raised due perhaps to the fact that while the other subjects have been discussed by our Committee and by other Princes and have been amplified in detail with objects and reasons, this particular question which has been dealt with at some length in the Report, in the Agenda has been put down in considerable brevity.

Your Excellency has now in one of the most momentous speeches that this Conference has ever heard amplified the paragraph which should remove much misapprehension. I admit without any ceremony that the question at its inception appears to bristle with thorny problems. I understand that some doubts have arisen in the minds of certain Princes on this question which has been considered to be of such grave importance that at the time of its discussion, it was perhaps considered wiser to be absent than to be present. The perusal of a few of the memoranda that some of my kind friends have been good enough to send me, readily discloses the fact that there is really much misapprehension and misunderstanding in the minds of our brother Princes concerned. To discuss abstract principles is at all times very delicate and complicated but to discuss the relations of the Sovereign States *vis-a-vis* the Imperial Crown and the Imperial Government, I can well imagine, is a subject which can raise much anxiety in the minds of the Rulers of Indian States. But surely the difficulties of a problem should not discourage us from facing the obstacles, if with bold and generous statesmanship the result is to be what we all want it to be, *i.e.*, the removal of misunderstandings and the breathing of a fresher and clearer atmosphere all round.

I have no doubt that many misunderstandings in the past which have even led to unhappy results have been due to misconception of the relative positions, and the difficulty has been further accentuated by the fact that the treaties framed in ancient days—some over a hundred years ago—in the first place differ considerably in detail from one another, and secondly because case law and precedents of different States have guided the Imperial Government in assuming certain rights and prerogatives in its relations with the Indian States. None of the treaties lay down all the conditions that are considered necessary for the guidance of affairs in States, nor do they clearly define the powers and functions of the Imperial Government which represents the Crown as regards its prerogatives and rights.

In considering the question of treaty relations, we are automatically forced to examine the position of the Indian States. While none of them according to treaties or otherwise are independent in external affairs, several of the treaties lay down very clearly that "a Prince shall be absolute Ruler of his State" or that "the Imperial Government shall not interfere with the territories of the Maharaja," or that the Government shall not interfere in the internal



administration of the State." Since these treaties were framed, the Crown by the Royal Proclamation of 1858 took over the administration of India and with it the responsibility of adhering to treaties and engagements entered into by the East India Company with all the Indian States, so that strictly speaking in accordance with past traditions we enjoy the happy position of being in direct relationship with the Crown, and thus in matters of administration and government, the Imperial Government and the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown interpret in practice the conditions originally laid down.

The position of the States in relation to the Crown is perfectly clear. The position of the Crown as by far the stronger and the greater partner of the two in the alliances the responsibility of which it took over from the East India Company, is beyond all dispute and is unchallenged. The question of equality can therefore be summarily dispensed with on the ground that no one can assert under any circumstances that the position of any State or its Ruler in India who has parted with the principal sovereign rights in external affairs is on a footing of equality with the Crown. But if the States are not on a footing of equality with the Imperial Crown, facts also speak for themselves and tell us that their position in the past on the other hand has also not been that of "subjection" or "subordination", a condition which used to exist in the old feudal days in different lands. The condition of dependence in external affairs and of sovereign rights in internal matters make the correct definition of the relative position, which would be acceptable on all sides, a very delicate affair. But it is absolutely necessary to come to a mutual understanding regarding the correct definition because without that we could not decide or discuss the abstract principles which shall guide and rule our treaty relations.

Now the whole subject in hand is so vast and full of such delicacy and complications that it would indeed be extremely difficult and perhaps unsuitable to give expression to all the ideas on this subject in a public Conference with a view to removing misunderstandings that may exist on either side. I realise the importance of such a discussion but I suggest that it may be in a different form. Anything that leads to mutual and better understanding is always worthy of the task, however difficult the obstacles may be,—for obstacles indeed, I always maintain are only made for human beings to surmount with a strong determination and a stout heart based on mutual co-operation and good will. That the problem is possible of solution, I personally do not doubt although the process cannot be worked out in the brief space of one or even several days. To simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future in order that the treaties may be revised in the case of Princes who may so desire—as Your Excellency has explained—will undoubtedly lead to happy results. But I foresee that to achieve this end there must be many intimate and open-hearted discussions coupled with a frank and candid expression of views on the subject without any reporters taking down notes of the proceedings, so that either side can express themselves freely without being misunderstood.

With this object in view, after general discussion has taken place on this subject, I would propose for the consideration of the Conference that it would not be sufficient to appoint a Select Committee to go into this question for one evening or for the few evenings that we have at our disposal during the present session of the Conference and that we could not come to any satisfactory conclusions on this subject even during the short space of one week. Under the circumstances, I would suggest that a permanent committee of Princes may be elected by the Conference for one year to have periodical sittings with the officers of the Imperial Government from the Political and Legislative Depart

ments in order that the subject may be thrashed out in all its bearings and finally submitted before the next year's Conference when it could again be generally discussed. It would then be time for any particular State to take the conclusions of the Committee as the basis, if they like, on which to approach the Imperial Government individually in case they desired to have their ancient treaties revised.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**A contract of a century in some cases and of a century and more in others with the *de facto* Government in India through its agents has given birth to a situation between us of great complexity and embarrassment for which neither party is directly responsible, and it is time that the situation is cleared up and that we one and all see ourselves in our true proportions. My own view is that no usage, precedent or established practice can adversely affect the rights circumscribed by the solemn documents known as treaties or engagements. I have nothing to say against any practice, usage or precedent which leaves our mutual rights and obligations unimpaired. Had it been the case that one and all of our Order had treaties as the basis of their connection with the Paramount Power, there would never have arisen any confusion and embarrassment. This was unavoidably due to the fact that the Central Government in India had to deal with a body of Rulers in which the self-governing units were outnumbered by the non-self-governing ones.

It is time, therefore, that our true relations with the Government of India are correctly appreciated and future procedure is laid down. I propose for this purpose a standing committee which should consist of representatives not lower in rank than that of a minister or member of council from all the self-governing units, one each and a high representative of the Government in the Political Department. Besides this standing committee there should be appointed sub-committees for the various groups or divisions at present obtaining. These sub-committees will consist of non-self-governing Rulers or their representatives at their option comprised in the area or division. The Political Officer or the Agent to the Governor-General as the case may be will also sit in the committee. These sub-committees will formulate their own recommendations and send them direct to the Central Government. While the standing committee after formulating their own recommendations, will send copies of the same to each of the self-governing Rulers for further consideration, and I expect that in the next year's council of ours we should arrive at results satisfactory to all.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**The question involved here is so vast and, to some extent, so obscure, that no person who has no access to the ordinary and confidential records of the Government of India, can be supposed to pronounce a correct opinion on it. I, therefore, suggest that a committee consisting of some Princes, ministers and Government officials, may be appointed to consider this question.

No States bound together by independent international relations, or by subordinate alliances, or by a federal system of Government can carry on their intercourse without developing some sort of usages and practices. Usages if made applicable, or supposed to be binding without clear and perfect understanding, would lead to serious consequences to the weaker party, especially to the non-treaty States. Indian text writers on Native States, among whom Sir William Lee-Warner is regarded as an authority, have made certain generalisations which are not only of doubtful acceptance, but are such as must make all States uneasy. They have no official value, but the Native States

have not yet made any attempt to state what they think about Sir William Lee Warner's view.

Even the doctrine the "treaties must be read as a whole" is dangerous in itself. Sir William himself says at page 38 of his book, "too much stress cannot be laid on this proposition". But the silent effect of his generalisation is being felt. The above doctrine is too widely expressed. Not only all the treaties with a particular State are to be read "as a whole," but the principles laid down in the treaties of one State are to be held applicable to another State. Thus the author says, that the student must look to "the treaties of Gwalior for a view of military obligations not only of the State, but of other Native Princes". This doctrine with the principle of "extensive application," of which the author makes full use all long, would launch practical politicians into dangerous absurdities, and the States would not know where they are.

To criticise all the doctrines of Sir William Lee-Warner is beyond the scope of this speech. It means the production of a separate treaties which, I strongly urge, ought to be undertaken by the States. To leave him unopposed may, in the words of the author, amount to "a constructive argument of acceptance by silence".

The uncompromising remark of the author that, "no succession is valid until it is recognised by the British Government," has been greatly circumscribed by the memorandum of the Government of India, on the ceremonies connected with successions in the Native States, in which it has been distinctly recognised that, "where there is a natural heir in the direct line, he succeeds as a matter of course".

The absolute right of selection in cases of collateral successions which of late finds place in some treaties, is qualified by the above memorandum which says that the "announcement of recognition and confirmation will be made by a representative of the British Government". In disputed and collateral successions, the rights of claimants are to be settled on their merits, which is altogether different from the right of selection.

The marginal heading "unlimited liability of State in case of war" implying the compulsion under which the States are placed, is unjustifiable and derogatory to the treaty rights of the States. I have no doubt that the States did, and would continue to do everything in their power to assist the British Government in war time. But they would resent if they are told that Sir William's doctrine is to be read as an article of their treaties. The British Government to have wisely and rightly not made use of any language implying compulsion.

The standardisation of railway, telegraph, postal, currency and irrigation policies needed for the mutual benefit of the States and the British Government is yet to be made. It is neither equitable nor common to all the States as supposed by Sir William.

So also the statements that several of the laws of the Legislative Council of the Government of India, such as the Extradition Act, are binding on the States by usage, is not only not correct, but is such as would do away with the unobstructed rights of the Native States to make their own laws.

The following remarks concern my own treaty :—

The position taken up by Government has been that "the conditions under which some of the treaties were executed have undergone material changes, and the literal fulfilment of particular obligations which they impose has become

impracticable". This is a correct position with regard to several States. As an illustration and as a personal grievance, I mention the Agreement with the Kolhapur State, with an apology for stating my case fully.

The Maharajas of Kolhapur are the descendants of the younger branch of Shivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Power in India. After the death of Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, his son was placed in power by Tarabai, the widow of Rajaram. Kolhapur was finally separated from Satara by the Partition Treaty of Satara, dated 26th April 1731, which was "drawn up between His Majesty Aba Sahib (Shahu Raja) and Sambhaji Raja" (Aitchison, Part II, page 216). By that treaty, the then Mahratta Raj was divided into two parts, with a proviso "to receive the half of any conquest to be made between the river Tungbhadra and Rameshwar". The Kolhapur Raj ever afterwards continued to be independent of the Satara Raj, the Peshwa, and the Moghul Emperors of Delhi.

Since the fall of Satara Kolhapur has been the only ruling dynasty representing the line of Shivaji, and as such is esteemed every where and looked on with great pride and respect by the Mahrattas.

In 1838 H. H. Shivaji, then a minor, succeeded to the Kolhapur Raj. A Council of Regency was formed consisting of the mother of H. H. Shivaji, his aunt, Diwan Sahib and some officials. After long quarrels Diwan Sahib got the full control of affairs. The misrule was indescribable. The British Government interfered and tried to set matters right. Their efforts resulted in a general rebellion. After its suppression the administration was taken over by the British Government during the minority of the Raja, and until he should be fit to be entrusted with the administration. Forts of every description were dismantled. The military force of the State was disbanded and a local corps entertained in its stead, and the Kolhapur State was required to pay the expenses of suppressing the rebellion, and the administration of the State was taken over by the British Government till 1862.

The preamble to the Agreement also makes the situation clear, which is as follows:—

"Whereas a desire has been expressed by His Highness the Raja of Kolhapur to assume the administration of the affairs of that State, His Excellency the Hon'ble the Governor of Bombay in Council has in consideration of the Raja having attained full age and having evinced loyalty towards the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, more particularly during the disturbances of 1857 and 1858, when the Raja's brother (Chimasaheb) was an active conspirator, resolved to transfer to the Raja the administration of Kolhapur, with such reservations as are contained in an Agreement to be signed by the Raja."

The Agreement further says:—

"In accordance with the spirit of the above observations, the following conditions of agreement are proposed for the acceptance of the Raja."

All this will show that the Agreement was made under special circumstances and for the acceptance of "the Raja." The personal nature of the Agreement can also be inferred from the absence of any words indicating that it binds "the heirs and successors" of Raja Shivaji. If, however, it is to be looked upon as a treaty binding by implication on the heirs of the Ruler who accepted it, there are considerations that militate against such an assumption.

The Agreement, as stated in the preamble, was entered into by the Governor of Bombay in Council when Statute 13 George III, Cap. LXIII, s. 9, required in 1772 that the consent and approbation of the Governor-General in Council should first be obtained, for negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace, or other treaty with Indian Princes and Powers. In June of 1793 by Statute 33 George III, Cap. III, s. 42, the Governor of any province was forbidden on pain of dismissal to conclude any treaty unless in pursuance of express orders from London or Calcutta. In the face of the above and other express statutes, the legal validity of an agreement entered into by any Governor is doubtful, and tacit following cannot legalise what is *ab initio* not legal. Neither is the said Agreement ratified by the Governor-General to the present day, nor is the seal of the Governor-General.

Sir William Lee-Warner in his book *Native States in India*, at page 48, says that "an Indian treaty almost invariably runs, in the name of the Governor-General and not of His Majesty, being headed by its title and object. The names of the contracting parties are recited, and the fact is plainly stated that the British officer executes on behalf of the Governor-General in Council." None of these formalities have been observed with regard to the above Agreement.

When we pass on from the legal formalities and the legal aspect of the Agreement to its terms, we find almost every article of the Agreement is practically and by usage incapable of being acted upon as it stands.

The second clause of the preamble says that "in the first instance at least the Chief Minister in Kolhapur, self-governed, should be one whose nomination by the Raja is fully approved by the British Government." This was of course temporary and has no application at present.

Article I of the agreement lays down that "in all the matters of importance the Raja of Kolhapur agrees to follow the advice of the British Government, as conveyed by the Political Officer representing the Government at Kolhapur." What are "the matters of importance" is nowhere defined and the expression is capable of varying with the *foot* of the interpreter and the adviser. If, unfortunately, there is some inclination to stand strictly to the terms of the Agreement, the expression is sufficient to amount to a negation of all internal powers. The article might not have been always construed narrowly, but there is nothing to safeguard its being so construed. Such a condition mitigates the responsibility of the Rulers, and also makes them nervous to undertake any far-reaching reforms in the interests of the subjects of the State. Policies change with the men in authority, and a Ruler is afraid that he may be "advised" against a policy by an in-coming officer, which was approved by his predecessor, and perhaps even initiated at his suggestion.

The article was introduced at a time the country was not completely settled and when the consequences of misrule were very serious. This is no longer so, and as "a mark of their appreciation" of the administration Government have decided to withdraw to a large extent from the residuary jurisdiction in feudatory Jagirs. Several States have been managing the affairs without such a condition, which Sir W. Lee-Warner, at page 193, calls "indeed an exceptionally severe agreement." I remember Political Officers having said to me that the article is so wide that "a chaise and four" could be run through the Agreement at any time. I leave it to be imagined from this what I think about my position with this article in the Agreement. Lord Harris who installed me on the *gadi* told me that he would do all he could to cancel this Agreement. Lord Northcote said that it would be the policy of his Government "to rehabilitate Kolhapur to its former prestige." He had also

told me that he would leave his remarks about the same. Lord Lamington had promised to do all he could, but he had to leave suddenly.

The other articles have also either been changed, or have become useless or inoperative.

In short (a) the change of circumstances mentioned in the preamble, (b) the approval of the Chief Minister by the British Government being a thing of the past, (c) the derogatory nature of the article to follow advice, which is a negation of the powers of internal autonomy, which is absent even in petty Chiefships, and which is unsuited and out of date to the policy towards Native States (Art. 1), (d) the condition to retain a *Khasgi Karbhari*, and the mode of keeping *Khasgi* accounts showing how the dignity of the State has been crippled on account of peculiar environments at the time of the Agreement (Art. 2), (e) the relaxation of the rigour to carrying on correspondence with other States, (f) the provision for the liquidation of debts which no longer exist (Art. 4), (g) the temporary restrictions on alienation till the liquidation of debts (Art. 5), (h) the maintenance of the Kolhapur Infantry which is a blank cheque on the State purse, and requires some limit to be placed somewhere (Art. 6), (i) the payment of a sum for the detachment of Southern Maharatta Horse at Kolhapur which no longer exists (Art. 6), (j) the removal of restrictions on the powers of the Maharaja in regard to criminal matters (Art. 7), (k) the withdrawal of a large portion of power of the residuary jurisdiction, even partial existence of which is a constant source of all the abhorrent evils of dual Government, which is opposed to the original intention of the Agreement, causing fretting to the Darbar and the feudatory Jagirdars, a feeling which is altogether absent in the case of Sardars other than the feudatories who enjoy without disturbance all their original rights (Art. 8), (l) the temporary nature of the expenses of the Residency, the old necessity for the existence of which at Kolhapur has disappeared, as the policy of jealous watchfulness has given place to that of trust and union (Art. 9). All these changed conditions distinctly show that the agreement is ante-diluvian from the beginning to the end, is unsuited to the present conditions, is practically inoperative, is highly derogatory to the dignity of the State and that, therefore, it requires cancellation.

**His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer :—**We regard treaties as solemn engagements, on which our relations are primarily based as things sacred. Any interpretation thereof, which may not be in conformity with the spirit in which they were originally framed, is viewed generally with apprehension and any deviation therefrom in practice, naturally gives birth to a sense of uneasiness as has been mentioned in the Report. I should think that an attempt at the elimination of such irregularities and discrepancies as may have, in practice here and there crept in, will be more in harmony with promises of strict adherence to treaties and solemn engagements, which have been, from time to time, given, and it will be, in all probability, productive of better and happier results than an attempt at standardisation and codification of the existing practice.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**I am in general agreement with the views expressed by Their Highnesses of Alwar and Patiala, so I will not cover the same ground. I will draw attention to paragraphs 304 and 305 of the Report on Constitutional Reforms.

In this connection the remarks of Mr. Fraser are pertinent. They are as follows :—

“The development of the British system has rendered the provision of some of these treaties a little irksome and at times they block

the completion of Government projects. New Departments arise and inaugurate new policies which pay very little regard to the prescriptive rights of Native States. A growing corollary of the theory of Imperial partnership seems to be that the Government is not necessarily bound by treaties which are considered obsolete; or, on occasion, the Government will only admit the validity of treaties with great reluctance, after compelling Native States to fight in defence of treaty rights which ought to have been recognized without demur; or to mention another situation which sometimes arises, the Government will shelter themselves behind the letter of a clause taking the possibly disputed opinion of their law officers as final, and will pay no regard to the manifest spirit in which the treaty was originally framed. In all such controversies the States fight at a severe disadvantage."

The growth of such an attitude on the part of Government cannot be too strongly deprecated. All treaties with Native States, unless abrogated by mutual consent should be binding on both parties, and there should be no attempt by departmental officials to evade them by indirect methods. To ministers with a policy these treaties may seem of little moment. But to the States they are sacred. At any cost they should be upheld. The rounding off of a great scheme may seem urgently desirable, and the opposition of a State may seem frivolous, but a far greater principle is really at a stake and that is the honour of Great Britain. The one guiding policy when such issues arise is to keep faith with the Native States at any cost. Regarding the proposal to examine the relations of Rulers of States with the Government of India in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future, it could only be done with the consent of the Rulers. The Princes, however, before they can convey their consent should be in a position definitely to know from Government their views as to what is meant by existing practice, to what subject the practice relates, and how it is meant to be simplified, standardised and codified. Then they may be enabled to decide whether or not to give their consent. If the practice in vogue does not accord with the treaty rights of the Princes and is based on one-sided interpretations of Government officials, whose sense of strict justice is overpowered by their zeal to serve only the interests of Government, the reluctance of the Indian States to consent would be obvious. It must, however, be gratefully acknowledged that Your Excellency has conveyed assurances that it will be your earnest desire to maintain the sacred treaties not only in the letter but in the spirit in which they were framed. The main principles which should govern the relations of the Indian Princes are those that are found in their treaties and engagements. Any usage or precedent or practice in the establishment of which the Princes had no voice and which may be detrimental to their interests, must be subjected to reconsideration in consultation with the Princes.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**Your Excellency,—As regards the relations of the Rulers of the Indian States with the Government of India being examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify the existing practice for the future, paragraph 305 of the Report needs, in my humble opinion, to be further elucidated. As Your Excellency has kindly suggested it would be well if a detailed memorandum on the subject is prepared by the Political Department to enable the Ruling Princes and Chiefs to come to a decision on the subject. The Rulers of the States regard their relations with the Government of India as most important, and on this delicate question they should like to be in

possession of all the information that can be laid before them. With the principle of the recommendation, however, I have no reason to differ. It would, beyond doubt, remove a great many difficulties and simplify matters, if the relations of the Indian States with the Government of India were examined, and every individual State given a chance of putting up its case to the Viceroy.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**This is a question of far-reaching importance. The views of the different States on the subject are bound to be coloured by their respective standpoints. In the light of my own experience and the circumstances of my State I am prepared to say that I regard the proposal as a sound one. The treaties, engagements or *sanads* came into existence in the remote past when the moral, political and material development of the State or, for the matter of that, of the whole of India; had not attained to the pitch at which it stands to-day. Railways, telephones, canals, to mention only a few of the later phases of the material progress of the country, were not matters of practical politics then. The customs, excise, currency, postal, telegraph and extradition policy had already reached its present stage of evolution. In a number of cases, these topics of vital interest to the States concerned received scant attention, if at all. Of course there are and must be certain subjects the provision concerning which made in the treaties, etc., would need no revision or alteration and indeed, with a view to allay apprehensions or remove misgivings, would require to be distinctly re-affirmed, but matters regarding which the treaties, etc., are silent and around which certain practice has grown up and has crystallized into a sort of caselaw require to be carefully examined and placed on a fair and proper basis in consultation with and with the concurrence of each individual State. It is in reference to such cases that standardization, simplification and codification might, in my opinion, be profitably resorted to.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**Your Excellency, As regards this point of the agendum my personal view is that now, after the lapse of a hundred years, it is impossible and indeed undesirable to attempt to adhere literally to the terms of those early treaties, engagements and *sanads*, though the spirit, which is really the only important part, can never be lost sight of by the contracting parties. This being so, it seems to me that unless it is especially desirable in any particular case it will only cause much trouble and I fear also perhaps arouse heated controversy as to the intentions of the original framers. In some cases there may be contemporary correspondence which clearly shows these intentions, while in other cases no such explanatory documents are forthcoming, and after all it must be remembered that historically these treaties were not in all cases made as between equal contracting parties, but were dictated by the stronger, and even so we still look on them as the strongest safeguard of our rights and privileges to such an extent that when contrasted in some quarters with later practice, it has given rise to a clamour for a literal adherence to their terms. Thus even in those days we were treated with true generosity: how much more should we now confidently rely in these days of peace, progress and co-operation on the continuance and, if it be possible, even on the extension of that generous treatment culminating in such standardizing, codifying and simplifying of general practice as will end in ensuring our complete internal autonomy.

With these remarks I would propose that it should be left to the Imperial Government to take such steps as they consider will best secure this end rather than make it the subject of formal controversy or unnecessary resolutions,



**His Excellency the Viceroy (addressing Alwar) :—**I understand that you are moving for a Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Yes, the proposal is that a permanent Committee may be elected by the Princes which should sit with the officials that Your Excellency may select from the Political, Legislative or any other Department.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Do you wish to propose that now or to take the sense of the Conference ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I think the sense of the Conference should be taken.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Before putting the question I wish to say a few words. Now I am sure Your Highnesses would wish me to be perfectly frank in dealing with this important subject and you will not misunderstand me if I sound a note of warning. It is in no spirit of unfriendly criticism that I do so, but, if Your Highnesses are to consider this matter fully it is all important that you should have the whole position laid clearly before you.

I alluded to certain aspects of this question this morning, but I omitted to put before you one particular aspect, which I preferred to keep for our more private deliberation this afternoon when it would partake not of the nature of a public utterance, but of a friendly warning given to you with a deep sense of responsibility.

The Secretary of State and I have said in our Report that no constitutional changes that may take place will impair the rights secured to Your Highnesses by the treaties and I need not repeat that assurance. You are aware that it is our earnest desire to maintain to the full the rights and privileges secured to you under your various engagements. But it is necessary at the same time for the Princes themselves to realise clearly the obligation that rests upon them to rule their States with due regard to the interests of their subjects and of the Empire at large. It would be impossible for the Paramount Power to abstain from interfering, where necessary, to prevent misgovernment. In the old days when the treaties were made, the ordinary remedy for misrule was annexation. That policy was finally discarded in 1860 when the Canning *Sanads* were granted, and our present practice is to intervene by friendly advice through our local representatives, where necessity occurs, and in the last resort to curtail the powers of the individual Ruler or deprive him of them altogether. Now it is clear that the Paramount Power cannot divest itself of this right of intervention, the exercise of which is also necessary in the interests of the States themselves. The time has past, if it ever existed, when any protecting Power would be justified in allowing its protection to become an instrument of misrule. In these fateful days, when uncontrolled autocracy is rapidly disappearing throughout the civilised world, it is incumbent on Your Highnesses who enjoy the rights of internal sovereignty under British protection to justify your high position by a wise, just and liberal administration, and it is incumbent on the Imperial Government to retain such power of intervention as may be needed to secure that this obligation is fulfilled. I would urge Your Highnesses to bear in mind this cardinal principle, the recognition of which is essential to a true perception of our mutual relations.

I am fully confident that Your Highnesses will not misunderstand the note of warning which I have thought it my duty to utter before a decision is taken as to the appointment of a Committee. I do not believe that there is much misrule ; it has always been laid down that in the case of misrule there

is a clear case for intervention, therefore it is necessary for Your Highnesses to consider this aspect of the question. I trust it is an aspect that will very seldom occur. I will now ask Your Highnesses to signify in the usual manner whether you assent to His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's proposal.

*"That a permanent Committee of Princes may be elected by the Conference for one year to have periodical sittings with the officers of the Imperial Government from the Political and Legislative Departments, in order that the subject may be thrashed out in all its bearings and finally submitted before the next year's Conference when it could again be generally discussed."*

*(The vote was declared by His Excellency to be in favour of the proposal.)*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**With Your Excellency's permission I should like to say a few words with reference to what has just now fallen from Your Excellency.

We, the Princes of India, are loyal to the Imperial Government and hold it in great respect, and we always not only respect any sympathetic advice or suggestion from the Government but even welcome them.

All that we ask for is that our inherent rights as States and those secured to us by our treaties should be scrupulously respected, and that, when the Imperial Government feels called upon to interfere in the interests of just and good administration, the interference should be as sympathetic as possible and should be in the best interest of the State and the Ruler.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I have no doubt that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, who would wish to serve on the committee, would be taken as a member of it.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**I was going to say that we might start by proposing the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**From my experience during the last six months of working on the Princes' Committee, I have learnt that work progresses faster if there is a small but strong working committee instead of a large and unwieldy one. Although all interests should be represented, I think this is not entirely a provincial question where we need look at it from that standpoint, because here the question is regarding the general treaties with all the States. So I merely selected names who, I thought, would be very competent to take up this very delicate and important task, and I suggest the following names for Your Excellency's consideration :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala,

His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar,

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch,

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner,

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior,

The Political Secretary, and

Sir George Lowndes as representing the Legislative Department, and one other.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**May I propose that His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar should be on the Committee.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Yes,

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I think we must have some Political Officers of Your Excellency's Department.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think, so far as Political Officers are concerned, they are always at the disposal of this Committee. They will be only too glad to help this Conference, but I think it is most desirable that the members of the Conference should sit together, and I think gentlemen like the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Legislative Department and the Political Secretary should be also members of the Committee. Will that meet your wishes ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I agree to it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Will you kindly add the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Yes.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Are there any other names ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**I would propose the name of the Chief of Sangli, because there is no one representing the Southern Maharashtra territory. He is a young man and a better man than myself.

**The Chief of Sangli :—**I certainly think His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur is the best man.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I hope you will all realise that it is not a provincial matter. It is essentially a matter regarding all of us, and I hope that Your Highnesses will be able to trust the Committee to safeguard, as far as possible, our common interests.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**I think one addition will not make much difference.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think the best way of dealing with this question is to put it as a whole to the vote first of all. The proposition is "*that a Committee of this Conference should be appointed.*" It will then be open to His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur to move an amendment adding any further names. Those in favour of the names which have been proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar will signify their intention by holding up their hands.

*The proposition was then put to the vote and carried.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy (addressing Kolhapur) :—**Now, Your Highness, it is open to you to make any amendment.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**I propose that the name of the Chief of Sangli be added to the Committee.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**It has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur *that an addition be made to this Committee and that the Chief of Sangli should be put on it.* Those who are in favour of the proposal will kindly signify their intention by holding up their hands.

*The motion was put and lost.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**I would suggest *the Nawab Sahib of Loharu be put on the Committee.* He is a man of great experience and is one of the oldest Rulers, so I think he may also be appointed.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Are you moving that as an amendment?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala** :—Yes.

*The amendment was put to the vote and lost.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—We have not yet come to the end of the Agenda which is very long. We will now adjourn till to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

The Conference was adjourned to the 21st January.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

*21st January 1919.*

**His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior** moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously, the members standing :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

We have all just heard with much grief the sad news of the demise of His Royal Highness Prince John, Their Majesties' youngest son. We mourn with them over this great bereavement and, on behalf of my brother Princes and myself, I beg leave to move the following resolution :—

*“ That the Ruling Princes in Conference assembled beg to record their deep sense of grief at the bereavement suffered by Their Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress in the untimely and sad demise of His Royal Highness Prince John and they beg to request His Excellency the President to convey to Their Majesties their united heart-felt condolences on this mournful event.*

I beg also to move that this Conference do adjourn until such time as His Excellency the President sees fit to reassemble it.”

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think we are all agreed that this is a fitting way to convey to Their Majesties the sense of sympathy which all Your Highnesses feel for Their Majesties in their great bereavement ; but I feel sure that the last thing His Majesty the King-Emperor would wish would be that the actual working and official business should be at a standstill, and therefore I would suggest to Your Highnesses that, as there is important work to be done by the Committee which you appointed with regard to the line separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others, that Committee should sit and continue its business. And I was going to suggest to Your Highnesses also, in view of the fact that we have to get on with business and were to discuss this morning sub-items (3) and (4) of Agendum No. I whether the same Committee could not take into consideration the matters which are contained in sub-items (3) and (4) and make a recommendation to the Conference. I feel in that way we shall be able to make very material progress in the work which we have before us, and that that would be the most fitting way of doing it. Of course, if Your Highnesses wish to add any other members of your Conference to that Committee, in view of the larger scope of the Committee, the matter is within Your Highnesses' powers. I do not know what would be the wish of Your Highnesses in the matter.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I for one entirely agree with Your Excellency's proposition, and in order that we may proceed expeditiously with the work, I propose, if Your Excellency and Your Highnesses agree, that the same Committee may carry on the work.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I beg to second the proposal.

The proposal was unanimously agreed to and the Conference adjourned to the 23rd January.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY.

23rd January 1919.

## Agendum I—Item (1).

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I will ask His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior to present the report of the Committee which sat to consider the various sub-items of Agendum No. I.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—With Your Excellency's kind permission, I beg to present the Committee's report on Agendum I, item (1).

*The Committee appointed on January 20th recommends the following draft resolutions for the consideration of the Conference.*

## Agendum I—Item (1).

### *Resolution A.*

That this Conference recommends that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report

Carried unanimously.

### *Resolution B.*

This this Conference recommends that the line of demarcation should be between (i) Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and (ii) all other States.

Carried unanimously, with the exception of His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Chief of Sangli, who reserved their opinions.

### *Resolution C.*

That the Chamber of Princes should consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes as defined above.

Carried by majority.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur dissenting.

His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Chief of Sangli reserved their opinions.

### *Resolution D.*

That the Conference would commend to the favourable consideration of the Government of India the relaxation of restrictions now imposed on the powers of a Ruler in cases where such restrictions are imposed by practice or usage or in pursuance of the terms of any treaty, *sanad*, or engagement. The

above recommendation is subject to the proviso that, before any enhancement of status is given, full consideration should be paid to the representations of any State possessing feudatory rights over the State affected.

Carried by majority.

Their Highnesses the Begum of Bhopal, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Navanagar, the Maharaja of Kolhapur, and the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) dissenting.

#### *Resolution E.*

That Ruling Chiefs not entitled to sit in the Chamber should be represented, if they so desire, provided that they shall invariably be represented—

(a) where there is a Sovereign Prince in their Province, by such Prince and

(b) where there is no Sovereign Prince, by a Sovereign Prince of another Province.

Carried by majority.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar and the Chief of Sangli dissenting.

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**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—From the discussion it appears to me that Your Highnesses would prefer to have a longer time to consider the report, but if there are any preliminary remarks which any of Your Highnesses would wish to make on this Committee's report, perhaps they would make them today. Anyhow, we will have a discussion again to-morrow morning on the report.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—With reference to the first item on this list, the draft resolution, as worded by the Committee, reads as follows :—

“That this Conference recommends that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report.”

The original draft on our Agenda read “that with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.” I respectfully beg to submit that the original drafting of this resolution is better on the Agenda than on the report of the Committee.

(*After a pause and addressing His Excellency the Viceroy.*)—Is it proposed to take the report item by item, or that a general discussion should take place?

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think, Your Highness, it would be better if you just make your preliminary remarks on the report. We will take the report again to-morrow morning.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—Preliminary remarks on the whole of the report?

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think if you make preliminary remarks on the whole report it would be better; but you will have a chance again to-morrow morning to speak.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**That is my view with reference to item (1) of Agendum No. I.

Then coming to draft resolution C., viz :—

“That the Chamber of Princes should consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes as defined above.”

At the Committee meeting I differed from the conclusions arrived at by the majority and I beg to read out a note giving my reasons why I disagreed with the conclusions of the Committee.

“I cannot agree that this Chamber of Princes shall consist only of Princes who enjoy full powers of internal administration because the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in paragraphs 304 to 311 affect all the States as a class.

There is as much need for re-examination of the position of small States as there is of the big ones.

The Chamber of Princes (paragraph 306) is going to be instituted for the purposes of expressing opinions on ‘questions which affect the States generally and other questions which are of concern, either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common.’ I cannot agree that any Ruler should be debarred from having representation in a Chamber that is to deliberate on matters of such common interests.

The provision of a Standing Committee for purposes mentioned in paragraph 307 applies equally to the smaller States.

The Judicial Enquiry (paragraph 308) for disputes between Government and a State and between one State and another is of as great a need to the smaller States as to the larger ones ; and the Commission for enquiry into misconduct (paragraph 309) must be of concern to all the Princes and Chiefs.

The proposal made in paragraph 311 regarding joint deliberations affects the Indian States as a whole, and, although the interests affected are proportionate, there can be no doubt that they are of vital importance to every Ruler of a State and should not be settled in a Chamber which does not represent all the interests concerned.

Viewing the Reform Scheme as a whole, the Report gives a constitution for British India on the one hand and the Princes’ India on the other. I cannot agree that a division should be made in the Princes’ India with a view to exclude a whole class of States who should really find a place in so comprehensive a scheme as the Report lays down.”

The above are my remarks with reference to resolution C on the Committee’s report.

There is only one more item on which I should like to submit my views to this august Assembly, and that is in reference to resolution E under item 1, which proposes :—

“That Ruling Chiefs who are not entitled to sit in the Chamber should be represented, if they so desire, provided that they shall be invariably represented, where there is a Sovereign Prince in their province by such Prince himself, and where there is no Sovereign Prince by a Sovereign Prince of another province.”



At the Committee meeting I differed from this resolution. I dissented from that resolution because I do not agree with the *method* laid down in it for representation. But I am in entire accord with the *principle* of the resolution that the smaller States should find a representation in this Chamber.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—The functions of the Council of Princes as stated in the Report and as stated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his opening speech, are (1) matters applicable to the States generally as well as (2) questions of common interest between British India and the Indian States. These functions do not refer primarily to the fact whether a State possesses full powers or not but to the general position of a State whether big or small. Questions which touch the “States generally” and those that are of joint and common interest would equally affect a State whether it has full powers of internal autonomy or not. So it would be a great unkind cut to leave the smaller States out.

His Excellency the Viceroy himself has said, “Before quitting this point I should like to repeat a statement which I made a few months ago at Dhar, *viz.*, that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges and interests of the relatively small States, no less than those of their larger neighbours, and welcome their Rulers equally cordially as partners and co-workers.” Walking in the same foot-steps my conscience tells me that duty requires that I must put forth the rights of my brother-Rulers whom fortune has not favoured equally as some of my friends—the Rulers of larger States. I owe this to the Council whose influence I want to see enhanced and to the neglected “untouchable States.”

To the advocates who place the whole scheme on the basis of powers I ask a straight question :—How many States are there who have full internal powers? The reply on international lines ought to be “none,” and on the limited understanding I do not know why a “Bhumia with a small alluvial holding” may not now be included in the list by extending the process of adding to his existing powers.

The connecting link of a State with the Paramount Power is not the powers of a State, but all the relations created by treaties, usages and practices. Powers of internal administration are an accident of the period of the treaty or the circumstances which led to it.

I want to make myself clear with regard to the point urged by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. I have never advocated one-vote-a-man system for the smaller States. All I want is, as urged by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, that some sort of representation ought to be given to them by way of groups. To suit the principle that the Council should be a Council of the Princes and not of representatives, I would suggest that only one of the Rulers of the smaller States should be allowed to come to the Conference and not a Karbhari or a Secretary.

In reply to His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's argument that Bhumias and alluvial proprietors who hold no lands would be included, I refer to Sir William Lee-Warner's remarks at pages 34 to 37 of his book. That gives a complete answer why petty Chiefships are regarded as “Indian States.”

Further with regard to His Highness' remarks about my reference to Bundesrath, I need hardly say that a joke is not an argument. If not on the Bundesrath system, on what other understanding should His Exalted Highness the Nizam and Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Mysore and Baroda be asked to vote with a State which has an income of a few thousands.

My friends, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Alwar and Navanagar, have said that the study of the reports of the informal conferences held at Alwar and Bikaner and Patiala would give me the reasons why the line on the test of powers should be drawn. I wish they had given me the arguments rather than referred me to the said reports. I am ever ready to learn especially from those who have given so much valuable time to this question. In the Bikaner note I find at page 2 an actual scheme given, which gives voice in the Chamber to all the 633 States in the interior of India. I quote here the Bikaner scheme :—

“ 1. Chamber of Princes.

*Constitution.*

2. (a) Ruling Princes with 11 guns salute and over . . . . .	84
(b) Ruling Chiefs with 9 guns salute—(one representative from every two, the total number of such Ruling Chiefs being 26) . . . . .	13
(c) Chiefs of States with population of one lakh or over—(one representative from every five, the total number of such Chiefs being 22) . . . . .	4
(d) Chiefs of States with population below one lakh—(one representative from every fifty, the total number being 501) . . . . .	10
Total . . . . .	111

*Exception.*—No estate having feudatory relations with any Suzerain State shall have the right of representation in the Chamber.”

Any of the schemes which will give representation to all the States will be acceptable to me. I would provisionally agree with the definition of a ‘ Native State ’ given by Sir William Lee-Warner at page 31 of his book.

The total number of representatives under that scheme is 111, which the Committee of the Princes then considered quite wieldy and representative. I do not know what happened at Patiala which made the Committee at once change front and take a very narrow view and raise the standard of “ Full sovereign powers.” I beg to be allowed to point out, for the information of my friends, all the arguments advanced in favour of the inclusion of smaller States at page 6 of the Bikaner scheme. In the right of an old colleague of His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar, I must ask him, as he had the right to tell me to study old papers with due “ diligence and care ” which, as our Secretary, he is expected to do. In my remarks on the Patiala scheme, I had last year said as follows and I still stick to what I then said :—“ I differ from the Patiala draft scheme about the composition of the Chamber and enter my strong protest against it. It is a decided set-back on the Bikaner note. The scheme gives the eligibility for admission to the Chamber to those Princes only who have ‘ unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and the power to make their own laws.’ It further empowers the Chamber so constituted to ‘ add to its number the Rulers of other States whose inclusion the Chamber may deem advisable.’ I am aware that sentiment and want of a definite single criterion to fix the eligibility at, are difficulties which we have to meet. But if our claim is to speak for one-third of the area and one-fourth of the population of this country, it is impossible to see why Princes with sovereign powers only should be the masters of the situation. This is the reversion of the principle of representation. Is the Committee aware as to what States it will have to exclude ? It is an insult to the States so left out, and I regret I have to say that the suggested method of composition will unfortunately be the beginning or the end of the

Chamber before it is formed. Is the Chamber intended to unite or create a split? It is rather strange to say that (1) revenue, (2) population, (3) extent, (4) honours, (5) acknowledged position, (6) the respect in which certain States are held, and (7) the time and the spirit in which we are living, should not have weighed with the Committee. Does the Committee want the Chiefs who have no sovereign powers to form another Chamber in opposition to the one proposed? I am sure they would not allow the Chamber, as proposed to be constituted by the Scheme, to represent them. And why should they? The British Parliament can have within its four walls almost the same number of members as the Princes and Chiefs of India. They do meet together, can deliberate upon and decide matters of highest importance to the whole world. The House of Lords does not make distinction between Dukes and Lords. The hereditary and created Peers do sit together. In countries which have statal governments, small and big States meet together. Prussia and other States can transact business together. I appeal most earnestly to my brother Princes and Chiefs to rise above sentiment and be equal to the occasion. We may have a differing number of votes for different States according to their status, importance, land revenue, etc., and annex that list to the constitution of the Chamber, as is the case in Germany. Or we might give votes to groups of States on the basis of salutes, extent, population, powers, etc., if a body of all the Princes is considered unwieldy. But complete exclusion of some is undesirable.

I firmly believe—

- (1) that the proposed classification will not at all tend to remove "obscurity of the distinction of status," but will add to the existing difficulties by creating a new and a too technical and a highly artificial classification;
- (2) that the Political Officers are not known "inadvertently" to apply the practice of smaller States to bigger ones. Even the most junior clerk knows all about it and, supposing that a mistake is committed, is it beyond correction?
- (3) that it is by no means easy to understand how a definite line dividing States into two big groups will "assist the future relations between the Crown and the States," the treaty relations of which require different shades of treatment for almost every State.

To this I add my note which I read the other day in the Conference.

As regards the inclusion of feudatories, I regret I was ruled out of order by the Chairman. But I want to submit, with due deference, that it was not a correct ruling. I was standing for a principle and simply illustrated my point by reference to Baroda. My point was if only Sovereign Princes are to be included in the Council of Princes, many of the feudatories in Mahi Kantha and Rewa Kantha and in Kathiawar, who are feudatories of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, could not be included.

**The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi** :—The statement is quite wrong. There should not be a misrepresentation like this.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** (addressing Limbdi) :—You will have an opportunity of speaking after His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur has read his paper. You will then be able to put forward your views.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—It is necessary to have definite idea about the principle of inclusion, so that it should be made applicable to all cases. If we only consider the views of State immediately before us,

leaving aside the views of those who may be absent and which may carry great weight, we may be required to revise our opinions in the light of such representations from the absent Princes. We are here to lay down a correct principle. I still maintain that if Sovereign States alone are to be represented on the Council of Princes, feudatories cannot be included, and such an important point should be settled after full and complete discussion with Sovereign Princes whose interests may be ultimately affected, such as Baroda and Indore. The proviso which has been added to the proposition does not, in my opinion, cover the case of Baroda. I must admit that there is a difference in the case of Baroda and its feudatories and the feudatories of Central India Sovereign States. But when a proviso has been added, which only relates to the removal of the restrictions of powers, such a proviso does not apply to Baroda. I am not quite certain whether it applies to Indore also. All questions between Sovereign States and their feudatories, whether they pay only contributions or whether they enjoy restricted rights, should be thoroughly considered before any final decision is arrived at. Unless the proviso is so largely worded, I still maintain it will not apply to Baroda and Indore and similar Sovereign States if any exist.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau :—**Your Excellency, we make mere payments. Our connection is direct with the Government of India for the last hundred years. We are feudatories of no other State.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, I should like to have a ruling on this point ; that when these items are taken, whether there will be further discussion on each point or whether these general observations as a whole will suffice and merely votes taken. In the former case it seems to me that we shall be travelling over the same ground when each item is taken separately.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**This is by far the most important point we have to discuss during this Conference. I am sure of this that we do not want to rush a matter of this importance. It is all-important that every member of this Conference should be able to state his views. I think this preliminary discussion we have had on this report shows that a very strong feeling exists with regard to this point. To-morrow I shall proceed to take observations, item by item ; I shall not rule out anybody who has already spoken because he might prefer to concentrate his remarks. I think it would be as well, as we have met together to consider this very important question, that you should realise at the earliest possible opportunity the feelings that exist among some of Their Highnesses with regard to the nature of the Report. Therefore, to-morrow we shall concentrate our attention on individual items. This morning it will be sufficient to have this preliminary canter, if I may so express it, so that Your Highnesses may be able to clear your minds on each item as it comes up before the Conference.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau :—**It is very kind of Your Excellency to give us this opportunity, because it will affect our position materially.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Your Highnesses understand that the Government of India are in no way committed ; they will naturally take into very serious consideration Your Highnesses' proposals with regard to this matter. I need only point out that, if there were any serious differences upon this very important question, it is obvious that this is a matter that could not be settled within the purview of one Conference, there may have to be many Conferences before the question is thrashed out. So long as this important question, which is the basic principle underlying the Council of

Princes, is not settled, we shall have to go on merely with the Conference and not with an established Council ; that really goes to the root of the whole question ; this is most important and we should take time to deliberate over this question. For goodness sake, don't let us rush a matter which has not a real consensus of opinion behind it. I am most anxious to allow the greatest latitude in the preliminary discussion. I shall not rule out anyone on any point of order, unless there is really a point of order before us. I shall endeavour to give Your Highnesses free play in regard to this most important question and I shall not take up any points of order.

This morning we shall take the discussion in this preliminary way and to-morrow we shall take it item by item.

Do you wish to discuss this matter this morning further ? If not, we shall proceed to the discussion of Agendum I, item (5).

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### Agendum I.—Item (5).

(5) *That, where the Viceroy thinks this desirable, Commissions of Enquiry should be appointed in regard to :—*

- (a) *the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and a State or between one State and another, and*
- (b) *the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local representatives.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**Commissions to settle the boundary disputes between two or more neighbouring States have been ungrudgingly granted in the past. Afghan, Kashmir, Cutch and Morvi and very many other boundary disputes were settled by Commissions.

The concession, however, of referring to a Commission disputes between the British Government and a State is the removal of a long-felt grievance. In cases of differences between the Paramount Power and the States, the States were, heretofore, naturally at a disadvantage. Their very position required them to yield to the written or unwritten usage, that the determination of any point by the Government was to be accepted without demur.

The further grant of the privilege of claiming a Commission, to determine the propriety or otherwise of the ruling or advice, given by the representative of the British Government, is a complete assurance that justice will not be denied to the Princes. The very admission of such a right by itself would put an end to much confidential reporting carried on behind the back of the Princes. I was very keen about such an enquiry and my best thanks are due to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State for putting the Rulers on a footing of perfect justice. All these Commissions, however, should be granted as of right.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**The connection of the self-governing States, being primarily with the British Crown and their relations being directly with the Government of India, any disputes between the Government of India and such a State cannot with great deference be said to be settled until the finding is accepted by His Majesty's Government. I think it is but due to the aggrieved State to approach His Majesty's Government in the event of an unfavourable decision in India.

But in the other class of disputes between one State and another, a Commission of Enquiry may become highly desirable and necessary. Where both the parties are relatively of a self-governing status such a commission is necessary, but it must and is open to the aggrieved party to exhaust his last remedy above described for the redress of his grievance in case he has reason to disagree with the finding of the Government of India.

Where both the parties are relatively of a non-self-governing status, I agree that the decision by the Viceroy may be final. In cases where the parties are relatively not of the same status, then, as described above, the party with a self-governing status may go up to His Majesty's Government in case he feels aggrieved by the decision of the Government of India.

(b) In the case of self-governing States, I personally am not for any Commissions of Enquiry. The Government of India may appoint a Commission for its own satisfaction. Where the self-governing State is affected by an adverse ruling or advice, it must be open to it to seek the decision of His Majesty's Government.

In other cases a Commission of Enquiry may be welcome. But it is for the non-self-governing States to develop this point further.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**The proposal about Commissions of Enquiry to investigate and report their conclusions to the Viceroy on disputes between the Government of India or Local Government and Indian States or between one State and another is a desirable step. The Government of India would thus be in possession of the considered findings of a body of which one of the members would be an eminent judicial officer before it pronounces its final decision. Such a procedure is bound to be highly acceptable to the parties concerned. For similar and even more important reasons I welcome the recommendation that when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers or of debarring from succession a member of his family, they should always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**The provision for a Commission of Enquiry made in paragraph 308 of the Report is satisfactory so far as it goes. It will undoubtedly engender an increased spirit of confidence. I venture, however, to think that it is capable of improvement and that if the proposal is amended so as to bring it more into conformity with clause IV of the Scheme framed by the Committee of Princes, it would leave absolutely no cause for complaint that the Government of India are both judge and advocate in their own cause. In British India, except in cases specially excluded from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judicial courts by statute, every subject has a right to sue the Secretary of State and thus has an independent tribunal before whom to seek redress, and the appeal in proper cases could be carried to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. I should think that the fact of a Prince being a Ruling Chief should not be a bar to him to have his dispute with Government settled by an independent Judicial Tribunal or Commission. It will, therefore, be more in consonance with the dictates of justice if every case of an Indian State against Government is at the request of the State referred to a Commission. In case the proposition is not acceptable to Government, and if it is thought necessary that discretion to refer should be left to Your Excellency, I would urge that at any rate every dispute between an Indian State and Government (which would form the subject matter of a suit in an ordinary civil court if the dispute were between a subject and the Government) should, as a matter of course, be

referred to a Commission constituted as proposed in the Report. I further think that in cases of dispute between Government and an Indian State the Commission should be not simply one of Enquiry but a Commission for trial with power for final decision. For then only both parties would be placed on a position of equality. Otherwise, if the finding of the Commission is against the Indian State, it would be binding on the State, but if it were against Government, Government would have the further remedy of going to the Secretary of State with a chance of having the finding reversed.

As regards disputes between two Indian States, I see no objection to leaving it to Your Excellency's discretion whether or not to refer the case to a Commission at the instance of one party only. This appears necessary in view of the apprehension, which may be entertained by a less affluent State of being at a serious disadvantage in its fight with a wealthier State.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**Your Excellency, I heartily agree with the proposal in the Joint Report that Commissions of Enquiry should, when the Viceroy thinks desirable, be appointed in regard to the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and a State, or between one State and another, and the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local representatives.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**The motive underlying the proposal of appointing a Commission of Enquiry by the Viceroy for the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and State and between one State and another and for the decision of cases when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or the advice of the Government of India or any of their local representatives, is a laudable one, as no suitable machinery to decide such cases is extant at present, and so I endorse the scheme with a proviso that the minor cases should be disposed of, as usual, without resort to such an elaborate and expensive machinery. If the States disagree with the finding of the Commission, they should have the right of appeal to higher authorities.

When questions arise of depriving a Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers or of debarring from succession a member of his family, they should always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him. This question is of a very delicate nature, as the position of a Ruler in the eyes of his subjects is a very unique one, and anything which tends to impair his dignity is sure to slacken the fidelity and loyalty of the subjects towards their master for ever which will render his carrying out of the administration very difficult. The friendly and timely advice of the Residents of the Government is sure to avoid such unhappy occurrences. If, unfortunately, there arise a question of this nature and perhaps very rarely, the appointment of a Commission for advising the Viceroy will be of advantage. Its personnel should be more clearly defined and the Prince or Chief should in any case have the right to be represented by counsel, and if the Prince or Chief disagrees with the finding of the case, he should have the right of appeal to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar :—**Inter-statal disputes should be decided by the Government with the advice of a Commission. With regard to disputes between a State and the Government, a Commission should be appointed and an appeal on either's motion should lie to the Secretary of State. The Commission to be granted on the option of the concerned.

We want that enquiry should be made by Commission, but the matter should be decided by His Excellency the Viceroy in consultation with the Princes' Council. In the Commission of Enquiry out of the additional Members the Prince concerned should be allowed to have at least one member of his choice.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**In the same way for myself, the suggestion made in paragraph 308 of the Report is approved, but it should be made clear that parties will have the right of being represented by counsel before the Commission.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I understand that there is not any very great difference of opinion on the main principle of these Commissions of Enquiry. It is merely a matter of drafting a resolution for the consideration of the Conference. There are certain points which will require to be added, because the Report framed by Your Excellency and the Secretary of State lays down the recommendations, but as to details there are certain points which might be considered at the same time as the resolution is being drafted. I do not think this is a contentious point and I do not suppose that there would be any very great discussion or delay in drafting such a resolution. Therefore, I would propose that the Princes interested in the subject might be appointed on a Committee to draft such a resolution which, I think, in the course of an hour or two they could present, and we could proceed, if Your Excellency approves and the Conference approves, with the other subjects also, so that the Committee could frame further resolutions and put them all together before the Conference for full deliberation.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think, Your Highnesses, that the proposals which are embodied in the Report are fairly clear. There may be one or two points on which Your Highnesses would wish to express your opinions, but the time at our disposal is very limited and I think, if we are going to transfer this matter again to the consideration of a Committee, we shall not be getting on with our business. So I would suggest that on this particular matter we should, if possible, dispose of it in full Conference this morning. If Your Highness has some additions to suggest with regard to this particular proposal, I would suggest that you make them in the Conference this morning.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency, we feel that in drafting this resolution we should not like to do it in a hurry as there is a great deal of difference in the Report framed by Your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and those proposals approved of by the Princes when we sat in Committee. I would like to embody the material differences that exist between the Montagu Chelmsford Report and that of the Princes' Committee and that will take a little time, if you will allow us to draft it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I do not in any way wish to stand between the Conference and their wishes. That is the last thing that I would wish to do. I certainly was under the impression that, so far as this Commission of Enquiry was concerned, there was fairly general agreement about it, but if, as I understand from Your Highnesses, there is not that general agreement between Your Highnesses and the suggestions made by the Secretary of State and myself, I certainly do not wish to suggest that you should at once proceed to adopt the resolutions which are proposed here. In that case, if you feel that there are material differences, it would be very much better that it should be thrashed out in Committee.



**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**The difference is not in the actual appointment of the Commission of Enquiry, but in adding something more to it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I presume that something more was not added in our Report, because it was thought it would not improve on it. Is it possible for you to specify now what that addition is ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**I agree with His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar and His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar that the resolutions may be drafted in Committee and then brought forward for discussion in the Conference.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**If that is the general feeling, I do not wish in the slightest degree to suggest it should not be carried out. If one of Your Highnesses will move that a Committee be appointed to consider this matter, I will put it to the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Will it not be best to appoint a Committee to draft resolutions and give them a week to do it and then let the matter be brought before the full Conference, because it seems to me that it is coming to this stage that on every point the necessity of a sub-committee is felt ? Therefore I most humbly suggest that it would be better to give the whole of the questions in Chapter X to a sub-committee consisting of Sovereign Princes and those who have the idea of becoming Sovereign Princes, which will be a very amicable committee, and probably my brother Princes will come to some happy conclusion.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think that is a delightful suggestion, Your Highnesses, but I can only say that I cannot contemplate with any equanimity the assembly together again of Your Highnesses here in a fortnight's time. I shall have a great deal of other work to do and I am afraid I cannot take on such a proposition. What I would suggest—and it is perfectly obvious from our deliberations in this Conference, which have been most fruitful, most suggestive, and showing the importance which Your Highnesses attach to the whole question—what I do suggest is that there will be another Conference in November next and it will be perfectly competent for Your Highnesses to appoint a Committee from amongst yourselves to consider all these questions afresh in the light of the discussion of this Conference, and then bring them up in November next. But I must say frankly at once that it would be quite impossible for me to summon Your Highnesses here again in a fortnight's time, delighted as I am to have Your Highnesses here. There is other work which I have to do and I am afraid that would be out of the question.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I propose that a Committee be appointed of Their Highnesses to consider item 5 of Agendum No. I.

*The motion was put to the meeting and carried.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I propose the following names for the Committee :—

His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar.

His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.

The proposed Committee was agreed to, with the addition of the names of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

**Agendum I.—Item (6).**

*“ That when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family they should always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy, to advise him.”*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**The recommendation that no Ruler of a State should be deprived of his rights, dignities or powers, and no member of his family should be debarred from succession unless there is first an investigation by a Commission of the circumstances entailing such a penalty is undoubtedly a very salutary provision against any risk of hasty or arbitrary treatment. The constitution of the Commission as proposed in paragraph 309 of Chapter X is somewhat different from that proposed in clause V of the Scheme framed by the Princes' Committee. A High Court Judge with two Princes form the common element of the two recommendations, but the Commission proposed in paragraph 309 of Chapter X must consist of five members whereas that proposed in clause V consists of three members only. I think that one in the position of a Ruler of an independent State should only be tried by his peers and for such trial two Princes with one High Court Judge to guide them in the mode of inquiry and in their deliberations should be considered an adequate strength for a Commission.

Clause V of the Scheme gives the person under trial the right of challenge not exercisable more than twice in any particular case, whereas paragraph 309 of Chapter X only provides that the names of the Commissioners should be intimated in advance to the defendant before they were appointed.

I am inclined to think that instead of the right of challenge, four names of Princes who may have previously intimated their consent to serve on the Commission should be intimated to the defendant with an option to him to say which two of the four names he would prefer to have on the Commission. Such a procedure will give the defendant the right which is of the same value as the right to challenge exercisable twice in each case and at the same time it would remove any difficulty arising from the fact that Princes, who would not like to see themselves subjected to the risk of the indignity of being challenged, would refuse to consent to serve on a Commission. The intimation of the names in advance to the defendant is not a provision of very great use to him, for unless he makes out a very strong case against the inclusion of a name, he would run the risk of having a commissioner as his Judge whom he has offended by raising objections against his inclusion in the Commission. Under such circumstances the defendant would naturally feel great reluctance to raise any objection although he may be feeling all the while the uneasiness that he would not have a fair trial.

For the reasons above mentioned, I propose that the proposal of clause V of the Scheme framed by the Princes' Committee should be adopted in place of the recommendation made in paragraph 309 of Chapter X.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**I divide my answer into two parts. The first part would be with reference to treaty and the second with reference to non-treaty States.

(a) Although we are treaty or self-governing States, the characteristic features of our rule are “ the personal rule of the Prince and his control over

legislation and the administration of justice." Therefore while we insist upon our rights, dignities and privileges secured to us under our treaties, we must acknowledge in fairness the Government of India's intervention in our domestic affairs where our government of our subjects violates the fundamental principles of good government ; otherwise the subjects will rebel and chaos will result.

So long, therefore, as we choose to govern on the old familiar lines, intervention is the only alternative. This has been hitherto the procedure or practice followed by the Government. But this procedure or practice will no longer fit in with the present environment. Our connection with the British Crown is getting more intimate and our relations with the Government of India are daily increasing. If we do not keep abreast of the times, but lag behind and fail to observe the ordinary canons of good government, the expedient of a Commission is the only alternative. When we realize that the Government, instead of putting an end to the existence of the State in cases of flagrant misgovernment, chooses to deprive the Ruler alone of his powers, while preserving the rights of the State, the justice and need of the expedient now suggested stands unquestioned. The very utmost that a Ruler can ask is that he be tried or enquired into by his peers, say four of them, with the Viceroy as their Head. I am inclined to suggest therefore that a special tribunal consisting of four Ruling Princes in keeping with the dignity of the Ruler under enquiry with the Viceroy as their President shall make the enquiry and on the results thus obtained the Viceroy should decide, the decision being subject to the aggrieved party's right to approach His Majesty's Government and to require their decision.

Similar considerations would apply in the case of any member of his family being debarred from succession.

Where the question is with respect to a non-self-governing Ruler or a member of his family, the special tribunal should consist of four of his peers with a Governor of a Presidency as their Chief ; the results obtained on such enquiry should be gone through and decided by the Viceroy.

I am assuming above that our internal rule is as pithily described in the Report. Where the internal rule is on a systematic basis and on constitutional lines, in other words, where a self-governing Ruler has fully realized his responsibilities of rule, has left behind the old world theory of *L'état c'est moi*, and has begun to govern on sound and constitutional lines, a case for Government intervention in either of the two hypothetical cases hardly arises, as the constitution itself will have provided for such contingencies. In the present state of things it is idle to foretell when the above event would come to be a reality. The recent fate of Russia has amply illustrated the fallacy of such an expectation being early realized in India. The road to self-government deriving its sanction and validity from the people governed is long and arduous. How long and how arduous the task is, it is unnecessary for me to say here. The only two nations, one the offspring of the other, that have survived the shock of upheavals—America and England—illustrate by their life history what sore trials oftentimes they passed through before they found themselves in the position of to-day.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**Paragraph 309 of the Reform proposals provides an important procedure that must be followed when a question arises of depriving a Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities, powers, or debarring from succession a member of his family. It is further provided that questions of this sort must always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him.

The invariable appointment of a Commission would be useful, in so far as it will bring to light useful material which would have been otherwise lain buried. But this is only an adjective law. It is British instinct not to pass important decisions without due enquiry, and that enquiry is proposed to be guaranteed in future. But the Commissions are to be advisory, and there is nothing to prevent their advice being not followed in some cases. There is a possibility of final action being based, not only on the opinions of the Commission, but on confidential and other reports, to which the Princes will never have any access, and which they will never have an opportunity of contradicting. Being grateful for what has been done for the Princes, I cannot pass over this subject without saying that the decision of the Commissions should be binding, with a power to appeal to the Secretary of State by the dissatisfied party, where both the parties should be free to represent their cases. To take a view against the decision of the Commission, on some other ground, or by not accepting its opinion, is in itself a wrong which ought to be remedied. The action of Government in such cases is likely to be misunderstood, and is likely to be a blot on the fair name of British justice. As an illustration I refer to the Baroda case. None can sympathise with the methods of Government of the late Maharaja of Baroda. A Commission was appointed "fully and publicly to enquire into the charges, and to afford to His Highness Malharrao every opportunity of freeing himself from the grave suspicion which attached to him". The administration was temporarily assumed by the British Government pending trial. The charge was "Instigation to the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre," the British Resident at Baroda. His Highness Malharrao was not tried for misrule, nor was the administration temporarily assumed for the same. He was never given an opportunity to place his side of the case about misrule. A period of probation was given him, and that period was not over at the time of his deposition. His fate, every one naturally thought, hung upon the decision of the Commission. But the proclamation dethroning Malharrao runs in these words :—

"The Commission being divided in opinion, Her Majesty's Government have not based their decision on the enquiry or the report of the Commission, nor have they assumed that the result of the enquiry has been to prove the truth of the imputation against His Highness. Having regard, however, to all the circumstances relating to the affairs of Baroda; from the accession of His Highness Malharrao to the present time, his notorious misconduct, etc., the Government have decided that His Highness shall be deposed."

The Government did no doubt what ought to have been done in the interests of the Baroda rayats. It goes against the accepted doctrines of natural justice that decisions should be based, at the same time, on matters not in issue. In order to get this point cleared, and to give to the Rulers the right of being heard in self-defence, which is never denied under British rule to the meanest subjects or to a confirmed offender, it is necessary that the decision of the Commission should be held binding, with a power of appeal.

The stronger in point is the Aundh case in the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency. In that case a Commission was appointed to investigate into the charges against the Chief. After trial he was given a period of probation, during which he was to live away from his territory and to improve his conduct. Long before the expiry of that period, however, a decision was communicated to the Chief that he was permanently deposed, and his uncle was placed on the *gadi*. The Chief did not know, and no one yet knows, what happened in the meanwhile which made the Government curtail the period of probation and depose the Chief. To this day no one knows the

cause of his deposition. The decision in the Aundh case has made several Princes uneasy, and nothing will remove their fears unless Government place the papers of the case on the table of the Princes' Conference, or if the whole thing is of a confidential nature, it might be shown to some Princes. Not only the right of the deposed Chief, but even those of his nearest collaterals (i.e., his own younger brother who is studying in the B. A. class) according to Hindu law are said to have been passed over without enquiry. And in this way even the issue of the deposed Chief's father has been punished.

As a necessary corollary of all these cases, political law on the basis of natural justice and international usages must grow, and will have to be definitely settled. What would constitute flagrant misrule sufficient to depose a Ruler, what would be considered enough for depriving him of his power temporarily or permanently, and what misconduct of the member of a Ruling family would be regarded of such grave character, as to debar his succession and that of his heirs, are points which will call for immediate solution.

I have one more suggestion to make with regard to paragraph 309 of the Report. When the names of the Commissioners are intimated to the defendant in advance, he should have the right to challenge them. The reason for this is obvious. This right is recognised in all trials by jury. In the absence of such a right, even if justice is done, room is left for the complaint that the decision was given against the defendant by the Commissioners, as they had to bow to the wishes of Government or that they had some ill will against the defendant.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :**—I propose that item (6) of Agendum No. I be entrusted to the same Committee, for drafting a resolution.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—I support the proposal.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :**—I would suggest the addition of the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior to the Committee.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—There is a resolution now which has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala that a Committee should be appointed with regard to item (6) of Agendum No. I.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :**—I suggest the same Committee may be entrusted for drafting a resolution.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :**—May I add one more name, Your Excellency, that of Sir John Wood.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :**—I second it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—I think it will always be convenient to have Sir John Wood at your disposal. It is not necessary that he should always be a member. He will sit there to help you in your deliberations. It will be a great convenience, I am sure you will all agree, if Sir John Wood were to sit with you in all your Committees, but there may be cases where his presence may not be necessary, in which case Sir John Wood would be the first to welcome a little rest. But I think in the other cases it will be to the interests of the Conference and also to the interest of the Committees that he should be in attendance to help you in your deliberations.

*The resolution was then put to the vote and carried.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—That terminates our work for this morning.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :**—I was going to suggest to Your Excellency that although considerable light has been thrown by the discussions

which have taken place this morning on the various subjects under consideration of this Conference, we do not seem to have been able to dispose of any business. Might I suggest for the consideration of the Conference that, as the two questions reserved for the afternoon seem to be non-controversial, they may, if possible, be disposed of before the meeting is adjourned? I mean the questions of the direct relations between Indian States and the Government of India and measures that may be suggested for joint deliberation.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—If all of Your Highnesses are prepared to go on with the other two items on the agenda, I shall be only too glad.

## Agendum II.

*“To consider the question of precedence of Ruling Princes inter se at social functions.”*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I suggest an alternative proposal if it suits the sense of the Conference, for so far as I can see in the remaining three items on the agenda there is one more subject on which the Conference might desire to have a Committee, *i.e.*, regarding the last item, the question of precedence *inter se* at social functions. If that should be the general sense of the Conference the Committee might be proposed by any of the members which could work simultaneously with the other so that the reports of all the three Committees could be submitted before the Conference to-morrow morning.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch)** :—I have given this question my most patient and careful consideration and I have come to the conclusion that I laid before Your Highnesses last year.

Treaty Princes should take precedence over Non-Treaty Rulers and in each class the dates of accession to the *gadi* should determine the order of precedence, a Prince or Ruler who has succeeded to the *gadi* earlier taking precedence over one who has succeeded later. This is the line of least friction among us all. It is time that we Rulers should cast off all ideas of our importance once in the past and took our stand on the terms we secured to ourselves from the British Government. This alone will stand the test of time as it has so long stood and nothing else will.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi** :—The question of precedence of Ruling Princes *inter se* at social functions is, as I said in my last note, full of complexities and of a vexatious nature, as the discussion on this subject would tend to create ill-feelings among the Princes. The *izzat* of the Princes and Chiefs is inseparably bound with their persons and so they cannot part, so far as I believe, with their established honours achieved at great sacrifice of their person and property in the service of the Empire and well guaranteed by the Imperial Government. The *izzat* of the Princes cannot be different at social functions from that at official Darbars. This being the case, any departure from the long established practice which tends to lower that dignity is undesirable. In private and social functions where they meet as friends and the formality deserving their rank is not desired, the question of precedence should not arise, and so the question should be dropped.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala** :—The Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs held in November 1917 passed a Resolution that the consideration of the question of their precedence *inter se* at social functions should

be postponed till the present session. The importance of an early determination of the problem cannot be gainsaid or overrated. It is unconnected with and has no bearing on the question of precedence *inter se* at State functions. On such occasions the Princes are seated in provincial groups according to their local precedence. Awkward situations arise when Princes of equal status belonging to different provincial groups have to be fitted in at dinners, etc. In the absence of a well defined working basis errors are bound to occur and cause dissatisfaction. Inasmuch as such contingencies can be avoided by approaching the question in the right spirit and clinching it once for all, its indefinite shelving would, in my opinion, be extremely undesirable. The argument that its consideration is likely to disturb our amicable relations is hardly valid. The matter affects us all equally and its emergence from its present uncertain and unsatisfactory state would not involve a reversal of political precedence. Instead of embittering our feelings towards each other an early disposal of the issue would eliminate a potential source of misunderstanding.

Let us now consider how best we can tackle this problem. In European countries and elsewhere in the civilized world the date of accession determines precedence among Sovereigns on social occasions. I see no reason why we should not follow that simple practice. Age is another possible factor, but I am convinced that seniority of accession would be a more suitable criterion in our case.

The next point correlated to this general principle is the question of status. Which Princes are to be regarded as being of equal position? An answer to this it would not be impossible to find. My own suggestion is that equality of status should be determined subject to the following considerations ;—

(i) Salute.

(ii) Power.

(iii) Relations with other States. For instance, the Ruler of a State which pays tribute to another State either directly or through the Government of India would not be regarded as having the same status as a Ruler whose State pays no such tribute (*i.e.*, to another), even if the two may be on a par in every other respect. With these remarks I would strongly urge that no further adjournment of the question should take place.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**As regards Agendum No. II I am still of the same opinion that the question should be adjourned.

*His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) seconded His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior's proposal.*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I think it would be a pity if Your Highnesses were to drop the question entirely, because in that case I am afraid we shall be no further than where we were last year when this question was brought before us. At any rate the Committee might try its labours and endeavour to see if it is possible for them to arrive at some kind of solution of the problem.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**Would it not be better, Your Excellency, if you were to put the question to the vote as to whether the consideration of this question should be taken up now or it should be adjourned.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I propose to do that, but I would like to have Your Highnesses' opinion first.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—I think, Your Excellency, that the question ought to be faced. Last year we shelved it for this year, and this year we shelve it or drop it altogether. That will not relieve the situation in any way. Had the Government not found any inconvenience in the matter the question would never have appeared on the agenda of this Conference or on the agenda of last year's Conference. I entirely agree with the views of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala that the question should be thrashed out if possible and placed in a form which may prove acceptable to this Conference. I strongly deprecate the idea of dropping this question altogether or of indefinitely shelving it, although perhaps it may not be possible to arrive at a decision on the question at this Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I think His Highness the Maharao of Cutch is under a misunderstanding. I have not given my view at all.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—I thought His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala had spoken in support of it, but if I made a mistake I apologise.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The most convenient way of putting this question would be first of all to put that a Committee should be appointed to consider this question. Those who want the whole thing dropped will then vote against the appointment of the Committee. If, supposing that a Committee is negatived, I shall then put it to the Conference, and no doubt His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior will move that no further action need be taken in regard to Agendum II. So the first question Your Highnesses have got to consider is whether a Committee should be appointed to consider Agendum II, which deals with the question of precedence *inter se* at social functions. It has been moved that a Committee be appointed. Those in favour of the appointment of a Committee will signify in the usual manner.

The motion for the appointment of a Committee was put to the vote and carried by 15 votes to 12.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Now we will propose the names.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I cannot propose the names because I shall be working on the other Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I propose that a Committee be appointed who should present its report next year so that we may get the advice of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Excellency the Viceroy (addressing Patiala)** :—May I draw your attention to a point of order, Your Highness ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I proposed this owing to the fact that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has very strong feelings about the matter and in order that we may be able to get his views.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—If Your Highness had these observations to make you should have made them before.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I see.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—If the Conference chooses in its wisdom to revoke the decision come to, that is another matter, but the matter has been settled and we cannot now discuss it.



**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch):**—If the Committee is appointed, I would strongly urge that the members should be taken from all the Provinces.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—It is obvious that the Conference has got itself into a tangle on this question and it is probable its deliberations will bring us to another conclusion to-morrow. I therefore suggest that we adjourn till to-morrow. It will be open to Your Highnesses, after you have talked the matter over among yourselves, to decide whether we shall proceed with the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—I was only hesitating to propose a Committee because Your Excellency has said that the mover of the Resolution should work on the Committee. I did not want to propose myself in any way when the question of a Committee arose. Personally, however, I am prepared to face it and would be glad to be of any assistance to any of the Princes ; but if there is no suggestion forthcoming about the names I would be prepared to recommend, as His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas has suggested, that the Committee be appointed from all the Provinces. If that is agreed to, I will suggest the names of the Princes.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—I think it would be well if that were deferred till to-morrow. It is inadvisable that we should rush the appointment of a Committee without further consideration and as Your Highnesses will see there is a strong division of feeling, the opinion of the Conference being equally divided on the point.

The Conference was adjourned to the 24th January.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY.

24th January 1919.

### Agendum I.—Item (1).

*That, with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Your Highnesses,—The first item on the programme to-day is the discussion of the report of the Committee with regard to which we had some conversation in this Chamber yesterday. But, before we discuss this report, I should like Your Highnesses to understand our position in the matter. I gather that the recommendations of the Committee are by no means unanimous and that some uneasiness and friction is likely to be caused by the proposal to draw a dividing line between Princes with full powers of internal administration and the others. If this is the case, I can assure Your Highnesses that the Government of India would be very reluctant to recommend a proposal which would lead to this result, and if Your Highnesses, after careful consideration, feel that it would be better to drop for the present the idea of a dividing line and to constitute a Chamber of Princes and Chiefs which would be fully representative not only of the States with full powers of internal administration but also of the small Chiefships, the Government of India will, I have no doubt, be prepared to consider such a proposal favourably. I would therefore urge upon Your Highnesses to postpone the consideration of this matter until the next Conference and, inasmuch as there may be speeches made in connection with the Committee's report which may be regretted at a later time, I think it would be very much better to leave the whole matter over until the Government of India, in consultation with Your Highnesses, will be able to consider this whole question and we should be able to approach it from a new standpoint.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—To-day appears to be the fateful day when the issue that most of us have cherished in our hearts for several years past—namely, the establishment on a permanent footing of our Conferences which have now taken place for 3 or 4 years—is coming up for final decision. I am sure Your Highnesses realise the deep responsibility that lies before you. Events which by the mercy of Providence have been favourable to us in the past have led us to this important day when it is now finally in our own hands to decide whether we wish or not to fulfil the hopes that have been entertained for so long. Repeatedly in our speeches to His Excellency, both at the opening and close of the past Conferences, we have in very clear terms expressed the hopes that our Conferences would become permanent. His Excellency gave us sympathetic assurances on the last occasion. His Excellency has already outlined the progress of events since that time and I will not therefore indulge on Your Highnesses' time by repeating them before you at the present moment. The Committee's report was finally placed at the invitation of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in their hands, and the sympathetic attitude of both with regard to the scheme is clearly evident from the manner in which these proposals have been dealt with in the Reforms Scheme Report.

We are now assembled to discuss, criticise and, I hope, finally support the Scheme, so that the Imperial Government may be pleased to recognise at an early date the establishment of our Chamber. While we have been most anxious that its establishment should not be unnecessarily delayed, I do not think it can be maintained that we are forcing the pace. How many an anxious night and days out of number have we not spent in giving thought to the details and in improving the general scheme until it has now been placed before you in a fairly concrete form.

It is impossible that in a public institution, where so many opinions are concerned, the results can be absolutely unanimous without a single dissent. It would be inhuman to expect this and, if the results did achieve this end, they would be more artificial than real.

I fully admit that the problem has produced many difficulties, of which, I hope, most have already been solved. Only one day ago we were placed in a situation of considerable perplexity in devising means that would cover all the important points involved, and there was a fear in the end of a deadlock being arrived at which might wreck—at any rate for the present—the possibility of a Chamber being established. The questions will come up presently *seriatim* for comments and criticism, but the only two points on which, I understand, there have been marked differences of opinion are:—

(1) that representation should be given to all the so-called States, estates, Feudatory Chiefs and guaranteed Chiefships, apart from the Sovereign Princes, by means of a proportionate representation in votes ; and

(2) regarding the proviso in Resolution D—namely, that the recommendations for the relaxation of restrictions now imposed on the powers of the Rulers should be subject to the proviso that, before any commencement is made, full consideration should be paid to the representation of a State's rights over its feudatories.

Taking the first question into consideration, we have only to examine the list of such petty States—and, of course, I am here not referring to any *Statés* properly eligible to the position of Sovereign States—where we find at once a tremendous divergence as regards status, revenue, area, population, tribute and, last of all, powers. I have spoken so many times on the marked differentiation that exists in this heterogeneous mass of small pieces of territory classified under the name of Native States in India that I will not waste your time with any further elaborations on the subject. The question of the representation by one of their number would involve the inclusion of a person—one does not know of what status and position—sitting amongst the Sovereign Princes voting equally with them on important subjects. This presents before us the complication whether or not the Sovereign Princes, whose status, position, etc., are so distinctively marked from the possible arrival, would agree to sit in the same Chamber, and, if they did not agree to do so, we should be digging with one hand the Chamber's grave while with the other we were preparing its cradle.

The difficulty also faces us of drawing a suitable dividing line between these petty estates themselves and giving them a suitable proportionate representation according to their province which would be commensurate with their position. It is only in extremely few cases and perhaps only with regard to the definition of "one-third India" or "Native States" that their interests and those of the Sovereign States are identical. On the other hand it will be readily admitted that our interests in important matters are, in many cases, such as can never be treated on the same line with theirs. I refer here to

matters such as Imperial Service Troops, telegraphs, railways, postal arrangements, questions of ceremonies and so forth.

The above are some of the reasons that guided our motives in drafting the Patiala scheme differently to that prepared *merely for the purpose of forming a basis for discussion in Bikaner*. I may add here that our opinions were also guided by the views and criticisms received on the subject from several Princes, which were afterwards incorporated in the opinions pamphlet prepared by the Committee last year.

In face of all these difficulties, I have personally always held the view that, in order to make a start, it would be wiser and safer to first establish the Princes' Chamber and to keep it exclusively for the Sovereign Princes only.

As regards the second point, I would like to make my own opinion very clear—namely, that I delight in the idea that other Princes, who are not so happily situated by virtue of very minor restrictions imposed by practice, etc., may under Resolution D reasonably look forward to be welcomed by us in our Chamber if, as we trust and recommend, the Government of India are pleased to give their cases favourable consideration. Such elevation or removal of restrictions, however, cannot prejudice or injure the rights of a State which can legitimately claim suzerainty over the other.

When the Resolution D was drafted, and even afterwards, there was considerable variance of opinion with regard to the last sentence, and there arose a serious danger of the possibility of wrecking at any rate for a time the establishment of the Chamber which we all are so anxious to see recognised. It was happily discovered, however, almost at the eleventh hour, that the main bone of contention was due to the phraseology being unhappily worded which did not cover the main points of the case. Since then we have, I hope, arrived at a real satisfactory solution of the problem, and I shall propose when the Resolution 'D' is put forward an amendment to the last sentence which, I sincerely hope, will remove all the difficulties that now lie before us. This amendment has already been placed in Your Highnesses' hands and I will not refer to it in advance if the discussion on the remaining subjects is not affected by this point. I trust that it will meet with Your Highnesses' approval, and I sincerely hope that this fateful day may prove one of considerable importance in the future history of our existence.

In conclusion, I have only to say that I earnestly trust it will not become necessary for any reasons to have to abandon our scheme even temporarily and to revert to the possibility of having a mere Conference every year. Your Highnesses will probably have realised that, if the Chamber scheme is not adopted now, the difficulties that exist will not be automatically removed—for we should have to revert to Conferences where the same principle as exists at present is observed, namely, that only Princes with salutes of 11 guns and over are invited. This principle excludes even at present the representation of the so-called States, Estates and petty Chiefships from our Chamber, whose inclusion is advocated by some, while it does not solve the second difficulty *re* feudatories, which I need not repeat. With these remarks, I now close my general observations with the hope that our proceedings may meet with success.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I support His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's views.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—In view of the importance of this subject, and though it may cause some disappointment to my brother Princes, I would beg of all to leave this question open till next November,

which will give us ample time to consider and devise some means to bring this body together in a more happy state than at present.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think, Your Highnesses, the advantage of such a course would be this, that at the present moment, whatever Your Highnesses may carry at this Conference, it will still remain for the Government of India to express their views upon it. On the other hand, between now and November, it will be possible for the Government of India and Your Highnesses to get into close touch, one with the other, and devise a scheme by which we may hope that all the contending views in this matter may be reconciled. I think there is a great deal to be said for what His Highness the Maharaja Scindia has proposed just now, that we should allow this interval for consideration and reflection before we definitely decide on what the constitution of this Chamber should be.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**I fully agree with His Highness the Maharaja Scindia's proposal in the light of the remarks so sagaciously expressed by Your Excellency. I think we have no other alternative or better course left than to support His Highness's proposal to postpone the matter to the next meeting.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**If all agree to the postponement, I will not object.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**It is impossible to know whether all do agree. At present all the indications I have had show that there is a considerable difference of opinion on this matter, and by next November we may be able to find whether there is some common issue on which all are agreed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency,—I understood this morning that the point on which there was a tremendous difference of opinion yesterday had been satisfactorily settled by an amendment which His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar is going to propose on the original resolution, and I also understood from His Highness the Maharaja Scindia that he was in favour of the amendment, so that the cardinal difference on principles which existed yesterday no longer exists to-day.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**How many of Their Highnesses have seen the amendment which has been proposed?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**It is before all of them.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**When was it placed before them?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**This morning.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think on an important matter like this it is most inexpedient for us to rush this question. It is of importance that Their Highnesses should have this amendment before them and give grave consideration to it and not have to deal with an amendment which has been given to them on the morning of the debate. I think it would be very rash if we proceeded in that manner. It is much too important a question to attempt to rush a decision, and I would earnestly beg Your Highnesses to consider whether we shall not get a much more satisfactory and final solution if we postpone consideration till next November, leaving the interval of time for consultation and consideration between the Government of India and Your Highnesses.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**Does His Highness the Maharaja Scindia mean that the Chamber of Princes should not be brought into existence, or that the question of bringing it into existence should be postponed?

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**No. I think that his suggestion is that this Conference has had to consider several questions which are fundamental to the constitution of the Chamber of Princes. No one is against the proposal that the Chamber of Princes is to come. If Your Highnesses were to pass a resolution to the effect to-day that this Conference is in favour of the constitution of a Chamber of Princes, but that they would prefer to defer for the present moment the consideration of the exact form in which that Chamber should be constituted, we should at all events have passed a resolution in favour of the principle, but deferred consideration of detail till a later day.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**Might I suggest respectfully, Your Excellency, that the items on the Agenda might be taken one by one with a view to ascertaining the general sense of the meeting ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**At the present moment there is this motion before the Conference. If the Conference wish to proceed with the discussion of this matter, then of course we shall go through the report of the Committee item by item. If, on the other hand, the Conference wish to accept the Maharaja Scindia's resolution, then for the present the matter will be adjourned till next November.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**I do not mean the report of the Committee, but the Agenda of the Conference : whether we should not take the advice of the members of this Conference on each of the sub-items (1) to (8) of item I of our Agenda.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**May I ask Your Highness what exactly you mean, because as a matter of fact item I and sub-items (1), (3) and (4) have been referred to this Committee to report on. It is only those items that I would suggest should be deferred for consideration till next November.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**I would respectfully urge that now that all the Princes are assembled here, the advantage of their presence might be availed of to see what views they hold as to each item instead of shelving the discussion till next November.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**That is, you are against the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Scindia ?

**His Highness the Marao of Cutch :—**Yes, Sir.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**I support the view of His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Has this resolution been moved by His Highness, or has it been based on Your Excellency's remarks suggesting the advisability of such a postponement ? because I understand that no discussion has taken place at present, although Your Excellency has been pleased to think fit to advise the Conference that the matter should be postponed for the present.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**At present His Highness the Marharaja Scindia has moved a resolution ; he has given the reasons why he has moved it, and that is the matter before the Conference at the present moment. *A resolution has been moved that the report of the Committee dealing with items (1), (3) and (4) should be adjourned till the next Conference in November.*

*(The resolution was put to the meeting and lost.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**We will now proceed to the discussion of the Committee's report.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**The Committee have proposed "that this Conference recognise that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report."

The proposal was carried unanimously in Committee. It will thus appear that there seems to be unanimity as far as the advisability of drawing a line is concerned, but I would respectfully urge for the consideration of Their Highnesses that the wording of the resolution might be in accordance with the draft on our Agenda, which is "that with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others."

I understand that the object of drawing this line of demarcation is to define more clearly the relations between the States that enjoy full powers and the Government, and the relations between States that do not enjoy such full powers and the Government; and also with a view to the Government of India laying down for their guidance a definite policy with regard to their relations with the larger States and the smaller States. Therefore, I respectfully submit that the wording of the resolution, as drafted by the Committee, may be rejected and the wording as before us on the Agenda be adopted.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I must point out to His Highness that he is a signatory to this Committee's report, and it is quite impossible for a signatory to a report of the Committee to come into the Conference and suggest an amendment.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**I understood, Your Excellency, that though we signed the report and accepted the decisions of the Committee, they were open to revision.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Not by a member of the Committee, because Your Highness is a signatory to the report which was carried unanimously. You are a party to this particular report and it is quite impossible for you to come here and suggest, when you agreed to the decision of the Committee, that it should now be altered in the Conference. We should never get on with business. If any other of Your Highnesses would like to move that resolution, of course it is open to you to do so but not to His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**I was given to understand that the reports of Committees were not binding to such an extent as to deprive the members of urging their views, in view of the further discussions that might take place in the whole Conference.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Quite so, but Your Highness did not state in signing the Committee's report that you did not feel bound by all the recommendations of the Committee. But now after signing the report, to come to the Conference and dispute those conclusions is not a right thing to do. It is quite impossible for you, as a signatory to the report of the Committee, to come here and suggest an amendment now.

**Sir John Wood :—**With Your Excellency's permission I may explain the position. His Highness informed me, after this resolution had been carried unanimously, that he had doubts as to the wording, and I said that the Committee had passed this motion and that if he had any remarks to make about the wording of the proposed resolution to be passed by the Conference he

should make them then. I did not mean to suggest that His Highness should himself propose an amendment to the resolution, but that he should be in order, I thought, to make some general remarks on the report.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—That is exactly what I am referring to.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Do I take it that item No. 1 of the report is carried ?

Resolution 'A' reads "*that this Conference recommends that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report.*"

Is that carried unanimously ? There are no dissentient voices.

*(The motion was put and carried.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Now we come to draft resolution 'B'.

"That this Conference recommends that the line of demarcation should be between (i) Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and (ii) all other States."

Carried unanimously, with the exception of His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Chief of Sangli, who reserved their opinions.

**His Highness the Maraja of Alwar** :—With regard to this point I would like to make it clear that, when the Committee moved this proposition, His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Chief of Sangli raised objections reserving their opinions on the condition that the resolution 'D' was also carried. But as difficulties existed with regard to the last paragraph of resolution 'D', which we hope have now been removed by an alteration of that paragraph, I hope that the proposal will meet with the approval of the majority.

**His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla** :—If resolution 'D' is approved and given effect to, then I have no objection to resolution 'B.'

**The Chief of Sangli** :—I reserve my opinion.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau** :—I am unaware of the intention of the Government of India, but if they are prepared to consider the removal of the restrictions, I shall be glad to support this resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** (addressing Sitamau) :—Your Highness, of course, understands that there can be no guarantee given with regard to the removal of those restrictions.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau** :—In that case I cannot support this proposition.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Then Your Highness must vote against this resolution. The resolution is :—

*That this Conference recommends that the line of demarcation should be between (i) Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and (ii) all other States.*



*(His Excellency the Viceroy then put the resolution, which was carried.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Now we come to draft resolution 'C'. The resolution reads as follows :—

“That the Chamber of Princes shall consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes as defined above.”

Carried by a majority, Their Highnesses the Maharao of Cutch and Maharaja of Kolhapur dissenting. His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Chief of Sangli reserved their opinions.”

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**This question was discussed yesterday, and I have submitted my views on the subject as to why I think that the Chamber of Princes should not be confined exclusively to Sovereign Princes, and now I submit that the resolution may be framed as follows :—

“That the membership of the Chamber shall be open to (a) Princes enjoying full powers of administration, (b) remaining States in the form of representation by groups, provided that no State that is a feudatory of another State shall have representation in the Chamber”.

My object in suggesting that the smaller States may be represented on the Chamber is that the Chamber will consider (1) questions concerning the Indian States, (2) questions of common interest to Indian States and British India, and (3) other questions of Imperial concern. It seems to me that it is not right to exclude a whole class of States from a Chamber that is to deliberate on questions that are of vital importance to Indian India, i.e., to Indian States as a whole, and I would like to persuade Their Highnesses, my brother Princes, that in the Scheme which gives a constitution to the whole of India the smaller States should not be left out but should find their proper place in the polity of “Indian India”. I do not entertain any fears that their inclusion under a system of representation will in any way prejudice the rights, dignity and privileges of the Sovereign Princes, for these are already secured to them by their inherent position, by their treaties and by their status as Rulers of autonomous States, and if the line of demarcation which we have just been discussing is drawn and the re-examination of the position with a view to improve the relations between the Crown and the Princes takes place, their position will be secure. I therefore strongly hold the view that the participation of smaller States in the consideration of interests which are of common concern will go more to strengthen the interests of Princes than to weaken them, and I hope that we may be able to avoid a policy which might create divisions between the smaller and larger States.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**Has Your Excellency any objection to the smaller States coming in ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**This is not a point on which the Government of India can give their opinion. This is a matter on which Your Highnesses are invited to express your opinions. I mean I am not prepared at present to give any opinion either way. Of course, I may warn the Conference that the Government of India may hold views which are diametrically opposed to those which are at present finding favour at the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**From Your Excellency's speech yesterday I understood that you wanted smaller Chiefs to come in.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I wanted full representation, but what I want is the opinion of the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Do Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Maharao of Cutch refer here only to Rulers of States or even to Estates which are not called States in the treaties as well as to Jagirdars and landholders and alluvial proprietors who are not called Rulers in any sense ?

**His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla :**—In my opinion the Chamber of Princes should consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes and such other Princes who have ruling powers but with slight restrictions. It would be no use including all the six or seven hundred States and Estates or even representing them in the Chamber. For by doing so, the status and position of the Chamber would be sacrificed. It is also in the fitness of things that small States and principalities should not have any voice in shaping the policy or even in laying down or deciding general principles affecting the group of States who enjoy complete internal autonomy. It is only fair that States enjoying similarity of station and uniformity of power alone should have to deal with their own matters.

I trust His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Kolhapur, who recommended yesterday the inclusion of the minor Chiefs, does not want the 700 of them to take part in the Chamber and thereby to have in effect the power to lay down the policy of the larger States. For the reasons stated above, I am also opposed to admitting representatives of those Chiefs who would not fall under the definition of Sovereign States given in resolution " B ".

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur's remarks about the Indian States covering one-third or so of the whole of India take account of these smaller bodies. But His Highness will remember, I hope, that there is a number of Sovereign States as defined here who would individually be greater than the entire group of these smaller States taken as one whole.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur further remarked yesterday that a large number of States, particularly those of the Bombay Presidency and Central India, who enjoy full powers would not be included in the group of Sovereign States, because they were feudatories of other larger States. Speaking on behalf of the Ruling Princes from the Bombay Presidency and particularly from Gujarat, I strongly deny that such a situation at all exists. I regret His Highness should have made such an unauthorised statement, and I will convince His Highness that the States in the Rewa Kantha Agency, to which I belong, and in other Agencies of the Bombay Presidency are not in the slightest degree feudatory to other States. Simply because one State makes monetary payments to another not infrequently for mere exchange of territory, the latter can not be said to have feudal rights over the former. As clearly pointed out by Your Excellency in the opening speech, even payments in the shape of tributes should not establish the existence of feudal relations. The one proper test for a Sovereign State is whether on the whole it is at liberty to manage its own affairs without outside interference and whether it can make its own laws for such internal administration.

For these reasons I am strongly opposed to the idea of inclusion in the Chamber of Princes other than those who are Rulers of Sovereign States as defined here.

At any rate this ought to be the case at the outset. If after the Chamber is once established, it is deemed desirable to include others, the question can very well be considered at the time.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau :**—I am of opinion that all saluted Rulers should be admitted to the proposed Chamber of Princes.

**The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi** :—Your Excellency,—I fear it was owing to His Highness of Kolhapur not clearly understanding our position that he made a statement to which I had occasion to object yesterday, and it is with a view to clear the air that I wish to put before Your Excellency some facts from history.

What is now called tribute paid by the Kathiawar Princes was in the olden days known as *mulakgiri*, collected by the Gaekwar and the Peishwa with force of arms before the advent of the British in Kathiawar. Sir Charles Aitchison states clearly that the amounts of *mulakgiri* that were collected “were variable” and “were collected by a military expedition.” “If,” however, “a Chief settled with the Government before the army entered his estate, he was secure from oppression.”

Thus, it will be clear to Your Excellency that the *mulakgiri* contributions by the Princes of Kathiawar were never fixed, but were always contested and the amount given varied inversely with the resisting power of the State.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes the feelings of the Kathiawar Princes regarding the payment of the tribute in these words :—“To a Chief the mere payment of tribute tended in no wise to derogate from his independence. His country had been won by the sword and was retained by the sword and not by acquiescence in the payment of tribute, so that if he could avoid this *extortion*, he was justified in doing so. If he weakened his State in resisting foreigners, he knew that his neighbours would certainly take advantage of the favourable juncture and annex his territory. It was his policy, therefore, after resistance up to a certain point, to succumb.”

It was at this period, with the object of obviating the bloodshed and chaos that were consequential of *mulakgiri* expeditions and at the request of some of the Kathiawar Princes, that the British Government deputed Colonel Walker to Kathiawar. “The settlements made” by him “in 1807 were based upon the state of things existing at the time, and this is the period to which all inquiries in disputes regarding the lands or hereditary rights in Kathiawar are limited.”

It would thus not be out of place to quote the views of responsible British officers of the time regarding our position. Sir James Carnac, Resident of Baroda, in his report in July 1814, says “the utmost of their submission being the payment (when exacted by the presence of an army) of tribute to obtain the forbearance of a Power whose good will it was an object to conciliate.”

Mr. Diggle in his report appended to that of Colonel Walker’s, dated 10th May 1804, describes the position of the *Girassias* thus : “that considering their present situation towards the Honourable Company, as being the same as it was towards the former Government, they can be considered as nothing less than independent sovereignties, tributary to us, who have never been accustomed to look up to the superior power for protection, nor has that superior power ever considered itself as bound to protect.”

Finally, to quote Colonel Walker about the position of Kathiawar States at the time of the settlement of 1807 :—“The Kathiawar States are independent and at liberty to form connections with other powers. They are under no obligations of service and neither the Peishwa nor the Gaekwar pretend to exercise an authority in Kathiawar beyond the demand of their respective contributions,” which contributions were always demanded with force of arms and always as far as possible resisted.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala** :—Your Excellency,—This country is divided politically into two main blocks—British India and the

Indian States. The units that are ruled by Indian Rulers, however small in area or otherwise unimportant they may be, are not and cannot be legally included in British India. The political institutions that exist in British India have no room for them. They are outside the scope of operation of the laws of British India and politically they are more akin to us than to the former. Therefore, if we declined to admit them into our Chamber they would be practically disfranchised so to speak. *Pro tanto* our claim to represent one-third part of the country would suffer in consequence. Our action would be not only undesirable on political grounds, but I think it would amount to the perpetration of an ostracism which we should find it hard to justify. Therefore, I would suggest the following composition of the Chamber :—

(i) All Ruling Princes—

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| (a) who enjoy hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over and  | } Individual representation. |
| (b) all those who enjoy a full measure of internal autonomy and maintain Imperial Service Troops. |                              |

(ii) Ruling Chiefs . . . . .	} Representation by groups, geographical or otherwise.

This arrangement, I believe, is likely to prevent unwieldiness without out-casting any of those who have every right to be represented on our Chamber, and I hope this will commend itself to the Government of India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**Your Excellency,—I think the small States should be included.

**The Chief of Sangli :—**I support the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**Your Excellency,—The recommendation that a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others was carried unanimously by the Committee appointed on Monday last to draft resolutions for the consideration of the Conference. For in the absence of such a line there is great danger of the Chamber becoming unwieldy, and difficulties are likely to crop up in consequence of too many lesser States coming in and acquiring equal voting rights with the full-powered States. The Committee has therefore recommended that the proposed line should separate Sovereign States exercising full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction and the power of making their own laws. By a majority of votes the Committee decided, and in my humble opinion correctly decided, to confine the Chamber of Princes exclusively to full-powered Rulers.

In regard to the relaxation of restrictions on powers there was unfortunately a distinct cleavage of opinion in the Committee. For my part I do not agree with the proposal that the status of any particular Ruler of a small State should be enhanced only to make him eligible for the membership of the Conference. In my humble opinion the claims of such Rulers as enjoyed full power originally, that is to say when their States entered into treaty relations with the Government, but whose powers were restricted or curtailed subsequently, may well be considered favourably by Government. I do not, however, wish that the legitimate suzerain rights of one State over another should in any way be prejudiced by the removal by Government of any restriction on its powers which are at present in force.

With the other resolutions drafted by the Committee I entirely agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I concur in the opinion expressed by Her Highness.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Draft resolution “C” is the one we are discussing now. To this an amendment has been moved by the Maharao of Cutch :—

*“That membership of the Chamber shall be open to (a) Princes enjoying full powers of administration, (b) remaining States in the form of representation by groups ; provided that no State that is a feudatory of another State shall have representation in the Chamber.”*

This amendment will be voted on first. If the amendment is carried then resolution “C” will drop ; if, on the other hand, the amendment is lost, a subsequent vote will be taken as to whether resolution “C” should be carried. You will now vote for the Maharao of Cutch’s amendment.

For 13.

Against 17.

The amendment is lost.

The resolution was then put.

For 12.

Against 15.

The resolution is lost.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—I suggested for consideration that the resolution might not only be put in English but also in Hindustani, because some of Their Highnesses do not at times understand the resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I am of opinion that it would be impossible to put the resolution in Hindustani because our proceedings have to be carried on in English. I quite appreciate the force of Your Highness’s recommendation, but there we are.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—We now come to draft resolution “D”, which runs as follows :—

*“That the Conference would commend to the favourable consideration of the Government of India the relaxation of restrictions now imposed on the powers of a Ruler in cases where such restrictions are imposed by practice, usage or in pursuance of the terms of any treaty, sanad or engagement. The above recommendation is subject to the proviso that, before any enhancement of status is given, full consideration should be paid to the representations of any State possessing feudatory rights over the State affected.”*

This was carried by a majority, Their Highnesses the Begum of Bhopal, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Navanagar, the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) dissenting.

**His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur** :—I propose the following amendment :—

*“The removal of the restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member shall not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such State.”*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur** :—I second it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—These words are proposed to be inserted in place of the proviso “ *that, before any enhancement of status is given full consideration should be paid to the representation of any State possessing feudatory rights over the State affected.* ”

*(The amendment was put and declared carried.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I will now put the whole resolution to the Conference as it reads with the amendment :—

*“ That the Conference would commend to the favourable consideration of the Government of India the relaxation of restrictions now imposed on the powers of a Ruler in cases where such restrictions are imposed by practice, usage or in pursuance of the terms of any treaty, sanad or engagement. The above restriction is subject to the proviso that the removal of the restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member shall not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such a State.”*

*(The resolution, as amended, was put and declared carried.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—We now come to draft resolution “ E ”, which reads as follows :—

*“ That Ruling Chiefs not entitled to sit in the Chamber should be represented, if they so desire, provided that they shall invariably be represented—*

- (a) where there is a Sovereign Prince in their province, by such Prince, and*
- (b) where there is no Sovereign Prince, by a Sovereign Prince of another Province.”*

Carried by a majority, His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar and the Chief of Sangli dissenting.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—Your Excellency,—The point of view I took in respect of this matter was this, that I do not think any other Ruling Chiefs or States outside the province would like to be represented by one of us because they may consider that their interests are not sufficiently guarded by those who excluded them from this Chamber. That is one point.

Secondly the proposition seems to me rather ridiculous that we should take upon ourselves the choice of representing other people who had no say in the matter.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Do you simply take the negative on this resolution or do you wish to propose an amendment ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—I am not in favour of this proposition. The matter of the representation of those who are left outside this Chamber is a matter for the consideration, I think, of the Government of India rather than of ourselves.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau** :—I agree with His Highness the Jam Sahib.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I admit that at the time when this scheme was drafted, we did not all take pride in having drafted a resolution which was something that we could look upon as a masterpiece of policy or even of ingenuity to any very great extent. It was only an expedient for holding out our hands to the others for the time being if they wanted to have representation on any account in our Chamber of Princes. It was for that reason that this proposal was put in, but I agree that it hinges really on resolution "C", which Their Highnesses have voted against. So that now the happy position arises that they are against the composition of the Chamber of Sovereign Princes only. So it seems to me that the only question that arises now is whether the rest should be included in the Chamber without the Sovereign Princes by representation.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**That is the logical result of that vote which was passed just now.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Therefore, I would propose for the earnest consideration of Your Excellency that the subject may be voted on again, although I am fully aware that under the un-written laws of business by which this Conference is guided it is not right, perhaps, that another vote should be taken. I see that some of the Princes voted against resolution "C" because they were not certain of what the result would be of that resolution; but now that resolution "D" has been passed, it considerably alters the situation and, therefore, I would propose for the consideration of Your Excellency and Their Highnesses whether they would like to vote again on that subject or not.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I am afraid that is out of order. We have considered resolutions "A", "B", "C", and "D", and we are now discussing resolution "E". It is open to Your Highnesses now to drop resolution "E" as it is in the air and has not got any solid foundation. That is another matter. In one sitting it is impossible to take three votes on one resolution. As I was uncertain as to the voting on resolution "C" just now, I put it twice to the Chamber in order that I might find out what the real feeling was, and it was only on the second occasion that I found that everybody was voting either on one side or the other and not on both sides.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**May I suggest as an alternative for Your Highnesses' consideration that as regards the composition, the suggestions may be put forward for consideration that the Chamber should consist of Sovereign Princes and any others, and, as regards the others, that the whole question should be placed in the hands of the Government of India for decision.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**I support that.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I must point out again to Your Highness that the first portion of that matter has already been decided by the vote of this Conference. Resolution "C" was that the Chamber of Princes should consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes, and this Conference has said that it is not to consist of Sovereign Princes. Therefore it is impossible now on Resolution "E" to bring in what the Conference has already decided it should not bring in.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**By the vote that has been passed we have apparently placed ourselves in the ridiculous position of carrying by a majority the proposition that the Chamber of Princes shall not consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes, and we are now more or less in a dilemma to find a solution; resolution "E" is essentially based on resolution "C", because, unless Sovereign Princes are there, how are they to represent anybody at all?

Although I personally feel, and I think others feel too, that there has been a difficulty at the time of voting in understanding exactly the point at issue, if Your Excellency has decided as a point of order that the Conference cannot rescind its own vote, which it has passed by mistake, then I propose that resolution "E" be dropped as the only alternative left before us now in view of the fact that resolution "C" has been defeated.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I second it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think you might explain what you have in view, supposing the Conference were to pass the omission of the resolution "E", and point out what should be substituted.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Then I would propose as the only other alternative that the Chamber of Princes should consist (a) of Sovereign Princes and (b) such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Now the first resolution put before Your Highnesses is that resolution "E" should be dropped and subsequently His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar will move the resolution which he has read out to Your Highnesses. Will those who are in favour of dropping the resolution kindly signify in the usual manner?

*(The resolution was put and carried.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy (addressing Alwar)** :—Now will Your Highness move the other resolution?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—The resolution I would propose is—

*"that the Chamber of Princes should consist (a) of Sovereign Princes and (b) such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes."*

Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala and Gwalior, and Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, seconded the resolution.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—I wish you to consider it on generous lines.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The resolution before the Conference is *"that the Chamber of Princes should consist (a) of Sovereign Princes, and (b) such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes."*

*(The resolution was then put and carried.)*

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### Agendum I—Item (3).

(3) *That a permanent Council of Princes should be established.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—We now come to item (3) of Agendum No. I *"that this Conference warmly approves the establishment of a permanent Council of Princes as described in paragraph 306 of the Report."*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch)** :—Our relations with the British Crown being permanent and God willing for all time to come,



it won't any longer do for us to pursue the policy of isolation, and with a view to reap the maximum of mutual advantage we must concentrate our energies on bringing into being an organic confederacy and maintain it. That such an institution is necessitated by modern conditions everybody must admit. But I am of opinion that the Rulers of the self-governing States alone, for reasons already shown under item I (2) of the Agenda, can rightly form its component units. And I have not the least objection if the body is increased by the advent of those at present non-self-governing after being clothed with the insignia of self-government.

I am further of opinion that this is a matter which must receive, according to existing Parliamentary Statutes, His Majesty's sanction. I would have preferred the expression "The League of Princes" or "Cabinet of Indian Princes" to that of any other so far suggested. But I am not very particular as to the name, provided our treaty rights are left intact and unimpaired. I may make it clear that the Viceroy would preside over our deliberations.

As self-governing States are ultimately and primarily connected with the British Crown, one important function of the Council would be to return one of its own or one of its representatives either by selection or election to sit as a member of the Imperial Conference or Cabinet at London. This is a right which they would dearly prize as constitutionally belonging to them.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**For a long time past the need has been felt both by the Government of India and a large body of the Ruling Princes for a more intimate and personal exchange of views between them on matters relating to the Indian States or of interest to them and British India jointly. The perception of this need, though comparatively faint at the time, found a concrete expression in Lord Lytton's proposal to create an Imperial Privy Council. The idea was further developed by later Viceroys in one shape or another but failed to materialize. A definite advance was, however, made when His Excellency Lord Chelmsford invited the Princes in 1916 to a Conference to assist the Government of India with advice on certain matters affecting their own rights and the interests of their States and, subsequently, assured them of his intention to repeat the invitation annually during his own Viceroyalty. It was natural that the advantages that accrued mutually from these annual gatherings should arouse a general desire for the perpetuation of the institution. This desire was intensified by the imminence of the changes in the constitution of British India foreshadowed in the Secretary of State's historic pronouncement of the 20th August 1917. The interests of the two halves of India being closely interwoven it was keenly realized that unless the Princes possessed a permanent organization strong enough to ensure the protection of the rights, privileges and prerogatives guaranteed to them by treaties, engagements or *samads*, the contemplated democratization of the Government, of British India might in course of time affect them adversely. This reasonable standpoint was placed before His Excellency by the Princes in their address at the last Conference and received a sympathetic response. Accordingly, a Committee of Princes evolved a scheme which earnestly advocated early establishment of a Chamber of Princes. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the suggestion has been adopted by the illustrious authors of the Indian Reforms Report. There are, however, a few observations that I would venture to offer in this connection :—

Firstly, I would strongly urge that the organ we are proposing to create should not supplant the direct transaction of political business between the Government of India and the individual States. The Chamber should be

designed to supplement and not to abolish the existing practice of individual consultation on matters of importance.

Secondly, I would point out that the designation provisionally adopted in the Report would scarcely be in keeping with the character of the proposed organization or with the dignity of its would be members. I do not consider it necessary to digress into an etymological analysis of the term 'Council', but I have no hesitation in expressing my decided preference for the more distinguished name of "Chamber of Princes".

The membership of the Chamber should, in my opinion, be entirely voluntary and it should be as widely and thoroughly representative as possible, without becoming too bulky.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**The usefulness and utility of the Indian States to the British Empire has long since been demonstrated.

Lord Canning remarked after the Mutiny as follows :—

"These patches of Native government served as a breakwater to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave."

Lord Curzon also remarked :—

"The Native States are no longer detached appendages of the Empire but its participators and instruments. They have ceased to be the architectural adornments of the Imperial edifice and have become the pillars that sustain the main roof".

Lord Morley in July 1906 remarked in the House of Commons :—

"I sometimes think we make a mistake in not attaching a weight we ought to these powerful Princes as standing powers in India. It is a question whether we do not persist in holding these powerful men too lightly".

Lord Lytton also said :—

"The Indian Chiefs are not a mere "noblesse"; they are a powerful Aristocracy. To secure completely, and efficiently utilize, the Indian Aristocracy, is, I am convinced, the most important problem before us."

In order to secure the full co-operation of the States they must have a defined share in the administration of the country and to give them that share there must be some recognised organization of the States or Princes.

It was Lord Hardinge who took the first effective steps to bring the Princes together as a corporate body for purposes of consultation and advice. The annual Conferences have been of value inasmuch as they have enabled the Princes to express their views freely and frankly to Government on matters affecting their interests. They have also afforded opportunities of coming into closer association with His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government officials, and of exchanging views with them and with one another.

Their educative influence also is great. The Conferences were first confined to a discussion of matters affecting the States exclusively. Their scope has been subsequently extended by including among subjects for deliberation those which relate to the Indian States and the British Government in common. The Princes expressed a wish to place these Conferences on a constitutional basis with defined powers, and the Committee of Princes appointed to frame a Scheme have recommended that a Chamber of Princes should be formed. This recommendation has been accepted by Your Excellency and Mr. Montagu in the Report which is the subject of consideration in this Conference.

Unless a permanent consultative and advisory body like the assembly of Princes is brought into existence there is a likelihood of the interests of the Indian States not being fully and adequately considered from all points of view. Only one pertinent instance will illustrate the point. The change in the opium policy of the British Government has seriously affected the revenue of some of the Indian States. Not only were the States most affected not consulted but they first learned that a part of their revenue was to be destroyed through the newspapers.

There are several matters which affect the Indian States and British India in common. For instance, currency legislation, extradition rules, and so forth. The establishment of an assembly of Princes would enable the Government to consult the Chamber before undertaking any legislation affecting their interests and this would be of great benefit to the States.

Moreover unless there is such a constitutional body it would not be possible to associate its members or their representatives with the members of the State Council which is proposed to be called into being in the Report on Constitutional Reforms.

I would therefore strongly support the recommendation regarding the constitution of a Chamber of Princes both in the interests of the Indian States and of the British Government. Its further development may be left to times and circumstances.

The question of its composition, I suggest, may be decided in accordance with the report of the Committee appointed on the 20th January to consider and formulate the proposal for drawing a definite line separating the Rulers with full powers of internal administration from others.

I am glad to notice that the proposal of the Committee of Princes that in the absence of the Viceroy one of the Ruling Princes will preside has been adopted in the Report.

There is no provision in the Report as to the manner in which the proposed Chamber of Princes should be recognised, nor is there any reference as to the powers and functions of the Chamber. I trust that the recommendations regarding these matters made by the Committee of Princes will meet with the approval of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses.

As attendance and voting are to be voluntary and as each State represented in the Chamber will nevertheless retain the right of separate negotiations with Government, there is not the remotest chance of any State suffering through its Prince becoming a member of the Chamber.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**It is very gratifying to know that the closer and closer association of the Princes with the Paramount Power is desired, which is sure to result in mutual benefit. The formation of a Council of Princes is indeed desirable so as to advise the Government in matters connected with them. The observation of the eminent authors of the Report that "there are questions which affect the States generally and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common upon which we conceive that the opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value", leaves no doubt for apprehension of impairing the interest of any individual State by the majority of the opinions of those Princes who have no idea and experience of the rights and customs of the State concerned or of the real sentiments of its subjects which can well be ascertained by communication to that State through the proper channel. The procedure of conducting the affairs of the Council should be framed by the

Viceroy after consultation with the Princes. The President should be the Viceroy only. The designation of the Council should be such as may indicate its connection with Crown.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The draft resolution proposed by the Committee runs as follows :—

(a) *That this Conference warmly approves the establishment of a permanent Council of Princes as described in paragraph 306 of the Report ;*

(b) *That this Conference recommends that the term " Narendra Mandal " or Chamber of Princes be adopted as the designation of the proposed body.*

*(The resolution was put and carried.)*

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#### Agendum I—Item (4).

*" That the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee."*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—The Committee of Princes have proposed the appointment by the Council of Princes of an Advisory Board. The authors of the Report have accepted that recommendation. The existence of such a Committee will undoubtedly be a help to Government, for there is no means at the disposal of Government at present to obtain reliable information from persons who from their own knowledge and experience may be in a position to give an authoritative opinion on matters of customs and usage and other important subjects.

To the Indian States also it would be an advantage, as any decision arrived at by Government on subjects of vital importance to them would be based on authentic materials obtained from reliable sources. The proviso that no reference will be made to any such Committee without the concurrence of the Ruler of the State whose interests are affected sufficiently safeguards the wishes of any Ruler who may be opposed to the Standing Committee. The distinguished authors of the Report mention that the Committee should be annually appointed whereas the Committee of Princes recommend that the appointment should be for a specified period. I should think that the same person or persons may be eligible for appointment as often as the Council of Princes think fit.

The appointment need not necessarily be of a member of the Council of Princes. This will leave sufficient scope for the appointment of a respectable and competent outsider who may be willing to place his services at the disposal of the Government of India.

The Committee of Princes have proposed that the Advisory Board should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States either of its own accord or on the suggestion of the Chamber of Princes for the consideration of the Political Department of the Government of India. Paragraph 307 of the Report is quite silent on this point.

This proposal was intended to benefit the Princes by the vigilance of the Advisory Board, who by virtue of their greater opportunities of acquiring information and familiarity with the merits of any important question affecting the interests of Indian States would be in a better position to move on

behalf of the States. The right step taken at the proper time would be a means of saving unnecessary hardship and trouble. I therefore trust this Conference will carefully consider this point.

I need hardly say that the constitution of such a Board will inspire confidence in the decision of Government, will also be a help to Government and will be a means of timely safeguarding the interests of the Indian States.

**His Highness the Maharaja Raja of Bundi :—**I generally endorse in the proposal of appointing a Standing Committee by the Council of Princes to advise the Political Department of the Government of India. It is gratifying to see in the Report that the interests of the Indian States are amply safeguarded when the authors of the Report say that "no reference affecting any individual State would be made to the Committee without the concurrence of its Ruler". It is very difficult for a limited number of Chiefs and Ministers to have perfect familiarity with the differing treaties, rights, prerogatives and customs of the States and the sentiments of their people, and so it is necessary for the members of the Committee to fully consult the States concerned before giving any advice to the Political Department of the Government of India in their connection.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**The proposal to establish a Standing Committee of the Chamber has my full support. I am glad to find it clearly laid down that no question would be referred to the Committee without the concurrence of the Ruler or the State concerned. The discretion proposed to be allowed to the Chamber to appoint either Princes or Dewans or Ministers to the Committee is a sound step.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**I am of opinion that the Standing Committee, instead of being small, must consist of Dewans, Ministers or Members of Council, one each on behalf of the self-governing Rulers, retiring every year, with a permanent Secretary to be appointed by the Princes' Council. The Political Secretary may refer to the Secretary any matter whereon the Viceroy would require the advice of the Princes' Council. The Standing Committee will go through the matter and circulate its opinion among the various self-governing Rulers in time so as to enable the latter to formulate their opinion in their full Council presided over by the Viceroy. The Standing Committee will have the Political Secretary as its Chairman.

**His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla :—**In my opinion there ought to be some provision for representation of the Madras and Bengal States in the Standing Committee. Also there should be a definite restriction to the powers of the Committee to co-opt additional members.

As regards the function of the Committee, while I approve that they should have a voice in framing the agenda of the Chamber of Princes, I deprecate the idea that matters relating to the affairs of Indian States should be referred to them for advice by the Viceroy or the Political Department. The proper function of the Committee would be to render assistance in framing the agenda and in collecting evidence on questions of customs and usage as regards Indian States that might be referred to them and in placing such evidence before Government with their opinion. As assured by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, no reference affecting an individual State should be made to this Committee unless the State itself so desires.

The term of each Committee should be restricted to two years.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**The only reason why I dissented from the position laid down in the resolution was due to the fact that I thought it was not necessary to bind the hands of future Standing Committees by

making them entirely provincial. I would therefore advocate that each Conference, which would be responsible for electing the Standing Committee, should for the time and during that particular year decide the principle as to whether representation should be provincial or otherwise. In any particular case which concerned any province whose representative was not on the Standing Committee, the Committee should have powers to co-opt or to ask the assistance of other members from the province concerned or from the particular State concerned with whose case they may be dealing at the time.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—My objections, Your Excellency were precisely on the same grounds as those which have just been explained by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—A Standing Committee is necessary to keep up continuous work as it crops up. Such an organization is useful in watching all the various questions as they arise. The usefulness will be much increased if, instead of only replying to the matters referred to the Committee, they have also the power of initiating questions for the consideration of the Council of the Princes and the Political Department of the Government of India.

The *personnel* of the Committee will have to be carefully selected, and it must have on it some experts on Indian Political Law, customs, usages and practices, who also must have sound knowledge of international law. The appointment of second rate men will not only reduce the usefulness of the Committee, but even be a cause of misunderstanding, which may create a feeling against the Council of Princes.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I will read the resolution to the Conference.

“(a) that the Conference are in favour of the appointment of a Standing Committee ;

“(b) that the Standing Committee should consist of not more than five members to be appointed by the Chamber, inclusive of the Secretary, who would be ex-officio member. That the Committee should contain one representative each from the four divisions of Bombay, Central India, Rajputana and the Punjab. That the Committee should have powers to co-opt additional members ;

(c) that the functions of this Standing Committee should be to advise the Viceroy and the Political Department on matters referred to it by the Viceroy regarding the affairs of Indian States, and that the Committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally or of common interest to India as a whole, either of their own accord, or at the direction of the Chamber of Princes, for the consideration of the Viceroy ;

(d) that the agenda for the Chamber of Princes should be decided in consultation with the Standing Committee.”

(The resolution was put to the vote and carried.)

#### Agendum I—Items (5) and (6).

(5) That where the Viceroy thinks this desirable, Commissions of Enquiry should be appointed in regard to—

(a) the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and a State, or between one State and another, and

- (b) *the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local representatives ;*
- (6) *That when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family, they should always be referred to a commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy (addressing Alwar) :—**Will you now present the report on items 5 and 6 of the Agendum No. I ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I take the liberty of presenting to the Conference the report of the Committee appointed on the 23rd January which recommends the following draft resolutions for the consideration of the Conference.

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### Agendum I—Items (5) (a) and (b).

#### *Draft Resolution A.*

Resolved that a recommendation should be made that His Excellency the Viceroy, before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry, should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point ; and that, when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained.

That in order to distinguish this form of enquiry from that proposed in paragraph 309, the Commission proposed in paragraph 308 should be called a Judicial Commission.

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### Agendum I—Item (6).

#### *Resolution B.*

(a) That it should be made clear that the party concerned on the names of the proposed Commissioners being intimated to him would have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners, this right to be exercised only once ;

(b) that the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the Ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a Commission of Enquiry.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**The first resolution reads :—

*“ That a recommendation should be made that His Excellency the Viceroy, before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry, should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point ; and that, when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained.*

*That in order to distinguish this form of enquiry from that proposed in paragraph 309, the Commission proposed in paragraph 308 should be called a Judicial Commission.”*

*(The motion was put to the vote and declared to be carried.)*

His Excellency the Viceroy :—Resolution " B " reads :—

- " (a) *That it should be made clear that the party concerned on the names of the proposed Commissioners being intimated to him would have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners, this right to be exercised only once ;*
- (b) *That the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the Ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a Commission of Enquiry."*

*(The motion was put to the vote and declared to be carried.)*

### Agendum I—Item (7).

*" That as a general principle all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India."*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—The question under discussion is one of vital importance to the States, for the policy of the Government of India filters through in its practical application to us through its political representatives accredited to our Courts. Matters of Imperial interests as well as those concerning the happiness and well-being of the Princes and States reach us and Imperial Government through these channels.

We have realised from past experience that any complicated machinery of super-agents one above the other leads to delays and has not been unknown to lead even to misunderstandings. While several of the States are in direct political relations with the Government of India, the correspondence in other cases passes through two intermediaries, and by the time it reaches its destination at the Imperial Capital or on the Olympic heights of Simla, the picture is coloured and painted by several masterly and artistic hands.

Such political appointments which are the mouthpiece of the Imperial Government have the very delicate task—as said by Lord Minto in his speech at Udaipur—of not only being the means of communicating the policy and principles of the Government of India to the States but also of apprising the Imperial Government of the aspirations and views of the Princes concerned. Thus the harmonious working of the scheme is greatly a matter of personality. The picking of right pegs for the right holes is as necessary as it is the avoidance so far as possible of the picking of holes only !

We are grateful to the Imperial Government for their changed policy since the viceroyalty of Lord Minto which has been the happy augury for drawing closer the Indian States with bonds of goodwill and affection with the Imperial Government, who wield the destiny of India. This policy has been happily continued during the régime of Lord Hardinge and Your Excellency, and he would indeed be a feeble-hearted person who did not warmly respond to the prevailing sentiment.

It is a particular pleasure to me to publicly acknowledge the friendship which has been extended to me by several of the distinguished agents who have been accredited to my Court, and I only make this personal reference because of the fact that my motives may not be misunderstood when I begin to suggest what changes should be made for the future with regard to the political relations of the States. I do this with the principal aim of improving further if possible the personal relations which are a great factor in such cases



as well as effecting the quicker despatch of business, which is always so essential for good administration.

I would like to fully endorse the remarks made in the Reforms Report *re* the Indian States in paragraph 310, namely, that "as a general principle all important States should be placed in direct political relationship with the Government of India and we feel that the necessity of communicating with the Central Government through two or even more intermediaries is an obstruction to good understanding and a great obstacle to business." Three alternatives are laid down in the proposals :—

- (1) Where the authority immediately subordinate to the Government of India is an Agent to the Governor-General the choice lies between abolishing the post of the local Political Agent or Residents, while transferring their functions to the Agent to the Governor-General with an increased staff of assistants.
- (2) Abolishing the post of the Agent to the Governor-General while retaining the Residents accredited to States or groups of States.
- (3) In other cases instead of abolishing either the posts of Agents to the Governor-General or the Residents where both officers exist, the Residents of particular States might be allowed to communicate direct with the Government of India, sending a copy of such communications to the Agent to the Governor-General for his information.

The third alternative, if I may say so, appears to be cumbersome and would appear to place the Agent to the Governor-General in a somewhat anomalous position as he would either be behind hand in representing his own views to the Government of India if he desired to do so, or else the Government of India would have to wait for his views before deciding the question transmitted to them by the Residents, thus automatically doing away with the advantage of quick despatch and the necessity of having only one intermediary to deal with.

I therefore now take the first and the second alternatives and am personally in favour, for my own Province, of having Residents accredited to the Courts of the States by means of separate groups. This, however, I agree to with the proviso that the Residents are placed in independent British territory such as Ajmer. The advantages of having Residents for each group imply quicker despatch of business than it would be possible with an Agent to the Governor-General with several Assistants, where the papers would have to again filter through several hands. The Political Officers of such groups would also be more readily available for giving advice to a State when it was found necessary or when it was invited than it would be possible if the responsibility lay only on one person's shoulders.

The personal factor, as I have already mentioned above, is the principal consideration in the question of political relations, and one officer accredited to the State is more likely to achieve this end. The proviso I have made, however, is very important and the reason for my including it in my remarks is that it is only humane for a Resident stationed in one particular State to be influenced by personal considerations in cases of interstatal disputes which could be avoided if he was stationed in neutral territory. An additional advantage in the scheme would be that, say for instance in a place like Ajmer, if all the four or five Residents of different groups of States were stationed there, they could frequently meet each other and exchange views regarding general questions. And at the same time they would have more society of their own to move in, which

is not always available at the headquarters of a State. If, however, this proviso cannot be accepted by the Imperial Government, the only alternative is to accept the proposition of dealing direct with the Agent to the Governor-General and abolishing the appointments of the various Residents. In this connection, however, it is important to realise that, so far as possible, the Agent to the Governor-General should himself visit the different States when necessary in place of deputing his Assistant. We must avoid the possibility of junior Assistants at Abu taking the place of present Residents and thus defeating the objects of the scheme.

As this question was of vital importance, I have thought it fit to record my opinions, but as far as the general question of direct political relations is concerned, while I cordially endorse the principle, it will have to be thrashed out in relation to each Province separately, and I would wish that it be done in consultation with the Princes who will be vitally concerned. After further discussion has taken place I would propose a resolution for consideration on the following lines:—

“(1) That this Conference readily endorses the general opinion expressed in Chapter X of the Reforms Report relating to Indian States regarding the principle of placing all important States in direct political relationship with the Government of India and that, so far as is possible, all States enjoying Sovereign Powers and salutes of 8 guns and over be placed in such relationship.

(2) That in deciding the question in relation to each province the subject should be worked out by the Imperial Government, in consultation with the Princes of the Province concerned, who may be invited to give their views in their own provincial conferences which may be convened for the purpose.”

Your Excellency, on this subject His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has also written his views, and while I would not like to take up the time of the Conference any further with my own remarks, as His Highness's views have perhaps not been circulated to all the Princes and at any rate not all have read them, it would not be out of place for me to read a few of His Highness's remarks on this important subject: He says that:—

Both in the Imperial interests as well as for the happiness and well-being of the Princes and States the placing of the Princes, and at least the bigger Chiefs also, in direct relations with the Government of India and of thus reducing the number of intermediaries is one of the most urgent and crying needs of the day. Not only, as has been pointed out in the Report, is the present system of communicating through these intermediaries an obstruction to good understanding and a great obstacle to business but it makes it also practically impossible to ensure uniformity of policy and of dealing.

Indeed, until the existing system is changed, the risk of undue interference in the internal affairs of the States will never be satisfactorily safeguarded against. Although the local Governments and officials will naturally not like the idea, the step *has to be taken sooner or later*, because, if for no other reason, yet as is pointed out in the Report, the growth of responsibility in Provincial Governments will render it undesirable that the relations with the Indian States should be matters of provincial concern and I would, therefore, venture earnestly to urge that the question should be tackled and solved now—and solved in a broad and statesmanlike manner without any undue regard to sentiment or past precedent. I would in this connection ask for permission to quote the following remarks which General Smuts made in his speech at a

luncheon given by the Empire Parliamentary Association in the spring of 1917, while speaking about the future constitution of the Empire :—

‘ Do not try to think of existing political institutions which have been evolved in the case of European developments. The British Empire is a much larger and more diverse problem than anything we have seen hitherto, and the sort of constitution we read about in books, the sort of political alphabet which has been elaborated in years gone by, does not apply and would not solve the problems of the future. We should not follow precedents, but make them.....I am sure if we disabuse our minds of precedents and pre-conceived ideals we shall evolve, in the course of years, the institutions and machinery that will meet our difficulties.’

I would further beg to urge that at least all Princes, great and small, exercising Sovereign powers and those with salutes up to 9 guns should be placed in direct political relation with the Government of India. There appears to be no reason to anticipate why any difficulty be experienced in extending the benefits of this proposal, not only to the Bombay but also to the Madras, Bengal, Punjab and United Provinces Princes. The States in Madras are so advanced that the absence of a knowledge in the Government of India Political Officers of the local vernaculars would be hardly worth taking into account.

This leaves the States which, though supposed to be in direct relations with the Government of India, have yet to communicate through both their local Political Officers as well as Agents to the Governor-General. I cannot speak for Baluchistan, where circumstances may be different, but in regard to the important and numerous States in Rajputana and Central India it can clearly be said that they are still at the same disadvantage as those in Provinces with Governors and Lieutenant-Governors at the head of their respective Local Governments. Thus it is no less essential that the Princes in Central India and Rajputana too should have only one step through which they should correspond with the Government of India.

The next question is whether the Agent to the Governor-General should be retained and the Residents now accredited to the States abolished, or whether the post of the Agent to the Governor-General should be abolished and the Residents retained. I would submit that only one of these two alternatives should be considered for the Rajputana and Central India States. His Excellency the Viceroy also clearly had only these two alternatives under contemplation when, during the Informal Meeting in February 1918, the Princes present were asked by His Excellency for their individual views on one of these two alternatives.

I would respectfully submit that to my mind the third alternative, proposed in paragraph 310 of the Report, as to retaining, in other cases, both the Agent to the Governor-General and the Resident but of authorising the Residents of particular States to communicate direct with the Government of India, while sending a copy of such communications to the Agent to the Governor-General for his information would in practice not be found really to work satisfactorily and is bound to end in a reversion to the present system and inevitably to lead to interference by the Agent to the Governor-General. It would make the position of the Princes as well as of the Political Officers accredited to their Courts an extremely difficult one and would also detract both from the position as well as the discretionary powers of the Political Officers.

Moreover, what is desirable is a *permanent* arrangement in the interests of the Princes and the States *as a whole* and not a temporary arrangement made to suit the personal convenience, or for the lifetime, of a particular Ruler.

Reverting, however, to the first two alternatives, I originally held that the post of the Agent to the Governor-General should be abolished, and my idea was that Rajputana, for instance, should have four Residents, with higher rank and status and enhanced emoluments than is the case at present, who should be the intermediaries between certain groups of States and the Government of India.

Thus, whilst the Political Department would lose one prize appointment, there would be four bigger appointments instead in Rajputana. If necessary, such Residents would have one or more Assistants under them. The States of Rajputana, and similarly of Central India, would thus be placed in the same advantageous position as those of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir.

Such Residents should, moreover, not have their headquarters in any of the States to which they are accredited but in independent British territory.

It may perhaps be urged against the above proposal that a central authority is required to co-ordinate the policy and to carry out the views of the Government of India. In reply it seems sufficient to say that, if no such difficulties are experienced in regard to Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir, there is no reason to anticipate any unusual difficulties if there are four such officers instead of one, say, in Rajputana.

At the Informal Meeting in February last at Delhi I, however, thought that the other alternative might perhaps be the easier of solution and I, therefore, on that occasion decided ultimately to vote for abolishing the Political Officers and retaining the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana.

After reconsidering the question during the past 10 months, I would venture to record my more mature and emphatic opinion, for what it is worth, that it will be far better to retain the Political Officers on the lines which I have attempted to sketch above and to abolish the post of the Agent to the Governor-General. I am convinced that, in the long run, this will not only be the best, but the only satisfactory arrangement and one least likely to create friction and difficulties.

Moreover, one of the many drawbacks of retaining the Agent to the Governor-General would be that, with the correspondence coming from so many States, he would be unable to give matters the necessary personal attention. This, I fear, will, in the long run at any rate, end in his various Assistants being assigned work and assuming duties which will, at least approximately, even though, not exactly, correspond with those of the present-day Political Officers, with merely this difference, that they will be located at the headquarters of the Agent to the Governor-General, instead of their present headquarters.

That this is not an imaginary drawback will appear to be supported by what Sir John Wood also outlined at the February Meeting as printed in the last paragraph on page 10 of the Digest of the Proceedings of that Meeting. The result eventually would be that the Princes and States would still have two intermediaries to negotiate with. Also with so many States to deal with it would hardly be possible for the Agent to the Governor-General to visit all the States each year, and whenever necessary oftener in the year. It will also inevitably lead to the Agent to the Governor-General deputing his Assistants—sometimes only junior officers—to visit Princes and States either at his desire or at the wish of the latter.

With Political Officers accredited to groups of smaller number of States there will be more intimate knowledge and association and more senior Political Officers to deal with and thus in the long run, more harmonious relations and more satisfactory and prompt work and results.

As regards the apprehension expressed by Sir John Wood that, if Political Officers accredited to groups of States dealt direct with the Government of India, they would not be in such a commanding position to advocate the interests of the States, I would state that, in the first place, no such difficulty is apparently experienced in the case of the Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir States and, secondly, that with my suggestion that the rank and status of such Residents should be enhanced, the difficulty will further entirely be got over.

As is stated in the Joint Report with reference to their being no insurmountable obstacles in overcoming the difficulties in cases where the territories of Indian States and British Provinces intersect, so I feel positive that with the sympathetic support of His Excellency the Viceroy and the goodwill of the Political Department no insurmountable difficulties would really be experienced also in the way of abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor-General and retaining groups of Political Officers on the lines sketched above.

In Rajputana specially there would appear to be no such difficulty, and in regard to Central India perhaps any difficulties could fairly easily be overcome by perhaps appointing one senior officer with one or more assistants to deal with the cases of the mediatised Chiefships and guaranteed Thakurs.

Some arrangements will in either alternative have to be made presumably to relieve the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana of the heavy judicial work which he has at present to carry on; whilst the Commissioner in Ajmer, under the direction of the Political Department, could without difficulty deal with the business relating to the Mayo College.

Before concluding my remarks on the subject, I would also venture to submit that the duties and functions of the Political Officers accredited to individual States or groups of States should be clearly defined and so regulated as to conform to the original intention, *viz.*, those resembling the position of an ambassador so far as the Sovereign States are concerned, while in respect of the smaller States the Political Officers' position should be revised and defined in view of the altered present-day conditions as has been urged in the outlines of the scheme and recommendations of the Princes' Committee. His Exalted Highness the Nizam also refers to this in his note dated the 1st December 1917. This is further supported by what has been written by the Marquess of Hastings in his private journal as long ago as 1814 which has already been quoted in paragraph 26 of this note.

Whilst on this subject I would finally beg to propose that His Excellency the Viceroy may be pleased to direct that such terms, in common with other loose official terminology, which has now come into vogue, as are frequently used in communications to Political Officers and even conveyed in that sense to the States themselves, as "under the jurisdiction of", "under your political control", "under your political charge", "under the Rajputana Agency", etc., etc., should no longer be used as they do not correctly represent either the duties of the Political Officers or their relations with the Princes as the accredited Agents of the British Government to their Courts. Similarly it would appear the term "Rajputana Agency" or calling a Residency after the name of the State is also incorrect. The geographical nomenclature of such States might more correctly be referred to by Province rather than by

Agencies, such as the Province of Rajputana or of Central India ; or in the case of Residency or Political Agency by the name of the States such as the Western Rajputana States or the Haraoti States instead of the Western Rajputana Agency or the Haraoti Agency.

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, I am afraid I have taxed your patience to-day, in reading out these two long statements, but I hope you realise, and I am sure you do realise, the importance of the occasion which has caused me to do so. I feel great pleasure in the fact that my views on the subject severally coincide on most material questions with those of my distinguished friend His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**Your Excellency,—I was going to propose that a short resolution might be passed, that it is resolved that this Conference recommends that, as a general principle, all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India, but His Highness of Alwar has to some extent anticipated and amplified the resolution which I was about to propose.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency,—With Your Excellency's permission I propose to offer a few observations on the important subject now before us. I need hardly recall the fact that two years ago, during the session of the Princes' Conference in 1916, the Ruling Princes of the Presidency to which I belong presented to Your Excellency a joint note conveying our earnest request that we may be directly connected with Your Excellency's Government. We mentioned in that note that the advantages of sharing the uniform policy with our brother Princes having direct relations with Your Excellency's Government were so evident that it would certainly be a privilege and a distinct benefit to us if our request was granted.

When the Committee of Ruling Princes was considering the subject of Constitutional Reform foreshadowed in the announcement of August 1917 in its bearing on the position of Indian States, this question came up prominently in their deliberations, and formed the subject of one of their principal proposals in the final scheme presented to Your Excellency and Mr. Montagu in February last. We are grateful to Your Excellency and the Secretary of State for the fact that our recommendation and its reasons have been thoroughly appreciated and adopted in the Report. I have only to quote a few sentences from the Report to show that the difficulties and anomalies of the present arrangement have met with a very clear and emphatic recognition from Your Excellency and Mr. Montagu.

The paragraph that I wish to bring to Your Excellency's notice has already been read by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, so I will not inflict the same on you again, and will only quote where it goes on further to say : " We have already laid stress in our Report upon the need in domestic affairs for dividing matters of all-Indian from those of provincial concern. Now, on general grounds, the relations between the States and Government are clearly a matter for the Central Government ; and where this principle has been departed from, it has been on grounds of history or convenience. It seems to us that the changing conditions of the time afford strong reason for affirming the principle, both because the institution of a Council of Princes will give greater solidarity to the views of the States, and also because the growth of responsibility in provincial Governments will, to some extent, unfit them to act in political matters as mere agents of the Government of India."

It is thus a matter of deep satisfaction to us that the necessity for transfer is not only accepted, but the incompatibility of the present provincial arrangement is clearly recognised on ground of principle as well as policy governing the relations of Indian States with the Paramount Power.

It remains for us now to ask for a very early redress of the present anomalous arrangement, and while doing so I would venture to make a few observations to make clear and emphasize the need for prompt steps in this direction.

We, from the Bombay Presidency, have been urging the necessity of this reform for the last two years; and we have listened to Your Excellency's remarks in the opening address the other day, with our ardour somewhat chilled, and with some impatience, which, considering the disadvantages we are labouring under at present, has more than a fair share of justification on our side. My personal relations with three successive Governors of Bombay and with most of Their Excellencies' Agents have been most cordial and friendly and I wish to acknowledge this fully and gratefully. But I cannot help feeling as a result of my personal experience that in some of their methods the Bombay Political Department do not display the same breadth of view and liberal-mindedness of spirit in their relations with the Bombay Princes as is to be found in those of the Government of India in respect of their dealings with the Princes who have direct relations with them. I will leave it to my other colleagues to say what their own experience in the matter is.

I would like to preface my remarks with one important observation. We feel that the Provincial Governments will be naturally averse to lose their diplomatic and political connection with the States at present placed with them. They might justify this reluctance on the ground of loss of prestige which the severance will involve, or on any other ground of which we are not aware. But may I state one thing? Their inclination or opinion ought to have nothing to do with the principle that ought to govern the determination of the question before us. The decisive consideration should be, what is the best possible arrangement, from the view-point of the interests of the States? With the differentiation of provincial interests under the Reform Scheme, and the evolution of responsible autonomies in the provinces, the only arrangement possible is that of placing—and that, may I say, immediately—all important States with the Imperial Government.

It is hardly necessary to observe that questions relating to the Indian States are finally decided by the Government of India. The intermediate stages through which they have to be brought to the Government of India only prolong the proceedings and cause an unnecessary expenditure of time and labour. Moreover, the Government of India, not being at present in close touch with the States under Local Governments, there is a great possibility that essential points, which could only be thoroughly understood by a direct knowledge of individual circumstances and traditions, would be missed, for the reason that the Imperial Government would naturally rely on reports from Provincial Governments, without themselves going into those matters directly. The result would be that injustice would unwittingly be done to a party and unnecessary dissatisfaction would be caused. The chances of access to the highest authority in such cases are so rare and negligible, that it would be safe to assert that there is no opportunity to the parties concerned to thoroughly explain and remove any misapprehension regarding points of vital importance arising in the case. Pertinent instances, if wanted, could be cited in illustration of this. Such difficulties would be removed to a great extent if

all important States are brought into direct relations with the Government of India.

There is another reason : The liberal spirit and broadness of view engendered by habitual dealings with large and important questions, and in the free atmosphere of the Indian Government in touch with the inspiring influences of the Home Government, result in the adoption of a policy of a liberal nature towards States in direct relations with the Government of India. Provincial Governments, by the very nature of their subordination and the narrower sphere in which they have to move, are open to influences of a kind not very congenial to the production of such a liberal spirit : thus, the important States under Local Governments are at a disadvantage, and do not get in some cases the benefit of the liberal policy of the Government of India. It is therefore essential that all important States should be placed, as early as possible, in direct relations with the Government of India, in order that they may get full advantage of principles formulated for the benefit of Princes in relation with the Government of India. In this connection it may also be borne in mind that unless the authority laying down certain broad principles and the authority bringing such principles into force are the same, much of the effect of such principles disappears in the different spirit of interpretation in which such principles are sometimes read by the subordinate local authority to which is committed the responsibility of bringing them into operation. I may also observe that when all important States are brought into direct relationship with the Government of India, their Rulers will have an access to Your Excellency and frequent opportunities of acquaintance and friendship with members of Council and of the Political Department. This association will create a spirit of sympathy, goodwill and friendship which smoothes many difficulties and results in mutual confidence and respect, thus giving greater solidarity to the relation of the British Government and the Princes. There will further result a spirit of co-ordination and brotherhood among the Princes. When all important States have direct relations with the Government of India uniformity in their treatment will be brought prominently into view, the false impression which their subjects and others entertain as to there being some difference in the dignity and prestige of those Princes who have direct relations with the Government of India and of those who have not will be entirely removed, and the Princes and the members of their families will meet together on the same social level, resulting in the disappearance of some undesirable customs arising from the false notion of inequality of position.

It is not unimportant to point out here that the false notion of inequality of States, which has arisen from some of the important States having relations with Local Governments only, is also countenanced by the fact that the cadre of the Political Officers accredited to such States has been considered by so high an authority as the Governor of a leading Province—only to be refuted by the Secretary of State—as of a somewhat lower grade than that of those who are under the Government of India : what wonder then that the same view be taken by ordinary subjects ?

It may also be mentioned that these Political Officers under the Local Government have to deal with several rulerships " which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which Government exercises, through its agents, large powers of internal control and even down to the owners of a few acres of land. Uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinctions of status ; and practice appropriate (to further quote the Report) in the case of lesser Chiefs is inadvertently applied to greater Princes also." It thus appears clear that, to counteract this undesirable levelling



process, all the important Princes and States should be brought into direct relation with the Government of India.

There is another and very strong reason why this change should take place without delay. As I said before when urging much speedier action in this direction, the introduction of Constitutional Reforms in British India will bring about an important change in the relations of the Indian Princes with the British Government ; and what may not have been imperative before will become so when these reforms are introduced ; and it will be incumbent to place the important States into direct relationship with the Imperial Government. The Reforms Scheme aims at making the provinces into self-governing units held together by the Central Government and as the Report says " on general grounds the relations between States and Government are clearly a matter for the Central Government." The Provincial Governments as newly constituted will have absolutely nothing to do with the Indian States. The democratization of the provincial units, aimed at in the Report, will incapacitate the Provinces from realising and safeguarding the interests of the States. Moreover, after the provinces have been given their autonomy the Central or Imperial Government will deal only with matters of common concern to the provinces. In such matters, the Indian States will also be interested. It is not unlikely that these States, while retaining autonomy in internal matters, may like to come into association with the Central Government in consideration of the problems of common concern in company of the representatives of the provinces. In the future, therefore, the relation of Indian States could only be with the Central Government. The only condition of co-ordinate development, thus, is this, that the Indian States, specially the important ones, should have direct relations with the Government of India, and not with the Provincial Governments.

One important result of this change will be that Your Excellency will be pleased to honour, we hope, all these States with your visits. Such visits, may I point out, besides raising the prestige of the State in the eyes of its subjects and others, will furnish opportunities of studying closely and gaining firsthand knowledge of the progress of the State, and of the wishes and wants of its Ruler, which will be of great use in facilitating solution of important questions regarding the State in a spirit of sympathy, and also in obtaining a proper perspective as to the importance of the State visited, in comparison with the States in other parts, which, owing to favourable circumstances, have been fortunate in being placed on a somewhat higher pedestal with regard to dignities, honours, and *izzat*.

The next question is, what States should be considered " important States " which should have direct political relations with the Government of India. So far as Kathiawar and Gujarat are concerned, the States which are called " First Class States " according to a peculiar classification existing there will automatically be included in the new arrangement on account of their plenary powers of jurisdiction. The question will arise as to what are known as " Second Class States " in those parts. If there be any technical objection to their being included in the list of those Princes for whom this change is proposed, it would be right and proper to enhance their status to an extent that would remove the difficulty. As Your Lordship has very rightly observed in your important address on Monday last, the number of guns for the salute is no safe criterion of the position of the States : and I may bring it to the notice of this Conference that the Kathiawar States were so unknown, or speaking correctly, were so inadequately represented by their Local Government, in the past, that they obtained a place on the salute list only in 1865 or 1867.

I remember one amusing incident in this connection. I could have urged it as a ground—and a very solid ground—for taking us out of provincial into the Central Government at once. I could also have urged it as an illuminating instance of the oblivion some of us might say—to which we are treated by our own Government at times. The incident I refer to occurred in the sixties and seventies of the Victorian era and my authority for it is one of the Agents to the Governor, who related it to me. A question arose in the House of Commons as to where Kathiawar was: the Parliamentary reply was—and an authoritative reply it was, of course—that it was a morass in Central India. To the next question, as to who inhabited it, tragically for us, the Right Honourable Member replied “Wild asses.” So much for the representation which we received from our own Government in the highest quarters in those days. But I was going to say that the Rulers of the Second Class States belong to ancient and distinguished houses, with traditions and historical achievements not inferior to those of some of the Princes who have direct relations with the Government of India.

The next point for consideration is, what should be the channel of communication between the Government of India and these States. Speaking of Kathiawar and Gujarat, at present there are Political Agents for the Prants and over them are the Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar, and the Commissioner of the Northern Division in Gujarat. It would not conduce to efficiency or to despatch of work if communications have to pass through both these channels. One channel would do equally as well as, if not better than, two. If this is conceded, then there will have to be a choice as to whether there should be a Resident or an Agent to the Governor-General. One Agent to the Governor-General will not be able, single-handed, to cope with the work of so many States. He will require the help of Assistants who, though somewhat junior in rank to Political Agents, will practically be in the position of such Political Agents. The Agent to the Governor-General will not be able to visit all the States as often as would make him sufficiently familiar with the circumstances of each State. Perhaps the best solution therefore would be, in my humble opinion, to have two or more Residents for the Kathiawar and Gujarat States having direct relations with the Government of India. Each Resident may deal with so many States as would be sufficient to keep him engaged. We hope the Residents will be senior Political Officers under the Government of India, their rank and status are likely to be, or should be, sufficiently high for them to be in a fit position to advocate the interests of the States they represent.

I am afraid I have taken too much of Your Excellency's time, but the importance of the subject invited a full statement of the reasons which impel us to request Your Excellency to take early steps for effecting the transfer, so that it will be one of the many achievements of Your Excellency's brilliant Viceroyalty and will mark a good step forward in advancing the interests of the States which have not the good fortune to enjoy direct relationship with Your Excellency's Government.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**According to my view of the matter, the importance of a State, from a theoretical and constitutional standpoint, does not and ought not to depend upon its area, wealth, ancestry, revenue, salute or title, but upon the independence its Ruler enjoys in his internal Government, in other words upon its Ruler being a full power Ruler. This is the key to a solution of the above question. In this world whatever our theories, considerations of wealth and all the rest above described do weigh a great deal in estimating one's importance, and but for the constitutional difficulty, I too should have agreed to views similarly.

Without yielding one inch in my respect for the Ruler of a very big State in India, I am constrained to point out the fact that until quite recently the State was being ruled on an instrument of transfer, and, with all that, its relations were all along direct with the Government of India. And the report itself goes on to point out an instance of a small State also dealing with the Government of India through a Resident. In the instance I have quoted, the anomaly was set right by basing the Ruler's relation on a treaty.

My only point is, therefore, that only the full power Rulers, the same as the Rulers under a treaty, should have direct relations with the Government of India. The only question is whether each of such States should have a Resident. I raise this question particularly, because in Central India there are many States which have their relations defined under a treaty or engagement. Some of them are small, very small indeed, in income and area too, but, nevertheless, are treaty States whose Rulers are enjoying full powers. I for one would agree to the Agent to the Governor-General being a common Resident for a group of treaty States for each of which the Government of India would find it difficult to provide a Resident. I am further of opinion that the Residents attached to full power States either individually or in collections should all have a uniform status and rank.

While in the case of all those Rulers who do not enjoy full power or whose States are not treaty-made, convenient groups may be formed of them with due regard to local conditions and proximity and a Resident of the Second Class or Political Agent of a status in keeping with the dignities of the States concerned in each charge may be attached to each of them. Where any such States lie within the orbit of the high dignitaries of the Crown such as Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Chief Commissioners, I am emphatically of opinion that the said States should come into direct relations with the said high dignitary through a Political Secretary of the status above described. If this latter suggestion is found inconvenient and inconsistent with the ultimate duty that devolves upon the Government of India of superintending foreign or political relations, then the one preceding this may be adopted. But this is a matter which does not concern me, and I should be understood as doing no more than offering a mere suggestion to be developed and discussed more fully by those who are not self-governing.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**I have pleasure in proposing a resolution which, I believe, will be whole-heartedly supported by the whole Chamber, and that is that His Excellency may be moved to adjourn the House for lunch.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**We will now adjourn till 3 o'clock. But I must warn Your Highnesses that the business has got to be finished to-day and I shall sit from 3 o'clock until we do finish it.

(The Conference then adjourned.)

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(After re-assembling.)

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**At the time of my visit to Your Excellency and the Hon'ble Mr. Montagu in February last, I had already given my opinion in my note whether there should be an Agent to the Governor-General or a Resident and whether the number of intermediaries between the Viceroy and the Princes should be reduced or not. The view I then held

I still stick to. I should prefer an Agent to the Governor-General who should have his headquarters in British territory, such as Poona or Belgaum, from where he could take a bird's-eye view of the States in political relations with the Government. There should be one Agent to the Governor-General for Kolhapur, Southern Mahratta Country and Satara Jagirs. The Resident at the Darbar is considered higher than the Chief by the people of the State. When the Resident lives in the State, there sometimes arise differences of opinion between him and the Chief on small points. The beginning is small, but I can say that in many places it leads to dangerous results. Moreover, there is not sufficient work for one separate Resident for each individual State.

**The Chief of Sangli :—**Your Excellency,—I most heartily support the proposal embodied in item (7) of Agendum No. I. This is a proposal which all of us hail with delight who have the interests of the Indian Empire at heart and who aim at the political advancement of Indian States. No measure is better calculated to create a spirit of union and co-operation amongst the Rulers of Indian States and Government than the one under consideration. Loyal to the core as the Ruling Princes and Chiefs are to the Crown, it is likely that a feeling of local and sectional patriotism for their own States may at times obscure their true perspective of the Imperial sentiment and their sense of national brotherhood and unity. Their present condition of comparative isolation, both territorial and administrative, and the absence of direct contact with the Imperial Government tends to accentuate the same insular feeling. The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Indian Empire must be made to feel in a more real and direct manner than has hitherto been practicable that they are a part and parcel of the Indian polity. With a view, therefore, to prevent the tendency to such a feeling of isolation on the part of the States and to secure a better mutual understanding between Government and the Feudatory India, and to inspire the Ruling Princes and Chiefs with a true sense of the identity of their interests with those of Government, it is essential to bring the Ruling Princes and Chiefs into a close and corporate contact with the Imperial Government, more especially in view of their present generous policy towards the whole of India, feudatory or otherwise. Such a closer union will contribute in no small measure to our own enlightenment and elevation and will tend to widen the range of our view and will give us a real sense of pride in the Imperial partnership.

**His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur :—**Your Excellency,—After His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib's able speech, there is hardly anything for me to say, but I venture to add a few remarks on the question under discussion. As coming from the Bombay Presidency, I might be pardoned for urging much speedier action in effecting the transfer, for which Your Excellency will remember the Bombay Princes present in Delhi placed their collective request before Your Excellency during the session of the Princes' Conference in 1916. The opinion in favour of such a change was not formed in a spirit of dissatisfaction at the existing arrangement or owing to a desire to break away from the Provincial into the higher sphere. It was based on a careful balancing of advantages and disadvantages of either form of political relationship. The obvious reasons of the suggested change appealed to the Committee of Ruling Princes who sat last year to consider the problem of Reforms in connection with Indian States. And we were highly gratified when we found from the Reforms Report that Your Excellency and Mr. Montagu were pleased to accept the principles which many of us from Bombay have

been strongly advocating since 1916. As I said before, there is nothing personal in this desire. My relations with the Government of Bombay are of the most friendly character. But the advantages of sharing a uniform policy and of having fewer intermediaries in our dealings with the Paramount Power are so obvious, that there can be no other motive for such a desire.

But there is a far stronger reason, which I may be permitted to point out, did not exist in 1916 when we first asked for the change. The announcement of the 20th August 1917 and its honoured offspring—the Reforms Report—were not then dreamt of. We did not know that the provinces were going to have greater autonomy and a more distinct existence. Now that big changes are in the air and it is not unlikely that provincial autonomy might come at any time, it becomes vital for us that we should be placed with the Central Government. Thus the change is not merely a matter of administrative expediency, but I may be permitted to say is one of necessity as well.

May I further observe that in these times of swift movements aided by science, the inconveniences of distances become almost negligible; whereas our position in the higher atmosphere which unquestionably belongs to the Supreme Government will be immeasurably improved.

Before concluding my remarks, I would like to be permitted to express a hope that the transfer may be put into effect and also be thoroughly established during the distinguished term of Your Excellency's viceroyalty which has been fruitful of so many good things for India and her sons. His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar has put our case so ably and fully that there is hardly anything more for me to say but to support His Highness wholeheartedly.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Cutch :—**Your Excellency,—As regards the precise nature of the arrangement for establishing political relations between the States and the Government of India, I do not wish it to be understood by my being silent on the subject that I have nothing to say. I do not think it is necessary at this meeting to trouble Your Excellency with details as to what I would propose for Cutch. Cutch is a province by itself; it is neither a bit of Kathiawar nor a bit of Gujarat; it is a neighbouring province of both. I would only like to bring to Your Excellency's notice that I have definite views to place before Your Excellency, which I shall do in due course. I do not wish it to be understood from my silence that I have nothing to say.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar :—**I wish merely to say that personally I have received great benefits from the Political Officers.

**His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner :—**I heartily endorse the view which His Highness the Jam Sahib has so ably expressed on the resolution.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**I wish to make it quite clear at the outset that I am not at all dissatisfied with the system by which the political business of my State is at present transacted with the Government of India, but should that Government deem it advisable to assume direct relations with such of the Punjab States as are equal in importance and status to my State, e.g., Jind and Nabha, it would be my natural desire that identical treatment should simultaneously be accorded to the latter (my State).

In that case I would prefer to deal with the Government of India through one intermediary only and would suggest that the more important States of the Province: Patiala, Bahawalpur, Jind, Kapurthala, Nabha, Malerkotla, etc.

might be divided into two groups, each group having a separate Agent to the Governor-General. The prestige of these States and the smooth and expeditious working of the new machinery would demand that the sole channel of communication between them and the Government of India should be a senior Political Officer of such a high rank and status.

**His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla :**—I am strongly of opinion that all Indian States should be placed in direct political relations with His Excellency the Viceroy. The question regarding the establishment of direct Political relations between the States and the Government of India is one of the most important items we are called upon to discuss. It is clear that in such relations the existence of unnecessary intermediaries is certainly a hinderance to good understanding. Also considering that autonomy of British Provinces is a settled principle it is most desirable that matters of all-India concern be divided and separated from those of mere Provincial concern. And further, considering that the growth of democratic institutions would make the Provincial and even the Central Government in course of time responsible to the people of British India, it appears to me necessary that the Indian States should be placed in direct political relations with the Viceroy. This would avoid and obviate any possible difficulties and reassure the Indian Rulers that constitutional changes in British India will not directly affect their rights and privileges.

To regulate the course of Political relations I think a scheme such as I am mentioning may be safely adopted :—

- (a) There are already some States which are in direct Political relations with the Viceroy through their Residents. It will not be necessary to disturb such arrangements. Indeed the principle could be extended to a few other States where circumstances would not render such extension otherwise objectionable. Residents will communicate direct with the Political Secretary to the Viceroy and may be designated as Agents to the Viceroy instead of Residents.
- (b) All other Ruling Princes of India with a salute of 9 guns and upwards who now have relations through Local Governments or Agents and other States of importance should have direct Political relations with the Viceroy through agents to be styled as "Agents to the Viceroy"; these States may be divided in a suitable number of territorial groups, and placed under a separate agent with a suitable number of assistants and secretaries. The headquarters of such agents and their staff and assistants to be in British Cantonments or towns. The staff of such agents, however, should not be more than may be absolutely necessary so that they may have ample work.
- (c) The remaining Indian States not included in classes (a) and (b) mentioned above may be divided into four or five circles, each circle to be placed under a separate agent to the Viceroy. These circles may be constituted so as to include a suitable number of States in each circle.

Each circle may be divided into a suitable number of groups; each group will comprise a number of States which will be placed under an Assistant who may be stationed in his group.

Any arrangements on the lines mentioned above will possess all the merits that can be desired. The relations will become more direct than at present. The agency dealing with Princes up to 11 guns and other important States will be separated from that dealing with Chiefs. Again, this arrangement will also secure complete separation of the Indian Principalities and Chiefships from the executive and administrative authorities of British Provinces and there will be no fear of constitutional changes and measures of the Provinces being in any way forced on the States. The arrangement also has the invaluable merit of preserving and promoting the solidarity and union of the Order comprising the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi** :—If the present arrangements are thought objectionable due to the reasons explained by the authors of the Reforms Report, I generally endorse the proposal of the scheme.

**The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi** :—I also heartily endorse the view expressed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dhrangadhra** :—I agree.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—Your Excellency,—I expressed my views on the subject in February last, so I do not wish to add anything more on the subject. As far as Gwalior is concerned, I should like to say that I should wish to be put in direct communication with the Supreme Government.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal** :—I would also like to be in direct communication with the Government of India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I expressed myself in favour of the general principle at the informal meeting held in February last when Your Excellency and the Secretary of State were present. With regard to the actual way in which the principle can be worked out, I think the best plan would be to refer the question to provincial or similar groups who would confer with the Local Governments and give expression to their views collectively. The conclusions thus arrived at will help the Viceroy in coming to a final decision.

**The Raja of Bariya** :—I warmly support the Jam Sahib in his views.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau** :—I am quite satisfied with the present arrangements.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The resolution before the Conference is that put by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar; it takes precedence of the resolution of His Highness the Maharao of Cutch. I think it really covers the same ground.

**His Highness the Maharao of Couch** :—I think so. The object is the same.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The resolution is—

(a) *that this Conference cordially endorses the general opinions expressed in Chapter X of the Reforms Report relating to Indian States regarding the principle of placing all important States in direct political relationship with the Government of India, and that, so far as is possible, all States enjoying Sovereign powers and salutes of 9 guns or over be placed in such relationship; and*

(b) *that in deciding the question in relation to each Province, the subject should be worked out by the Imperial Government, in consultation with all the Princes of the Province concerned, who may be invited to give their views in their own Provincial Conference which may be convened for the purpose.*

(The motion was put to the vote and declared to be carried.)

# Agendum I—Item (8).

*“That means should be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both.”*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**In the past the Indian States were seldom, if ever, consulted by the Government of India on matters vitally affecting them and British India jointly and decisions were arrived at without reference to their wishes or their particular standpoints. This state of things was manifestly unsatisfactory. It must be admitted, however, that in recent years a change for the better has been visible in this respect. But it has hardly been carried to such an extent as the importance of our interests demands. We have absolutely no desire to encroach on the affairs of British India, but we are equally anxious that no arrangements, likely to affect us, should be effected *ex parte*. I deem it unnecessary to embark on a detailed enumeration of subjects of common concern, but that a large number of them could be placed in this category no thinking person would deny. Hence it is exceedingly gratifying to see that a machinery for joint deliberation between the Princes and the Representatives of British India has been suggested in the Reforms Report, as a fitting corollary of the other and preceding proposals. The lines along which it is intended to advance in this connection are conceived in a cautious and statesmanlike spirit, and are, to my mind, in the present circumstances of our country, thoroughly sound and appropriate. It would be hazardous to force the pace artificially.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**I generally endorse the proposal with a proviso that representatives for joint deliberation with the Council of the State should be the ministers of the States recommended by the Council of Princes.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**The accepted position which the Princes have taken with regard to the British Indian Legislature, as stated by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, is as follows:—“As we have clearly stated last year, we have no desire to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want outside interference in the affairs of our own States and ourselves. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to repeat that we have no desire to claim a voice in the settlement of any matters other than those relating to ourselves and our States or which are of Imperial or common concern.

The position thus taken up by the Princes has made the question of co-ordinating matters of common interests between British India and the Native States very difficult. So far as the affairs of the States are exclusively concerned, the problem is simple, as the Indian Legislatures have nothing to do with the Native States, and the States in their turn can keep themselves quite aloof of British Indian affairs. But in matters affecting “the Native States and British India in common or the Empire” the question is different. In these cases the States have been accepting what was so long the decision of the Government of India, though it might have been communicated through the Political Department. The Railway policy, the Telegraph and Postal system, the opium question, trunk roads, major irrigation schemes, tariff, defence of the country, and several other obligations have been accepted by the States. The acceptance might have been incorporated in the treaties or agreements, but the policy in the formulation of which the States have had no hand has been accepted. What we want henceforth to be done is that the States should have a voice in the formulation of it hereafter,



There seems to be a mixing up of ideas in thinking that the States are absolutely by themselves in all matters, and not only in matters of internal affairs. This is only a statement in other words of the accepted position of "union and co-operation."

If the right of the States to be heard in matters of joint concern is admitted, it is not likely to be regarded as a substantial advance to say that the Viceroy may arrange for the joint deliberation "when he thought fit." What the Princes claim is that they should necessarily be heard, and heard effectively in all such matters.

The resolutions of the Council of Princes are to be only advisory. Let us see if this advice is likely to be effective. I look at the question from the peculiar position in which the Viceroy will be placed hereafter. The ordinary Indian Legislature is to consist of two bodies—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. Assuming that the suggested Reform proposals are ultimately given effect to in their present form, two sorts of Bills would be introduced into these bodies—Government Bills and private Bills. A private Bill, if it passes both the bodies, becomes law after receiving the assent of the Viceroy, and the assent is merely a formal matter. If the Bill is not accepted by one of the bodies, it would be referred to the joint session, and it will become law in the form in which it passes them. A Government Bill is much in the same position, unless the Viceroy certifies that it is essential in the interest of peace, order or good government, including in that term sound financial administration. Under this procedure, except in cases of emergency legislation and certain ordinances, the Viceroy has to allow a Bill to become law; the power of veto is rarely, if at all, exercised. The question is, what would be the use which the Viceroy will make of the advice given by the Council of Princes? The only substantive power reserved to the Viceroy is the power of certification. But I am afraid he cannot invoke the assistance of this power in the case of the Native States, as the joint questions do not fall, without straining the words, within "peace, order and good government." It would be an insult to and would go against the existence of a Native State to call it as dangerous to the peace and order of the Government of India. The term "good government" if retained ultimately in the formula, can only, on natural interpretation, apply to the internal administration of British India, and not to the political relations of the Native States. The chief aim of the Reform Scheme is to make the Indian Legislature supreme, except in certain cases. Again the Viceroy has to listen to the advices from various sources—the Executive Council, the two Indian Legislative bodies with their Standing Committees, the Privy Council, the Council of Princes with its Standing Committee, the Secretary of State and Parliament with British and Colonial interests pressing them—all these converge their advices on the Viceroy. The question is, what will the over-advised Viceroy, with the best of his intentions, be able to do in cases of conflicting claims? What will be his position if he goes and tells the Indian Legislature every time, in questions of common interest—and the Government of India in future will have to deal largely with questions of common interest—"though you pass the Bill, I am going to modify or reject it as the Princes oppose it?"

The difficulties of the Viceroy are still greater with regard to the provincial legislature. There would be some questions affecting the States and British India which would be taken up by the provincial legislatures. No method is apparent by which the Viceroy can interfere in autonomous provinces, unless he calls to his assistance the powers which he is not supposed to use.

When the Princes proposed the Committee of Reference for matters of joint interest, they had no exact idea as to what shape the Reform proposals were going to take. Even under the old conditions, the Committee of Reference was only a slight betterment of the existing position, and not a solution of the problem of guarding the interests of the States.

It is thought in certain quarters that "joint deliberations and discussions between the Council of State and the Council of Princes, or between representatives of each body" may lead to better mutual comprehension, and fewer occasions of misunderstanding. I, on the other hand, humbly think that once the door is opened to expression of opinions, and the pointing out of differing interests, it must lead to misunderstandings and dissatisfactions, which it may not be possible to remove without some more direct method of co-ordination than advice. So long as the States accepted the British policy of joint obligations individually, as the result of diplomacy, there was no room for consolidated action, as the whole situation was scattered and indistinct. But now the angle of vision will change, and the need of the solution of this question will be pressing, if it is not immediately taken up. I am sorry I cannot agree with those who think that in all cases the merits of the case must prevail, and therefore the Princes should stand at ease. My small experience in politics points to the contrary conclusions; power and majority carry the day in such matters, and not merit.

The next question is, what form of co-ordination would be suitable? The difficulties in answering this question arise (1) on account of the position of supposed complete exclusiveness of Native States taken by some, (2) the nervousness as to how any suggestion would be received in British India as no attempt has hitherto been made to invite the reasoned opinions of British Indians on the question of co-ordination, and (3) on account of the want of any joint effort at solution by the British Indians, the Government and the Native States.

The exact influence and the powers to be assigned to the Privy Council are not precisely known. But it will certainly be an advantage to the Princes to be represented on it. For the present, at least, the States would not like to be represented on the Legislative Assembly, which is to a very large extent an elected body of British Indian subjects. The subjects of the Native States owe their allegiance to the Princes. All Bills take their final shape in the Council of State, which is the more important of the two Assemblies.

I humbly suggest two alternative schemes which may solve the difficulties. Every scheme, unless it is perfectly innocent and powerless, would be opposed by persons whose powers it trespasses upon. And the Native States would never be able to make any headway if they do not give up the nervousness of opposition. They must in a way take a bold stand, and press their claims. (1) The first of these schemes is sending representatives to the Council of State and (2) the second is the power to be given to the Viceroy, to be able to give effect to the advice given by the Council of Princes.

(1) With regard to the first scheme, the Viceroy, in consultation with the Council of Princes and the Council of State, should make a list of subjects of common and Imperial concern. When any of these subjects is likely to come before the Council of State, the Council of Princes should be asked to send representatives, in proportion to the area of States, i.e., one-third of the number of the elected members in the Council of State. That would give to the State seven members. Though the population of the States is one-fourth, they might be given a couple of members more than they would have got on the strength of their population, considering the importance of their interests, and

the fact that they have no representation on the Legislative Assembly. So when any of the listed subjects is to come before the Council of State, there would be seven additional members, making a total of fifty-seven members. In that case Government will not be able to maintain their majority in the Council of State, which they ought to have, as the Legislative Assembly has an overwhelming popular majority. So the Government should raise their number in such cases by seven or ten members. In matters which are not of joint interest, the representatives of the States should have no *locus standi* and should not be present. The additional members appointed by Government, when questions of common interest are taken up, should have nothing to do with, and should not attend, the sessions in the discussion of questions of purely British interest. Perhaps, this proposal might be opposed by some British Indians, who might say that the representatives of the States are not in touch with the aims and aspirations of new British India. But they would not be right in assuming that they would not find support from the State representatives. There will be occasions on which the States may join them, and considerably add to their strength.

There are, however, two objections to such a proposal, firstly that the system of "ins and outs" has no parallel in history, and secondly that the constitutions of British India and the Native States are different, the former having democratic and the latter monarchical forms of governments.

As regards the first objection, it may be stated that the system of "ins and outs" was actually suggested by Mr. Gladstone as a right one to solve the Irish question, and it was only an accident that it did not become the law. The Government of India too does in a way resort to this system at times when it appoints experts to the Legislative Councils, as it did at the time of passing the Universities Act.

The second objection has been made much of by critics of the Indian States. They think that no co-ordination is possible until States have full-fledged representative governments. The democratic wave that is passing over the whole world may have its effects on the States. The Rulers have not shut their eyes to what is passing around them. I am not at all opposed to, on the contrary I am in full sympathy with, the progressive ideas in British India. The slowness of their movements in the States is due to the regard for old indigenous institutions, to the attachment to the Rulers that still subsists in spite of the new ideas, to the absence of the feeling of alienness of government, and to the conservative spirit which has at times saved nations from precipitous fall. British India too is under limited monarchy and hopes to continue under it. The proposed Legislative Assemblies have Government nominees on them, and in one of them the Government have a majority. States like Baroda, Mysore and Bikaner have their Legislative Assemblies, and the other States too are giving their attention to the subject. England herself has the practically hereditary House of Lords co-ordinating its functions with the representative House of Commons. Why cannot States and British India decide what is best for their joint interest?

The Reform Scheme for British India is too far advanced and criticisms have been invited, as it is, without any co-ordinate influence of the States, and perhaps the India Act is in the drafting. Any radical change at this stage may not find favour anywhere. So with a view to invite criticism and by no means as the final adjustment of the rights of the States, I venture to suggest the alternative solution, but the alternative suggestion should come into force only and if the above principle is not accepted. The formula of certification which gives power to the Viceroy in exceptional cases, might

be made to include in it a distinct power, which he can exercise in the interest of the Native States. The formula may assume some such shape "the Viceroy should have the power of certifying that a Bill may be changed or rejected by the Viceroy, if the direct and distinct interests of the States so require." The advice given by the Native States may thus find some means of making it effective.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch) :—**This is a proposal which will be heartily welcomed by the whole body of seven hundred Rulers, and with the growing importance of India's position and needs probably every Prince would like to have himself heard on such common questions. Even here our constitutional position comes in the way of our working out the same to the satisfaction of all. The self-governing Rulers at all events must have a chance given to them to pronounce their views on such questions. And my view is that the Standing Committee above proposed should deal with such questions in the first instance and should immediately communicate their recommendations to their masters who will thereupon meet in their Council under the presidency of the Viceroy and arrive at a consensus of understanding regarding the recommendations before them. So far as we are concerned the means are as above described.

But what about the views of the rest of our Order? How to secure them is the question. I have a suggestion—a mere suggestion to make for the consideration of such Rulers. These Rulers can consider such questions in their respective groups to which they would belong and then communicate the same to the Viceroy for the ultimate consideration. By this means any heartburning that may rankle in the breasts of such Rulers for not getting admittance into the Princes' Council will be removed and the Viceroy will have before him considered opinions of the whole class of Indian Rulers.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**So far as the present arrangements go, and so far as the changes, which it is contemplated to introduce in the near future are concerned, I think the plan suggested in the Reforms Report is quite sound, but in my opinion a distinct and clear understanding should be given that the present arrangements regarding joint deliberations do not bind the Ruling Princes for all time, and that a readjustment will be effected when other arrangements are introduced in the governance of British India. I emphasize this because the exact form which such constitutional changes will take in British India, is not known to us yet and the question should be capable of reconsideration when the situation undergoes a material change. In any case it should be clearly understood that under no circumstances are the Ruling Princes prepared to merge themselves into any representative Legislative body that may be ushered into existence in British India. When matters of common interest are referred to the Council of State and representatives of the Chamber of Princes, I would urge that the Princes should be given *equal* representation on the joint body, otherwise the voice of the Indian States is likely to be drowned in the Assembly. In view of the fact that we have always rendered whole hearted and loyal services to the Crown whenever occasion has arisen, and also in view of the fact that we have enjoyed internal autonomy as integral parts of the British Empire, ever since the British Rule in India began, I think when we ask for equal representation we are not asking more than is our due. This equal representation seems to be essential in the interests of our States, because it will assure to the Princes the necessary position and status which is their due.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**As regards item (8) of Agendum No. I and paragraph 311 of the Report, the suggestion made by the Princes' Committee in their draft Scheme under the heading "Committee of reference for matters of joint interest" is approved, that is to say :—

"A joint committee shall be constituted, composed of representatives nominated by the Chamber of Ruling Princes and an equal number of delegates selected by the Government of India from the Legislature concerned. To this Committee shall be referred for expression of opinion all questions coming before any legislature, Imperial or Provincial, the determination of which may affect the interests of all or any of the States in India. The reference in each case shall be answered and the report of the Committee duly considered before a final decision is taken by the legislature concerned.

**Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal :—**I agree with His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, Your Highnesses.—The question of co-ordination is indeed a very important one. It vitally affects the interests of the States, as it does those of British India and the Empire as a whole. But in order to place the question of co-ordination on a really satisfactory basis, it can really only work thoroughly when there is some sort of federation, and federation is another word for subordination. I do not know the general trend of opinion on this subject, as to how far Princes will be prepared to sacrifice some of their rights when co-ordinating with an institution which advances on quite different lines. It seems to me that, at the present stage, when the whole matter will very shortly be before the consideration of the British Cabinet and we do not know what will be the ultimate outcome of the proposals, as to whether there will be a Council of State and Legislative Assembly or any other organisation, or whether there will be a Chamber of Princes, it seems to me as though we were preparing to build a bridge across a river and to start foundations on one side when we were not aware of our landing on the other side. Going on the basis of the scheme outlined in the Report, the proposition for having joint deliberations between the representatives of the Chamber, whether they be Princes or their ministers, and the Council of State is not a question that is very easy to solve. If the Princes go themselves, questions of precedence and of proportionate representation are not unlikely to arise. I foresee a time, if our States advance so rapidly with the two-thirds of India on democratic lines that this means of co-ordination may some day even be the thin end of the wedge for the eventual mixing up of the two Chambers, namely, the Council of State and Princes Chamber, because very little reason will then exist why the Princes should not sit on the Council of State. This, however, is probably a proposition for the distant future with which I need not at present be concerned. Another difficulty as regards the question of holding deliberations in the Council of State by joint discussion is that we may not be able sufficiently to represent our own case with a society advanced in the arts of debate. If we merely deputed ministers, however trustworthy and eloquent the representatives may be, it is difficult to convey sentiments through representatives as they can be conveyed personally. Therefore I at present am not prepared to suggest any scheme except that, when questions do come up which vitally affect Indian States, and which also affect the whole of India, His Excellency the Viceroy, as the President of our Chamber of Princes, should consult our house on all such important matters. His Excellency has been pleased to say in his speech that any views that we represented would receive his favourable and careful consideration. I think the representation of our views through this Chamber, at any rate to commence with,

would meet the needs of the time, and I have no doubt that, with experience, avenues would open up which would enlarge the scope of this representation and enable us to deal with future problems.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I understand His Highness the Maharao of Cutch has a resolution to move in connection with this matter ?

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—The resolution I propose to move is this:—

*“ Resolved that this Conference recommend that the consideration of the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both should be postponed until the Chamber of Princes and Chiefs has been established and until the result of the proposals made for the introduction of Reforms in British India is definitely known.”*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I cordially support the resolution.

*(The resolution was put to vote and carried.)*

## Agendum No. II.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—We have still item No. II on the Agenda to dispose of which reads as follows :—

*“ To consider the question of precedence of Ruling Princes *inter se* at social functions.”*

A motion was moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, that a committee should be appointed and it was carried by 15 votes to 12, thus showing that the Conference was almost equally divided on the subject, and I suggested yesterday that it would be well to postpone the further consideration of this matter till His Highness has had an opportunity of consulting with others about the formation of this Committee. I do not know whether His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar had an opportunity of doing so.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—As His Highness the Jam Sahib has just shown me a resolution which he wishes to move, and with which I agree I withdraw my resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The difficulty is that the Conference has already carried the resolution to the effect that a committee should be appointed, and I don't know what His Highness the Jam Sahib's resolution is, but I presume it is to rescind that. I think, however, it will be more convenient if His Highness the Jam Sahib were to give us his general remarks.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—Your Excellency, in the Conference of 1917 Agenda No. V related to the following subject, *viz.* :—

To consider a suggestion, that for settling the precedence *inter se* for purely social purposes of Ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different provinces or administrations a rule might be adopted that all Ruling Princes and Chiefs having a certain number of guns should rank *inter se* according to the date of succession to the *gadi* or *masnad*.

The consideration of this question was postponed until the present Conference. This matter is not so simple as it seems. Individual Princes have

different sentiments on the subject and so long as there is acute difference of opinion among the Princes, the question cannot be decided in such a way as to have a binding effect on all. There is another serious difficulty involved in this subject. It is admitted that anomalies exist in the matter of salutes. So long as these anomalies are not removed, precedence based on the number of guns is likely to cause further dissatisfaction. Thus until the question of salutes is decided and a satisfactory arrangement is arrived at in the matter, the question of precedence at social functions must be left over. Meantime perhaps a strong permanent committee of Princes may be appointed who could thresh out the question and propose some arrangement.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Have you got any names to suggest ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Have I, Your Excellency, in proposing these names to face the question of having my name also compulsorily included ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think if you were to express the hope that the Conference would not include your name, no doubt the Conference would meet your wishes, but generally the mover of the resolution has to take the responsibility for it.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—With the request that the distinguished members of this Conference may not include me on this Committee, I would like to propose the following names :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir,

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur,

His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi,

Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal,

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, and

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—Your Excellency, you are fully aware of my views which I expressed the other day, and therefore I would ask that I may be excused from serving on this Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—Instead of me I would propose the Chief of Sangli.

Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Kashmir and Jaipur, the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal expressed their unwillingness to serve on the Committee.

**His Excellency the Viceroy (addressing Alwar)** :—I am afraid, Your Highness, you have failed in your first attempt as Their Highnesses whom you have suggested have declined to serve on the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—May I propose the names of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala and Navanagar and His Highness the Maharao of Cutch ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—I would like to be excused from serving on this Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—Your Excellency,—As the Committee has unlimited time at its disposal, I think it is highly desirable that we should face the music, and personally I should be very glad to serve on this Committee,

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—As one permanent Committee has already been appointed to consider item (2) of Agendum No. I, may I suggest that the same permanent Committee may undertake this work also ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy (addressing Cutch)** :—I don't think your proposal will do, because two members of the Committee which was appointed yesterday to consider item (2) of Agendum No. I, namely, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala and Gwalior, have already declined to serve on this Committee and therefore it could not be the same Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—I propose the following names :—

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch,

His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar,

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah,

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur,

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior), and

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has moved that the Committee should consist of the following names, namely, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar, His Highness the Maharao of Kotah, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur and His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—Your Excellency,—I have two additional names to suggest, and I propose His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

**Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala and Alwar** :—We have already refused.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur** :—May I ask His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to add the name of the Chief of Sangli as he is in every way better fitted than myself ?

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—I think the presence of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar is necessary on this Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—I think His Highness will serve.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Then there are these names with the addition of that of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Your Excellency,—I have not given my assent.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Do I understand that you decline ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Yes.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—It is proposed that a Committee consisting of His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, His Highness the Maharao of Kotah, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch), His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner be appointed to consider Agendum No. II.

*The motion was carried.*

The Conference was adjourned to the 25th January.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH DAY.

January 25th, 1919.

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**Presentation of a sword to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.**

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Your Excellency,—On account of the mournful event which happened in the Royal Family, the banquet which was to have come off on the 24th of this month had to be regretfully postponed. As President of the Reception Committee, which was formed in connection with the banquet, it is my privilege to request Your Excellency to present on our behalf this sword to our esteemed brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, who so ably represented us last year at the Imperial Conference in London. It is painful for us all that a deplorable mishap should have led to an alteration in the plans for the presentation, but I may say that, anyhow, it will be a great pleasure to His Highness to receive this sword from the hands of Your Excellency.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Your Highness,—It is a great pleasure to me to be able to present this sword to you to-day on behalf of your brother Princes. I should like to thank you also personally myself for the dignity and self-restraint with which you exercised the functions of a representative of the States at the Imperial Conference, and I congratulate you.

*(His Excellency then presented the sword to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.)*

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**Vote of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.**

**His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur :—**Your Excellency and Your Highnesses,—Perhaps it is not necessary to make any introductory remarks in moving the following resolution, which stands in my name. But on an unique occasion like this it may not be inopportune to say that, whatever help we were able to render in the prosecution of the late war, was readily given because we thought that it was our paramount duty to serve our King-Emperor with whole-hearted devotion and without the least idea of claiming privileges and honours in return. It is not our object at the present moment to embarrass the Government, which appreciates fully our war efforts, but to co-operate with them in removing certain anomalies which have crept in in our relations with the Imperial Government. I may assure them, on behalf of my brother Princes, that we do not approach them in a captious spirit, eager to find fault with them and their officers, but only to draw attention to the disabilities we are working under, and to ask for a solution in a spirit of sympathy and justice :—

**RESOLUTION.**

*This Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs desires to express its sincerest gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India for the solicitude shown by them in their Report on the Indian*

*Constitutional Reforms, for promoting the welfare of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and safeguarding their interests. They are especially grateful for the assurance, 'That no constitutional changes, which may take place, will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, sanads, and engagements.' This Conference also desires to place on record its deep sense of appreciation of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's noble endeavours in bringing together the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and giving them an opportunity for free and frank discussion and friendly exchange of views with their brother Princes and the Government of India and all matters affecting their States. They are specially grateful for the confidence His Excellency reposed in them where questions of Imperial interests were concerned thus bringing the Princes and Chiefs of India in closer touch with the Imperial Government and encouraging them to take an active interest in problems not only of India but of the whole Empire.'*

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**I add my concurrence on behalf of the Princes of Rajputana and thank Your Excellency and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India for the industry and care that has been bestowed in preparing the Joint Report and for the solicitude shown in it for guarding and promoting the interests of Ruling Princes. It is very gratifying to find expressions therein giving assurances that "no constitutional changes which may take place in British India will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads* and engagements or by established practice" and that "the British Government will observe treaty obligations, refrain from interference and protect the States from it". Acknowledgments are due also for the handsome appreciation of the services which the States have rendered in the recent gigantic struggle.

The eminent authors of the Report have rightly found out the cause of uncertainty and uneasiness when they observe in their Report that uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinction of status ; and practice appropriate in the case of lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also, "that the Princes, viewing the application of this case-law which is grown up around the treaties to their individual relations with Government, are uneasy as to its ultimate effect and that they fear that uses and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty rights of individual States". These are indeed the lofty motives underlying the Report.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala :—**I freely beg to acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude the Indian Princes and their States owe His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the broad-minded manner in which they have endeavoured to meet our wishes and aspirations. A cordial tribute is due to them for their lofty ideals and for the labours and thought they have bestowed on the formulation of their scheme. I fervently hope the coming changes may yield the happiest results and conduce to the greater glory of our Empire.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**On behalf of myself and on behalf of my brother Princes in the Bombay Presidency, I would like to add my whole-hearted concurrence in the resolution so ably proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—**On behalf of myself and on behalf of the Punjab Princes, I beg to add my whole-hearted concurrence in the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**On behalf of the Princes of Central India, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

*The resolution was put and carried.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Your Highnesses,—I appreciate very highly the friendly spirit which prompted His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to move this resolution and the sentiments to which it gives expression. It will be a great encouragement to the Secretary of State and to myself to know that our efforts to associate the great Princes of India more closely with the Government of this great Empire and to improve our mutual relations are so gratefully recognised, and I can assure you that those efforts will not be relaxed.

I thank Your Highnesses most warmly on behalf of myself and the Secretary of State, to whom I shall not fail to communicate the terms of this resolution.

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#### ADDRESS BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

Now that this Conference is coming to an end, it is fitting that I should offer, on behalf of my brother Princes and myself, some observations on matters of general interest as well as on the useful experience which the present session has brought us all.

On the first day of our meeting, Your Excellency's remarkable address brought home to us, more clearly than ever, the complexity of the Indian States' problem as well as the difficulty of finding for it a suitable solution. But more of this later.

It seems more suitable that I should, at the outset, briefly allude to certain epoch-making events which by their importance appear to me to claim priority of mention.

The Armistice, which was signed on November the 11th, marked for the Allies the happy ending of the greatest war known to history, involving a heart-breaking expenditure of blood and treasure. There is in this occasion for deep thankfulness to the Ordainer of human affairs. We now look forward to the conclusion of a just and lasting peace—a peace which, we trust, will not only secure tranquillity to the British Empire for a long time to come, but will also bring about a fair adjustment of the rights of all races and communities.

I refer to the glorious end of the war to recall what has rendered its achievement possible. Bearing in mind the part played in the war by the British Empire, I think it is no exaggeration to say that it was the absolute unity of that composite structure which operated most powerfully towards that end. And if I may raise a further question only to supply an equally obvious answer : what rendered such perfect cohesion possible ? It was the personality of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor which has won him an ample and firm place in the affections of his people. It is not the sentiment which only tradition breeds that I express, but a deduction from the world's history when I say that a hereditary throne is the greatest binding and welding force in the life of nations and communities. We, Princes of India, rejoice to find, on all sides, undeniable evidence of attachment to the British Throne and it inspires us with the brightest hopes for the good of humanity and the peace of the world to find the British Throne, to which we are bound by very close ties, more secure than ever before, and, I may say, in consequence of the great

struggle which has thrown many a Crown into the melting pot. This security which is broad-based upon the affection and good-will of the people is, we firmly believe, going shortly to find its counter part in the adoption of liberal measures calculated to improve the machinery of the governance of India.

These measures, which are irrevocably promised, will bring in their train enhanced loyalty and contentment in India and the ampler they can be made with a due regard for the conditions that are, and the quicker they can be enforced, the greater will be their certain result. I am not using the language of convention, but I speak from conviction when I say that both the amplitude and the expedition are assured by the combination which we all regard to be of happy augury, *viz.*, the continuation of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty and the re-appointment to the Secretaryship of State for India of the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu.

The recent elevation of our distinguished countryman, Sir Satyendra Sinha, to the peerage, and his appointment to an office in the British Government, is an example of true insight, great political imagination, and what is even more important of genuine honesty of purpose, and we refuse to credit the libel from wherever it emanates that, in this measure of simple justice to a people, there is even the slightest taint of party or other questionable tactics. The recognition of India's rights is further emphasised by her direct representation in the Peace Conference. And in the inclusion of our illustrious brother, the Maharaja of Bikaner, amongst the delegates to Versailles, we recognize the determination to accord to the Indian States their rightful place in the fabric of the British Empire. For all this our heartfelt thanks are due to Your Excellency's insight into existing conditions, Mr. Montagu's powerful grasp of facts, no less than to the sympathy and sense of justice of the British Cabinet. To all of them we are also grateful for the generous appreciation of our services during the war.

I come now to Your Excellency's opening address. I propose to deal with it in the order of importance of the points that call for notice.

Your Excellency called upon us to remember that the British Government is the Paramount Power in India. As regards this direct reminder, we feel no hesitation in saying, and saying it as unequivocally as possible, that the paramountcy of the British Government is a fact that is not open to challenge. It is a fact that is readily admitted and a fact that is recognized as a blessing, because it is accompanied with justice.

It is perhaps within the experience of us all that side issues have a tendency to confound the more important ones. The bearing of this remark will be apparent when I recall to Your Excellency's mind the origin of the present Conference and of the desire for the formation of a collective body of Princes. That desire was not the result of the impending changes in the administrative machinery of India ; it was the outcome of the feeling that so long as each State sought the solution of its difficulties, or the removal of its disabilities by individual representation, such difficulties, though in many instances common, were apt to be treated as peculiar to the State which represented them. And while this possible misapprehension prevailed, not only was the realization of the fact that difficulties were common to the States likely to be unduly delayed, but the individual representations could not be expected to carry the weight they deserved. This was one determining factor. The absence of an organ for the collective expression of opinion was also responsible for bringing about a condition of affairs in which the interests of the States in such matters as affected them jointly with British India were exposed to the risk

of being ignored. In addition, there were certain crying needs which it has now been sought to meet by the application of plain and direct remedies. And these remedies, such, for instance, as the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry for the purposes stated, and the placing of States in direct political relations with the Government of India, are, I may say, so essential that their application does not admit of delay.

Allusion was made by Your Excellency to the improvement of relations between the Crown and the States. With regard to this all that is desired is that the various rights secured to the States by their individual treaties, as also their inherent sovereign rights, shall be ensured to them and consistently respected and, further, that no practice or measure would in future be permitted to come into being which directly or indirectly over-rides the expressed or implied intention of the treaties.

It will be admitted that no treaties are ever comprehensive documents. Ours having been drawn up to meet the conditions that existed at the time of their conclusion, and having had for their purpose the attainment of particular objects they can cover but a very limited field. Their tenor, however, is unmistakable and their general clauses clearly indicate the enjoyment by the States of a status and position which, in the course of time, have suffered diminution in practice. Therefore, what the States ask for is that no measures inconsistent with this tenor and those clauses should be adopted by the Imperial Government and imposed upon the States. In any case to all such measures as are likely to affect, in any degree, the internal autonomy of the States, their free consent should be previously obtained.

Then, again, there was reference to the necessity of making a distinction between the more important States and the rest, and Your Excellency remarked that the distinction could only be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The fundamental consideration determining the distinction could not have been more aptly described, and we entirely concur with this principle.

As regards Commissions of Enquiry, in order to allay the apprehensions of some of the less affluent States, Your Excellency thought fit to give a very positive assurance that such Commissions "would never be allowed to develop into engines of oppression to be used by the richer against the poorer States." The sentiment underlying the assurance is in consonance with the best traditions of the British Government. But if I may venture so to put it, there is also another side to the shield and an apposite and real danger to be avoided. An equal degree of determination should characterise the resolve to see that the accident of wealth is not detrimental to the interests of any State. The fear might not unnaturally be entertained that, where there was a clear case for the appointment of a Commission, the less affluent State—and disparity there must be between the means of any two States—might find it very convenient to plead comparative poverty, and by plausibly appealing to the possibility of oppression prevent adjudication by a means unquestionably the fairest. Such pleas often go with a bad case, and *per contra* wealth and a good case are quite a conceivable combination. In the ordinary law court it might sometimes happen that the command of the Bar may deflect the award in the direction of the longest purse; but before independent Commissions, such as those contemplated in the Reforms Report, the merits of the case may be safely relied upon to prevail over all other considerations.

I am afraid I have taxed Your Excellency's patience rather long, but the importance of the occasion and the magnitude of the interests at stake rendered this unavoidable.

While thanking Your Excellency for the patience and sympathy with which you have guided our deliberations, we earnestly hope that our labours will bear rich fruit in the near future.

As regards the results achieved by the present Conference in respect of the important subjects that came before us for discussion, I will only make a brief reference here on each point.

1. We have decided by a majority that a definite line should be drawn hereafter between the Sovereign States and others.

2. As regards the question of the examination of treaties and the need of codifying and standardising past usage, we have appointed a Special Committee to thresh out this question with the Government of India and make suggestions at our next meeting.

3. We have unanimously decided in favour of the early establishment of an organisation of Princes which is to be hereafter called by the name of "Narendra Mandal." (in English) Chamber of Princes.

4. We have carried resolutions for the establishment of Commissions of Enquiry and for the election of Standing Committees as outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, but with slight modification.

5. We have cordially and unanimously supported the proposition of direct political relations between all the important States and the Imperial Government.

6. A Committee has been appointed to deal with the question of precedence *inter se*.

7. We have also decided that this Conference recommends that the consideration of the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes should be postponed until the Chamber of Princes and Chiefs has been established and until the result of the proposals made for the introduction of the reforms in British India is definitely known.

I am afraid I have taxed Your Excellency's patience rather long, but the importance of the occasion and the magnitude of the interests involved rendered this unavoidable. While thanking Your Excellency for the patience and sympathy with which you have guided our deliberations, we earnestly hope that our labours will bear rich fruit in the near future.

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## HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE.

I thank Your Highness for the reply which you have just made to my opening address at the commencement of this Conference. The text of the reply only reached my hands a few minutes before this sitting, and you will not expect me therefore, in such circumstances, to deal off-hand with the important matters which have been discussed in it. I have already alluded to them in my opening speech, but I can assure Your Highnesses that all that has passed in debate here, and the views which have been expressed in Your Highnesses' reply, will receive our most careful consideration. I think

we all agree that the debates this year have been of special interest, and I am sure that they have been of value to us all. It is always a great pleasure to me personally to have this opportunity of meeting Your Highnesses here, enabling you to discuss with me and with other members of my Government the problems which you have at heart, and I can assure you that we are all of us delighted to see you and discuss things with you.

It now only remains for me to wish Your Highnesses good-bye and a safe return to your States, and to express the hope that you may be all here once again in November to consider the important matters which we discussed at these Conferences.

May I say that, to constitute a permanent record of this Conference, a photograph will be taken immediately after our adjournment to-day. I now wish Your Highnesses good-bye and thank you for your attendance here and for the fruitful discussions which have taken place. (*Applause.*)

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**Resolutions passed by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs held at Delhi on the 20th January 1919 and following days.**

### **Imperial and Allied Victory.**

*Resolved.*—That the Ruling Princes of India assembled in this Conference request His Excellency the Viceroy kindly to transmit to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor their respectful but warmest congratulations on the glorious termination of the war, coupled with an assurance of their abiding loyalty and attachment to His August Person and Throne. They also desire to seize this opportunity of paying a collective tribute to the brilliant achievements of the Imperial and Allied Naval, Military and Air Forces on all fronts, which have so completely crippled enemy power and resistance and have brought the prospect of an enduring peace within measurable distance.

### **Death of His Royal Highness Prince John.**

*Resolved.*—That the Ruling Princes in Conference assembled beg to record their deep sense of grief at the bereavement suffered by Their Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress in the untimely and sad demise of His Royal Highness Prince John, and they beg to request His Excellency the President to convey to Their Majesties their united heart-felt condolences on this mournful event.

*Resolved further.*—That this Conference be adjourned until such time as His Excellency the President sees fit to reassemble it.

### **Agendum I—Item (1).**

*Resolved*—

(a) that this Conference recommends that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report ;

(b) that this Conference recommends that the line of demarcation should be between (i) Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and (ii) all other States ;

(c) that the Chamber of Princes should consist—

(i) of Sovereign Princes, and

(ii) such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes ; and

(d) that the Conference would commend to the favourable consideration of the Government of India the relaxations of restriction now imposed on the powers of a Ruler in cases where such restrictions are imposed by practice or usage or in pursuance of the terms of any treaty, *sanad*, or engagement. The above recommendation is subject to the proviso that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member shall not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such State.



**Agendum I—Item (2).**

*Resolved*.—That a permanent Committee of Princes may be elected by the Conference for one year to have periodical sittings with the officers of the Imperial Government from the Political and Legislative Departments, in order that the subject may be threshed out in all its bearings and finally submitted before the next year's Conference when it could again be generally discussed.

The following Princes were elected to serve on the Committee :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar  
together with

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes and the Political Secretary.

**Agendum I—Item (3).**

*Resolved*.—

(a) that this Conference warmly approves the establishment of a permanent Council of Princes as described in paragraph 306 of the Report; and

(b) that this Conference recommends that the term 'Narendra Mandal' (Chamber of Princes) be adopted as the designation of the proposed body.

**Agendum I—Item (4).**

*Resolved*.—

(a) that the Conference are in favour of the appointment of a Standing Committee :

(b) that the Standing Committee should consist of not more than five members to be appointed by the Chamber, inclusive of the Secretary, who would be *ex-officio* member. That the Committee should contain one representative each from the four divisions of Bombay, Central India, Rajputana and the Punjab. That the Committee should have powers to co-opt additional members ;

(c) that the functions of this Standing Committee should be to advise the Viceroy and the Political Department on matters referred to it by the Viceroy regarding the affairs of Indian States, and that the Committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally or of common interest to India as a whole, either of their own accord, or at the direction of the Chamber of Princes, for the consideration of the Viceroy ; and

(d) that the Agenda for the Chamber of Princes should be decided in consultation with the Standing Committee.

**Agendum I—Items (5) (a) and (b).**

*Resolved*.—

(a) that a recommendation should be made that His Excellency the Viceroy, before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry, should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point, and that,

when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained ; and

(b) that in order to distinguish this form of enquiry from that proposed in paragraph 309, the Commission proposed in paragraph 308 should be called a Judicial Commission.

### **Agendum I—Item (6).**

*Resolved—*

(a) that it should be made clear that the party concerned, on the names of the proposed Commissioners being intimated to him, would have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners. this right to be exercised only once ; and

(b) that the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the Ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a Commission of Enquiry.

### **Agendum I—Item (7).**

*Resolved—*

(a) that this Conference cordially endorses the general opinions expressed in Chapter X of the Reforms Report relating to Indian States regarding the principle of placing all important States in direct political relationship with the Government of India, and that, so far as is possible, all States enjoying Sovereign Powers and salutes of 9 guns or over be placed in such relationship ; and

(b) that in deciding the question in relation to each Province, the subject should be worked out by the Imperial Government, in consultation with all the Princes of the Province concerned, who may be invited to give their views in their own Provincial Conference which may be convened for the purpose.

### **Agendum I—Item (8).**

*Resolved.*—That this Conference recommends that the consideration of the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes should be postponed until the Chamber of Princes and Chiefs has been established and until the result of the proposals made for the introduction of the Reforms in British India is definitely known.

### **Agendum II.**

*Resolved.*—That a Committee consisting of His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, His Highness the Maharao of Kotah, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch), His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar, and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner be appointed to consider Agendum No. II.

**Vote of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.**

*Resolved.*—That this Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs desires to express its sincerest gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India for the solicitude shown by them in

their Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, for promoting the welfare of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and safeguarding their interests. They are especially grateful for the assurance—‘That no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements’. This Conference also desires to place on record its deep sense of appreciation of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford’s noble endeavours in bringing together the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and giving them an opportunity for free and frank discussion and friendly exchange of views with their brother Princes and the Government of India in all matters affecting their States. They are specially grateful for the confidence His Excellency reposed in them, where questions of Imperial interests were concerned, thus bringing the Princes and Chiefs of India in closer touch with the Imperial Government and encouraging them to take an active interest in problems not only of India but of the whole Empire’.

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## APPENDICES.

### APPENDIX A.

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**The Committee appointed on the 20th January recommends the following Draft Resolutions for the consideration of the Conference :—**

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#### **Agendum I—Item (i).**

##### *Draft Resolution A.*

That this Conference recommends that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report.

Carried unanimously.

##### *Resolution B.*

That this Conference recommends that the line of demarcation should be between (i) Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and (ii) all other States.

Carried unanimously, with the exception of His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Chief of Sangli, who reserved their opinions.

##### *Resolution C.*

That the Chamber of Princes should consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes as defined above.

Carried by majority.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur dissenting.

His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Chief of Sangli reserved their opinions.

##### *Resolution D.*

That the Conference would commend to the favourable consideration of the Government of India the relaxation of restrictions now imposed on the powers of a Ruler in cases where such restrictions are imposed by practice or usage or in pursuance of the terms of any treaty, *sanad*, or engagement. The above recommendation is subject to the proviso that, before any enhancement of status is given, full consideration should be paid to the representations of any State possessing feudatory rights over the States affected.

Carried by majority.

Their Highnesses the Begum of Bhopal, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Navanagar, the Maharaja of Kolhapur, and the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) dissenting.

*Resolution E.*

That Ruling Chiefs not entitled to sit in the Chamber should be represented, if they so desire, provided that they shall invariably be represented—

(a) where there is a Sovereign Prince in their Province, by such Prince and

(b) where there is no Sovereign Prince, by a Sovereign Prince of another Province.

Carried by majority.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar and the Chief of Sangli dissenting.

**Agendum I—Item (iii).***Resolution A.*

That this Conference warmly approves the establishment of a permanent Council of Princes as described in paragraph 306 of the Report.

Carried.

*Resolution B.*

That this Conference recommends that the term 'Narendra Mandal' (Chamber of Princes) be adopted as the designation of the proposed body.

Carried.

**Agendum I—Item (iv).***Resolution A.*

That the Conference are in favour of the appointment of a Standing Committee.

Carried.

*Resolution B.*

That the Standing Committee should consist of not more than five members to be appointed by the Chamber, inclusive of the Secretary, who would be *ex-officio* member. That the Committee should contain one representative each from the four divisions of Bombay, Central India, Rajputana and the Punjab. That the Committee should have powers to co-opt additional members.

That the functions of this Standing Committee should be to advise the Viceroy and the Political Department on matters referred to it by the Viceroy regarding the affairs of Indian States, and that the Committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally or of common interest to India as a whole, either of their own accord, or at the direction of the Chamber of Princes, for the consideration of the Viceroy.

That the Agenda for the Chamber of Princes should be decided in consultation with the Standing Committee.

The Resolution was carried unanimously—His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and His Highness the Maharao of Cutch dissenting as regards divisional representation (second sentence of Resolution).

MADHO SINGH,

*Maharaja of Jaipur.*

JEY SINGH,

*Maharaja of Alwar.*

UDAIBHAN SINGH,

*Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.*

SULTAN JEHAN,

*Begum of Bhopal.*

MADHO RAO SCINDIA,

*Maharaja of Gwalior.*

TAKOJI RAO PUAR,

*Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).*

SHAHU CHHATRAPATI,

*Maharaja of Kolhapur.*

MAHARAO KHENGARJI,

*Maharao of Cutch.*

RANJIT SINGH,

*Maharaja of Navanagar.*

APPASAHEB PATWARDHAN,

*Chief of Sangli.*

BHUPINDAR SINGH,

*Maharaja of Patiala.*

AHMED ALI KHAN,

*Nawab of Maler Kotla.*

## APPENDIX B.

The Committee appointed on the 23rd January recommends the following Draft Resolutions for the consideration of the Conference :—

Agendum I—Items (5) (a) and (b).

*Draft Resolution A.*

Resolved that a recommendation should be made that His Excellency the Viceroy, before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry, should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point ; and that, when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained.

That in order to distinguish this form of enquiry from that proposed in paragraph 309, the Commission proposed in paragraph 308 should be called a Judicial Commission.

Agendum I—Item (6).

*Resolution B.*

(a) That it should be made clear that the party concerned on the names of the proposed Commissioners being intimated to him would have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners ; this right to be exercised only once.

(b) That the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the Ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a Commission of Enquiry.

MAHARAO KHENGARJI,

*Maharao of Cutch.*

BHUPINDAR SINGH,

*Maharaja of Patiala.*

JEY SINGH,

*Maharaja of Alwar.*

RANJIT SINGH,

*Maharaja of Navanagar.*

UDAJI RAO PUAR,

*Maharaja of Dhar.*

TALEY MUHAMMAD KHAN,

*Nawab of Palanpur.*

AHMAD ALI KHAN,

*Nawab of Maler Kotla.*

# APPENDIX C.

Memorandum showing existing restrictions on the powers of various Rulers whose eligibility for membership of the Council of Chamber may be in doubt.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTE.		Limitations on powers, if any.	Remarks.
					Perma- nent.	Per- sonal.		
1	MADRAS. Banganapalle	255	39,344	Rs. 2,61,000	..	..	The Rulers of Banganapalle and of Sundur under the terms of their Sanads cannot sentence capitally or execute persons capitally convicted without the previous sanction of the Government of Madras and their powers are otherwise limited. See Sanads on pages 104 and 114 of Aitchison's Treaties, Volume X.	
2	Sandur	164	18,517	93,405	..	..		



Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTE.		Limitations on powers, if any.	Remarks.
					Perma- nent.	Per- sonal.		
3	BOMBAY.* Bhor . . .	925	137,268	Rs. 4,65,433	..	11	The Ruler has powers to make his own laws and also powers to try all cases excepting those which fall either under Chapters VI and VII or sections 302, 303, 305 and the final paragraph of section 307 of the Indian Penal Code which are committed to the Court of the Political Agent, Poona. (Treaties Nos. LXVII and LXIX in Volume VII of Aitchison's Treaties, pages 170-172 and 178-179).	
4	Kathiawar Agency. Sachin . . .	42	18,903	2,08,981	9	11	These Rulers exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and have powers to make their own laws.	The security hon.' against misbehaviour was signed by the principal Rulers when in 1807 the joint forces of the British and the Gaekwar entered Kathiawar (Nos. XVII, XVIII, Volume VI. Aitchison). The British
5	Vankaner . . .	417	32,653	4,68,100	9	11		
6	Palitana . . .	289	52,856	5,14,367	9	..		

7	Dhol .	283	24,358	1,49,630	9	..	These Rulers exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and have powers to make their own laws.
8	Limbdi .	344	31,287	2,50,000	9	..	
9	Rajkot .	282	50,638	3,69,291	9	..	
10	Wadhwan . <i>Rewa Kantha Agency.</i>	236	34,851	4,75,846	9	..	
11	Balasinor† .	189	32,618	1,36,350	9	..	
12	Baria .	813	115,350	7,95,349	9	..	
13	Chhota Udaipur .	873	103,000	7,20,900	9	..	

\* The non-salute Rulers of the jurisdictional States of 3rd to 7th class and of other petty jurisdictional States in the Bombay Presidency which number more than 300 do not possess full powers of internal Administration and their civil and criminal powers are limited in various degrees.

Government acquired exclusive authority in Kathiawar in 1821-22 under arrangements with the Peshwa and the Gaekwar. Cf. Lee-Warner's Native States of India, page 55, item 4 of Statement.

Ditto ditto.  
Ditto ditto.  
Ditto ditto.  
Ditto ditto.

†When the British Government succeeded to the Peshwa's rights, Balasinor came under its political jurisdiction (Volume VI, Aitchison, page 332).

Baria was declared entitled to British protection under Article 10 of the Treaty of Sarji Anjangaon (No. IV, Volume IV, Aitchison).

Owing to a doubt whether the political control of Chhota Udaipur was transferred to the British Government in 1820 along with that of the petty States in Mahi Kantha according to the agreement of 3rd April 1820 with the Baroda State (No. XVII, Volume VIII, Aitchison) an agreement (No. CXXXVI, Volume VI) of subordination was made in 1822.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTE.		Limitations on powers, if any.	Remarks.
					Perma- nent.	Per- sonal.		
	BOMBAY— <i>contd.</i>			Rs.				
	<i>Reva Kantha Agency</i> — <i>contd.</i>							
14	Lunavada . .	388	75,998	3,12,954	9	..	These Rulers exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and have powers to make their own laws.	Under the Treaty with Scindia on the 12th December 1860 (No. XII, Volume IV, Aitchison) the States became tributaries to British Government.
15	Sunth . . .	394	70,974	2,31,663	9	..		
	<i>Surat Agency.</i>							
16	Bansda . .	215	44,594	5,69,356	9	..		Became tributary with the treaty of Bassain with the Peshwa in 1802 (No. XIII, Volume VI, Aitchison).
17	Dharampur . .	704	115,000	8,00,000	9	..		Ditto ditto.
18	<i>Thana Agency.</i> Jawhar . .	310	3,489	2,04,948	..	..		When the British Government succeeded to the Peshwa's rights, Jawhar came under its political control. On a dispute as to succession in 1822 the British Government issued a memorandum of settlement (No. LI, Volume VII, Aitchison) appointing the mother of the minor Prince administratrix.

Southern Mahratta Country States.										
19	Sangli . . .	1,112	2,26,128	11,58,051	9	..				On the overthrow of the Peshwa, three engagements (Nos. XCVI, XGVII and XGVIII, Volume VII, Aitchison) were concluded in 1819, by which the six Patwardhan families became dependent on the British Government.
20	Miraj (Senior) .	339	81,467	2,92,770	..	..				...
21	Miraj (Junior) .	210	35,806	2,57,760	..	..				....
22	Kurundwad (Senior)	185	42,474	1,59,131	..	..				....
23	Kurundwad (Junior)	114	34,003	1,69,300	..	..				....
24	Mudhol . . .	368	63,001	3,14,922	9	..				.....
25	Jamkhandi . . .	524	105,357	8,05,350	..	9				On the fall of the Peshwa, Mudhol was continued to its Ruler under an engagement made in 1819 (No. CIII, Volume VII, Aitchison) similar to that with the Patwardhans.
26	Ramdurg . . .	169	37,848	1,61,810	..	..				On the fall of the Peshwa the State was continued to its Rulers by an engagement (No. CII, Volume VII, Aitchison), dated the 9th June 1821

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On the fall of the Peshwa the State was continued to its Rulers by an engagement (No. CII, Volume VII, Aitchison), dated the 9th June 1821.

These Rulers exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and have powers to make their own laws, but the Political Agent and the Government of Bombay exercise certain special powers of control in civil and criminal cases.

The system is based upon Article 9 of the Treaty of 1819 at page 274 of Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VII.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTE.		Limitations on powers, if any.	Remarks.
					Perma- nent.	Per- sonal.		
27	BOMBAY— <i>conold.</i> <i>Dharwar Agency.</i> Savanur*	70	18,446	Rs. 1,15,072	..	..	*The same system prevails as in the case of the Southern Mahratha Country States with the addition that each sentence requires confirmation by the Government of Bombay.	As this petty State was rather a grant in lieu of pension than an independent jagir, the British Government on its accession to the sovereignty of the Southern Mahratha Country, exercised complete jurisdiction over Savanur, but when grants of privileged classes were formed, the Nawab was placed on the 1st rank and in consideration of the former high position and power of the family was declared to be no longer subject to the jurisdiction of the Magistrate of the district.
28	<i>Belgaum.</i> Savantvadi	925	217,240	4,44,000	9	..	The powers of the Rulers are indeterminate as the State has been under administration for nearly 100 years but Savantvadi originally held a more independent position than the Southern Mahratha Country States. See Aitchison's Treaties, page 307, Volume VII.	The Savantvadi State acknowledged the British supremacy by the Treaty of 1819 (No. CVIII in Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VII).

29	PUNJAB.† Bilaspur	448	92,525	3,00,000	11	..	See Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VIII, pages 302 and 322.
30	Chamba	3,216	135,873	4,00,000	11	..	See Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VIII, page 367.
31	Faridkot	642	130,294	11,00,000	11	..	See Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VIII, page 298.
32	Malerkotla	167	71,144	11,00,000	11	..	.....
33	Mandi	1,200	181,110	5,00,000	11	..	See Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VIII, page 363.
34	Sirmur	1,198	138,520	6,00,000	11	..	See Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VIII, pages 302, 317 and 319.
35	Suket	420	54,928	2,00,000	11	..	See Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VIII, page 393.
36	Loharu	222	18,597	1,00,684	9	..	The following clause occurs in the Loharu Sanad of 4th May 1806:—"From that time the British Government will have no concern whatever with those mehals, which will always remain in your possession and that of your descendants; as those lands require the exercise of arbitrary power, no complaint will be received from the inhabitants of them." (Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VIII, pages 129-130.)

†The Rulers of Kalsia, Dujana, Pataudi and of the petty Simla Hill States do not enjoy salutes and are required to have capital sentences passed by them confirmed by the Political authorities.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTE.		Limitations on powers, if any.	Remarks.
					Perma- nent.	Per- sonal.		
BIHAR AND ORISSA.*								
37	Mayurbhanj†	4,243	729,848	Rs. 16,53,294	9	..	†The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj under clause III of his Sanad of 1915 is bound to conform, in all matters concerning the preservation of law and order and the administration of justice generally, within the limits of his State, to the instructions that may be issued by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa in Council. There are also certain other restrictions on the internal administrative powers of the Ruler of Mayurbhanj.	
38	Kalahandi†	3,745	419,413	3,75,898	9	..	†The Feudatory Chiefs of Kalahandi, Patna and Sonpur under the terms of their Sanads are required to have capital sentences confirmed by the Political Agent and bound to accept and follow such a vice as instructions as may be communicate to them by the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, or any officer vested	
39	Patna†	2,399	408,821	4,36,763	9	..		
40	Sonpur†	906	215,716	2,07,802	9	..		

41	Assam. Manipur	8,000 (including zamin- dars in British India).	346,222	4,42,201	11	..	with authority in that behalf by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa in Council.  The Maharaja of Manipur by the terms of the Sanad granted to him in 1891 is bound to fulfil all orders given by the British Government with regard to the administration of his territories. (Pages 269-270 of Aitchison's Treaties, Volume II.)
CENTRAL PROVINCES.							
Nil.							
42	CENTRAL INDIA. Ratlam**	643	75,291	9,00,000	13	..	**These Rulers exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and have powers to make their own laws, but sentences of death, transportation for life or imprisonment for life passed by State Courts must be submitted for confirmation by the Agent to the Governor-General.
43	Sailana**	279	26,885	3,89,268	11	..	
44	Sitamarhi**	185	26,484	3,00,000	11	..	

\*The Feudatory Chiefs of Bamra and Rehrakhol have by the terms of their Sanads full jurisdiction in all matters whether criminal, civil or revenue subject to the proviso that sentences of death require the confirmation of Political authorities. Other Feudatory Chiefs in Bihar and Orissa which total 20 and which do not enjoy salutes have, by the terms of their Sanads, varying degrees of restrictions on their powers.

†The Chiefs of the Khasi States (25) enjoy only limited powers.  
‡In all the States (15 in number), except Chang Bhakar, Jashpur, Korea, Sirguja and Udaipur, the Chiefs are bound by their Feudal Bond to submit sentences of death or of imprisonment exceeding 7 years for confirmation by Political authorities. In Chang Bhakar, Jashpur, Korea, Sirguja and Udaipur the Chiefs possess very limited jurisdiction. See pages 392-393 of Aitchison's Treaties, Volume I.

¶In the case of the small Chiefs and estates in Central India, Political authorities exercise residual jurisdiction which extends to the trial of all heinous offences and in some estates to the hearing of civil suits and appeals.



Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTE.		Limitations on powers, if any.	Remarks.
					Perma- nent.	Per- sonal.		
	CENTRAL INDIA— <i>contd.</i>			Rs.				
45	Narsinggarh*	734	109,854	6,05,309	11	..		*These Rulers have full civil powers and the power to make their own laws but possess limited criminal jurisdiction. The Political Agent tries cases of murder, culpable homicide, rape and daktaiti.
46	Rajgarh*	962	127,297	6,01,305	11	..		
47	Khilchipur*	273	40,075	1,62,630	9	..		
48	Jhabua	1,336	111,292	2,53,400	11	..		
49	Barwani	1,178	108,583	6,00,000	9	11		These Rulers have full civil powers and the power to make their own laws but possess limited criminal jurisdiction. All heinous offences are reported to the Political Agent who has discretion to make them over to the State Courts for trial. The proceedings of State Courts in cases made over to them are subject to revision by the Political Agent. Sentences of death require the confirmation of the Agent to the Governor-General.
50	Alirajpur	836	72,454	3,18,200	9	..		
51	Ajaigarh	802	87,093	3,25,000	11	..		
52	Baoni	121	20,121	1,30,000	11	..		
53	Bijawar	973	125,202	2,40,000	11	..		These Rulers have full civil powers and powers to make

54	Charkhari	880	132,530	6,00,000	11	..	<p>their own laws but possess limited criminal jurisdiction.</p> <p>Hainous offences are tried by the Political Agent, but at his discretion he may allow the proceedings to be conducted in the State Courts and only pass the final order himself. He may use his discretion whether to interfere in other cases or not.</p>
55	Chhatarpur	1,118	166,985	5,00,000	11	..	
56	Panna	2,596	228,380	6,60,000	11	..	
57	Baraundha	218	16,982	17,173	9	..	
58	Maihar	407	73,155	1,97,078	9	..	
59	Nagod	501	74,592	1,98,000	9	..	

## APPENDIX D.

**Note by His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar.**

The Government of India has been pleased to ask for my views on Agenda prepared for discussion at the forthcoming Princes' Conference at Delhi. The questions which are eight in number can be reduced under two main heads :

(1) The subject matter referred to under paragraphs 1—7 of the Agenda is relating to the recommendations made by His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India contained in the Chapter H of their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

(2) Regarding questions of precedence of Ruling Princes *inter se* at social functions.

2. Before entering into the particular questions at issue, it will not be out of place to make a few general observations regarding the scheme formulated by the illustrious authors of the Report so far as it contains the recommendations for the Indian States. It must be admitted on all hands that the Indian States have hitherto maintained within their own ring fence an unique isolated position of *imperium in imperio* and have hitherto been content in developing their own resources and improving and ameliorating, as best as they could, the condition of their people, and as much as possible co-operated with the Paramount Power coming to its aid when such co-operation or aid was needed, but no machinery ever existed for a united action with regard to either, for Imperial purposes or for the development of their Order generally or of the whole of India. The time has, however, changed and the self-sufficiency of these States has gradually been vanishing before the spread of civilisation and freedom of communications and there has arisen community of interests between these States and British India making them more or less economically inter-dependent on one another in matters which are common to all the States and of joint interest to them as well as British India, the two halves in which the Indian Empire exists linked and held together by the Paramount Power. The development of trade, commerce and fiscal necessities have been exercising a levelling influence on the life of the people. These signs of the times cannot be ignored, nor can they be misread, nor the fact that the various influences that are at work have been entering into our very fabric bringing unification of thoughts and ideas in the people. Up till now no constitutional form of Government existed in India ; now it is the wish of the illustrious authors of the Report that a constitutional form of Government should be given to British India by securing for her people a progressive realisation of responsible Government, in order that the Indian Empire "may have an honourable position as an integral part of the Empire". Any reconstitution of the present constitution of the Indian Empire, therefore, cannot be complete without considering the position of these Indian States which embrace one-third of the area of the Indian Empire and one-fourth of its population. The problem is as intricate as it is complex in its nature and it had presented peculiar difficulties for solution which the illustrious authors of the Report have, after consulting some of the leading Princes, most tactfully tackled. The illustrious authors of the Report have, so far as it is compatible with the unique and peculiar position

Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, paragraph 312.

Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, paragraph 305.

enjoyed by the Princes, Sovereign within their own territories, linked them together in order that they may be drawn "still closer in the orbit of the Empire", "without impairing their

rights, dignities, *izzat* and privileges secured to them by mutual treaties and engagements and *sanads*". The care and solicitude with which the question has been faced are worthy of the two distinguished statesmen who have formulated the scheme, and our Order must acknowledge with gratitude the scope which has been given for our self-development without affecting our internal autonomy which we prize so much. We must also be grateful for the handsome acknowledgment of what little our Order could do to help the Empire in the titanic struggle which has recently been brought to a glorious conclusion, and also for

Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, paragraph 298.

recognition of the fact that the "Empire's quarrel was our quarrel". We are also grateful for the sympathetic feelings, the noble sentiments, and the high motives which actuated

the noble authors of the Report in framing their recommendations.

3. In order to meet the growing needs of the time, the introduction of a machinery capable of responding to each other's needs and aspirations, is the keynote of these proposals, and this noble purpose cannot be served unless the galaxy of the Indian States are constituted into a well-ordered constellation by bringing them more in touch with His Excellency the Viceroy and by forging a new link between the States and British India. This is meant to be done by the creation of a new factor to be called the Princes' Council, an idea which has been in development since the régime of Lord Lytton without affecting the internal "autonomy" of the various units which the whole system is composed of. This is meant to be effected by keeping three safety valves in the machinery as follows :—

- (i) The first and foremost of these is the option left to the States themselves whether to enter into the scheme or not. For

Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, paragraph 300.

the proposal says that "it would be a strange reward for loyalty and devotion to force new ideas upon those who did not desire them."

- (ii) By assuring that the "rights, dignities and *izzat*, and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads* and engagements or by established practice", will not be affected by these constitutional reforms.

Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, paragraph 305.

- (iii) By leaving the States free as hitherto "for direct transaction of business between the Government of India and the States."

Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, paragraph 306.

4. Thus leaving the mainspring of the machinery intact and by strengthening the existing links and forging the still closer ones in the mighty chain of relationships between the Government and the Indian States other parts have been proposed to be changed or introduced for the smooth working of the machinery as a whole. The scheme, as proposed by the noble authors of the Report under paragraph 302 of the Report, appears to be intended for only important States. The terminology "important" seems to have been further explained to comprise only those States which are fully autonomous. This criterion to my mind would create heartburning to many otherwise important States as they will be deprived of the benefit of the scheme, although I think on an examination of the Treaties the Government can accord in full the inherent sovereignty to some of the States by divesting itself of any residuary jurisdiction which it may be exercising in practice but which is not warranted by the exact terms of the treaties, thus bringing them under the category of fully "autonomous States." Nevertheless there will be others whose status on account of their historical traditions, size and population may be considered

equally important and these States are likely to be left out by the recommended differentiation. Therefore, I think, it would be advisable to include all hereditary salute States for the purpose of the scheme in general, effecting further differentiation for particular purposes of the scheme, as for instance, (1) for direct relations with the Paramount Power, and (2) for Council purposes. As regards first, the basis of differentiation ought to be the Treaty rights of the States. Therefore all fully autonomous Treaty States in the enjoyment of hereditary salutes should be classed under one group for the purpose of (1), and for (2) the Rulers of all States enjoying a hereditary salute of 15 guns and over and such others of recognised importance on account of their historical traditions, size and population should be made eligible for seats in the Council. The Rulers of these States should have personal votes and others should have seats in the Council by election and should be represented collectively. This will leave a certain number of States which will not be eligible for individual seats in the Council. For these States the question of constituting provincial Councils may be considered with advantage.

5. For speedier transaction of business and for bringing the States more in touch with the Government it has been proposed that all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India, i.e., in future their correspondence should pass through only one intermediary. This will lead to some important changes in the existing machinery and probably in the cadre of the Political Department. We cannot ignore the fact that this machinery has an excellent record in the past and has played a very important part in developing the resources of many States; nor can we pass over without paying our grateful thanks to those Political Officers of the old school who cemented the friendship of the State and are still cementing it with the Government. It is not that we are less appreciable of the useful part this machinery has played in the past, but we are more apprehensive of a greater and more delicate task before it which the exigencies of the time require. And if I am permitted to say so, I may add that in order to be a complete success, the future machinery must have in it some elements introduced so as to be fully responsive to finer touches while playing its double rôle, the mouthpiece of the Government and the custodian of the Imperial policy as well as the interpreter of the feelings, sentiments and the aspirations of the Indian States.

#### INTERVENTION.

His Excellency the Viceroy, who is responsible to His Majesty's Government at home for the safety and good government of the Indian Empire as a whole, retains in his hands a right of timely intervention in the Indian States

though the States are fully "autonomous" in their internal affairs. The Report points out that this autonomy secured to the

States by a particular clause in the treaties "has not in the past precluded and does not even now preclude interference with the administration by Government." This right the distinguished authors of the Report wish to have kept intact in future. "The guarantee to a Native Ruler against the risk of being dethroned by insurrection necessarily involves a corresponding guarantee to his subjects against intolerable misgovernment" is a theory propounded by Sir C. L. Tupper and Sir Lee Warner. As the time has considerably changed since his theory was propounded and the ideas of the people have been changing with it and as the Rulers are gradually becoming educated and enlightened, there is very

little chance of any rising or insurrection of the people against their Rulers. However, on this basis if intervention becomes necessary it may be tolerated, but not interference on any other paltry round as it is likely to happen, *e.g.*, from constant complaint of a ring of disaffected and discontented subjects of a State or on the public comments of political agitators. Against these the position of the Princes must be safeguarded. Hence a great caution and discretion will have to be exercised when or not any action is needed, and my humble view on this point is to follow a policy of "watch and wait" rather than of taking a hasty step which would do more harm than good by preventing the matters from settling themselves in their natural course. It is only on the ground of intolerable misgovernment and flagrant misrule that any action will be justified. The degree of so-called misgovernment which will be tolerated and the consequences that will follow will, I presume, depend on the nature of each particular case and in extreme cases might lead to trials of the Rulers if that be the meaning of the illustrious authors of the Report. In this respect I may point out that the very idea of putting a Ruling Prince on his trial is shocking to the Indian mind, though such instances may not be wanting in the past. As an improvement is being made in every direction leading to the reconstruction of the machinery, why not an improvement in this very idea itself?

"Man must pass from old to new  
From what once seemed good, to  
What now proves best."

By this it is not meant that misgovernment or misrule is to be tolerated and supported but nothing short of "flagrant misgovernment" should set the machinery in motion, and this machinery must needs improve. Until the people are not so much advanced as to exact from their Ruler the proper discharge of duties towards them, some machinery must exert its influence on him in serious cases and, if ever such occasion arises to try him, let him be judged by his peers at the instance of the Paramount Power. But the machinery should be set in motion from the top and not from the bottom and the commission that will enquire into the case should have in its composition some members on behalf of the Princes, as even in a small *Punchayet* the parties are not denied of having their own nominees.

#### TREATY RIGHTS.

It appears that some of the States have apprehension that their treaty rights, privileges and prerogatives have a tendency of being gradually frittered away. So to reassure them it has been suggested to have the treaties standardised and codified. It is not clear how this is going to be effected and in what way the process is to be operative. This may lead to the initiation of a new principle, if not exactly a change of policy. If it is meant to classify the States as explained in paragraph 4 of this note, to ascertain the exact position held by the States according to their treaties, the proposal is quite welcome. But when it is said that they are to be "reviewed" it sounds a note of alarm, as such review cannot be done without entering into the terms of the treaties. The process to be adopted must level up and not level down. I need not say that the treaties are sacred relics to both the parties and the "keeper of our conscience", the "plighted faith" of the people through their representatives. The spirit as well as the letter of these treaties is of great importance. The development of the British system has rendered the provision of some of

the treaties a little irksome and at times they block the completion of Government projects. New Departments arise and inaugurate new policies which pay very little regard to the prescriptive rights of the Native States. A growing corollary of the theory of imperial partnership seems to be that the Government is not necessarily bound by treaties which are considered obsolete. This school of thought which considered the treaties to have served their time and to be now obsolete is gradually growing and, unless a strong policy of scrupulous maintenance of treaties is declared, we must be apprehensive of a danger ahead, for once that idea is supported and we begin to think that the treaties can be changed when necessity arises we do not know where it will lead to. The conditions and circumstances under which the treaties were made might have changed, but the documents still exist and if they can be reviewed in the light of the case law which has grown up around the treaties what certitude there is that the terms which will now replace the originals would stand the test of time, not to speak of centuries? So in each changing circumstance they will have to be changed and in every period the original is likely to be whittled away. But our Order must acknowledge gratefully the assurance already given by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in his public utterances, first in his inaugural speech at the Conference of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs on the 13th October 1916 in which a declaration has been made in the following significant words:—

“These treaties are sacred and I can assure you that it will be my earnest desire to maintain them not only in the letter but in the spirit in which they were framed”. And secondly in his memorable speech at Dhar on the 13th August 1918 in which His Excellency said “I need not assure Your Highness that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges and interests of the relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours and welcome the Rulers equally cordially as partners and co-workers”. These assurances, I am thankful to say, will have gone a considerable way towards removing our apprehensions and allaying our anxieties.

#### JOINT DELIBERATION ON MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST.

This is a very complex subject and is not so simple as it appears to be, as, while giving practical effect to the principle enunciated, many difficulties will arise and will have to be very cautiously dealt with; underneath this principle flows the idea of “give and take,” a necessary corollary of our Imperial partnership and how far our Order will be prepared to accept this idea can only be seen from results. The Princes will not wish to have their domestic matters discussed, nor the people in British India wish that the Princes should have any voice in any matters domestic of British India. The influences of the time, however, cannot be ignored; they are not respectors of persons and are making us every day economically inter-dependent. On matters of common interest, therefore, though theoretically we are “isolated”, our people are being daily affected and it is not possible to check the inrush of the torrent by raising artificial sand bars. Face it we must boldly and we must turn it to our best advantage. By natural process what is needed is being done, then why not an adoption of a common platform to stand upon for exchange of our views on matters of joint interest and those that are of vital interest to India, as a whole, so that our energies may be combined for the good of us both and of India generally and that actions taken in all cases of joint interest may be to our mutual advantage. For not having a machinery of this nature for joint

deliberation, the Indian States have been "vitaly affected in the past by decisions taken without reference to them." And our Order must be grateful to the illustrious authors of the Report for recognising the fact that "the States have a clear right to ask for it in future". The principle being settled we are to recommend a procedure which would be suitable to our Order.

My humble view on the point is that it will not be advisable to compromise the position of the Princes by saddling them up with business of any assemblies in British India, but the interests of the States can best be served and safeguarded if such matters are discussed by joint committees of the representatives of the States (unless any Prince wishes to personally represent his State) as well as of British India. An equal number of representatives of States can meet an equal number of dignitaries of British Provinces and deliberate upon matters of joint interest to both and their resolutions on a particular bill may, before it is passed into a law, be placed by the Government before the Princes' Council for their views.

9. These observations will throw some light on the replies I now give point per point as they are in the Agenda, and I may also mention that, as the full extent of the administrative changes which are likely to be sanctioned for British India is not known, the standpoint of our Order may vary if the principles on which the scheme is based are changed or materially affected by any untoward decisions.

## I.

### LINE OF DIVISION.

For the purpose of the scheme in general the differentiating line should be between all the States which enjoy hereditary salutes and which do not. For the purpose of the particular recommendations of the scheme, e.g., (1) direct relations with the Paramount Power, and (2) Princes' Council, further differentiation appears necessary. Therefore all treaty States fully autonomous under the terms of their treaties and in the enjoyment of hereditary salutes should be classed under one group for the purpose of (1) and for (2) the Rulers of all States enjoying hereditary salutes of 15 guns and over and such others of recognised importance on account of their historical traditions, size and population may be separately classed from others.

(2) To simplify, standardize, etc. This is a general question and vital to the States which should better be left to the deliberation of a special sitting of the Council.

(3) Princes' Council should be established with the following constitution:—

The Rulers of all States enjoying hereditary salutes of 15 guns or over and such others of recognised importance on account of their historical traditions, size and population should be eligible for seats in the Council. The Rulers of these States should have personal votes and others should have seats in the Council by election and should be represented collectively. This will leave a certain number of States which will not be eligible for individual seats in the Council. For these States the question of constituting Provincial Councils may be considered with advantage.

(4) Standing Committee. If necessary, such a committee may be appointed annually by the Princes' Council, but it should have no independent



status. The Committee should be composed of members on territorial basis. The business to be entrusted to this Committee may be also disposed of by co-opting members from different territorial groups for questions affecting an arising in such territorial areas, and in view of this alternative an appointment of a permanent Secretary may be considered.

(5) Settlement of disputes.

Inter-statal disputes should be decided by the Government with the advice of a commission. With regard to a dispute between a State and the Government, a commission should be appointed and an appeal on either's motion should lie to the Secretary of State. The commission to be granted on the option of the concerned.

(6) We want that enquiry should be made by commission, but the matter should be decided by His Excellency the Viceroy in consultation with the Princes' Council. In the commission of enquiry out of the additional Members the Prince concerned should be allowed to have at least one member of his choice.

(7) I agree; but the word "important States" is vague and should be defined and the different relation should be based upon autonomy which in its turn should be decided according to the treaty relations as mentioned above.

(8) Joint deliberation.

This committee or body should be made of equal number of representatives from the States and the same number of members from the dignitaries of British Indian Provinces.

## II.

The question of precedence of Ruling Princes, *inter se* in social functions, bristles with difficulties. Nevertheless if it is a help to the Government, our Order should try to find out a solution. To my mind the usual precedence should be observed and when the question of choice comes as to whom precedence should be given in a group of Princes enjoying equal status, the choice must rest with the host who would invite them.

UDAJI RAO PUAR,

*Maharaja of Dhar.*

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APPENDIX E.

OPINIONS RECEIVED FROM RULING PRINCES WHO WERE  
UNABLE TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE.

**Views of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.**

*Extract from a note, dated the 4th November 1918, by the Assistant Minister,  
Political Department, Hyderabad State.*

\* \* \* \* \*

His Exalted Highness, while appreciating the courtesy of the Government of India in inviting him to express his views on the points above mentioned, does not consider it necessary to add anything to the specific views which have already been expressed by him in his confidential Note, dated the 1st December 1917, which was forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy, and a copy of which is attached for easy reference. In that note the Nizam has already anticipated the points involved in the recommendations now under consideration, and he considers that it fully embodies his views, to which he still adheres. Should unhappily at any time any instance occur involving any question affecting directly or indirectly the rights, dignity, honour, powers and privileges to which the Ruler of this State is entitled under treaties with the British Government, His Exalted Highness feels that he can always approach the Viceroy in the matter, and, if absolutely necessary, could appeal to His Majesty's Secretary of State or to the British Parliament. His Exalted Highness is still of opinion that this course is better suited to his dignity as the Sovereign of the Premier Native State in India than entrusting his case to representatives to be discussed in public.

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By order,

(Sd.) FARIDOON MULK,

*Assistant Minister, Political Department.*

NOTE.

At the present time the grant of Home Rule for British India is under discussion, and I understand that the claims of the Ruling Princes to be considered in any constitutional reorganisation are being put forward in certain quarters.

It is not for me to say anything on this subject in so far as British India is concerned. As one of the Ruling Princes aptly observed at the Chiefs' Conference at Delhi the other day, I have no desire to interfere with the affairs of British India any more than I wish British India to interfere with the internal affairs of my State. It is a golden rule, always observed by my ancestors, and notably so by my late father, who strictly confined his activities to his own State alone, and never took any official part in affairs outside his dominions.

Nor, so far as I am aware, do any of the published Home Rule Schemes avow any present intention on the part of the framers to include the Indian States within their scope, although certain sections of the Press, I notice, have not abstained from publishing the nature of their future anticipations. But on the subject of constitutional reform, as it may involve the relations between the Ruling Princes and the Government of India, I feel that it will not be out of place for me to make a few remarks.

I may observe at the outset that I succeeded my late lamented father only about seven years ago, and consequently my knowledge of affairs and my experience are limited, and do not extend beyond my own State.

Various proposals have been put forward as regards the necessity for the Indian States participating in this general movement. It is suggested that the Princes should claim representation in the Councils of the Empire with regard to matters which affect their own particular States, and also in matters affecting British India and the States jointly. With this object in view it has been proposed, I believe, that some of the principal Indian States should move that their representatives be appointed to the Imperial Legislative Council, and that at least one Ruling Prince or a representative appointed on behalf of all the Ruling Princes should have a seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council, to take part in discussions affecting both British India and Indian States.

I am of opinion that in such Imperial matters and internal affairs as may affect both British India and the Indian States jointly, it would be advisable if the Government of India consulted the Ruling Princes on these points before arriving at any final decision. The Government of India would then be in a position to have before them the views of the Ruling Princes whose States would be included in the decision of any great question affecting both British India and Indian States jointly. For instance, any fiscal or currency policy of the Government of India which would affect both Indian States as well as British India should first be intimated to the States concerned, and their views obtained by any suitable method before any final decision is reached. As regards Imperial affairs of first importance, a great step has already been taken in advance, and a concession of the most far-reaching consequences has just been granted by the King's Government to the Indian Princes as a body by the inclusion of one of their number among the three representatives of India at the Imperial War Conference of Great Britain and her Dominions, which was held recently in London. The representation of India in the Councils of the British Empire was an epoch-making event both for India and the Indian States, and it is hoped that in future the Ruling Princes will be given their due voice in the discussion of Imperial issues of importance.

Apart from what I have stated above, I see no reason why the present system, which has existed for considerably over a century between the Government of India and my States, should be disturbed. I fail to see how any change would benefit either the interests of my subjects or my own sovereign status, which has been preserved by the scrupulous observance of my treaties, status, rights, honours, dignities and privileges as promised by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, and as assured anew by the late King Edward VII and His present Majesty King George V in their public pronouncements. Should my State have a grievance, it can now approach the Viceroy about it, and, if absolutely necessary, could appeal to the Secretary of State or to Parliament. This procedure, in my opinion, is better suited to the dignity of Sovereigns than entrusting their case as it were to representatives to be discussed in public. These reasons probably actuated the Government of India to decide that no question should be put in the Legislative Assemblies

of British India about Indian States. So far as I am concerned, I should not like any questions affecting my State being determined on the advice of other Ruling Princes, or of their representatives. Hindus or Muhammadans. I am inclined to think that if this procedure was adopted, it would contravene the essential principle that each Prince is a Sovereign who is entitled to conduct his business direct with the British Government, without the intervention of other Indian States, or of any Legislative Assemblies of British India. There are, I believe, as many as 600 Indian States, varying from great dominions down to small territories of a few square miles each. I imagine there is no great similarity between any two States, as regards their origin, historical relations with the British Government, or their political development. It seems to me therefore that it would be difficult for any one Ruling Prince to represent the rest as far as internal affairs are concerned. Personally, I think that Hyderabad has nothing to gain by asking for an alteration in the present system with regard to the relations between the State and the Viceroy. I know that I have free access to the Viceroy (who is always an eminent English Nobleman and a sympathetic representative of a sympathetic King-Emperor) and that I can approach him through the Resident, who corresponds generally with the King's Ambassador at the Court of a European Sovereign.

For these among other reasons, which need not be enumerated here, I am of opinion that the existing system should be continued at least for the present. My State is quite satisfied with it. Should, however, in the future, any changes be considered necessary, it will be time enough then to think about them.

I may add in conclusion that, following in the steps of my late father, I have hitherto abstained from attending the Conference of Ruling Princes assembled at Delhi, and it is my present intention to keep to this rule. The circumstances connected with each Indian State are different, and what may suit one State may not suit another. It is, therefore, my wish to continue the procedure which my late father followed. If I have any special request to make on behalf of my State to the Government of India, I prefer doing so direct to the Viceroy through the proper channel, instead of submitting my request through a representative body, however distinguished that body may be. And I feel sure that whenever the Viceroy wishes to ascertain my views upon any subject His Excellency will give me, and such other Ruling Princes as do not take part in Conferences, an opportunity of expressing my opinion by individual correspondence, in the same way, for instance, as Lord Minto afforded my late father, by consulting him about the general question of sedition in India in the year 1909.

[Signed by His Exalted Highness.]

1st December 1917.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

*Memorandum dated the 11th October by the Dewan of Mysore State.*

The views of His Highness' Government are given against each of the recommendations. The concluding observations which follow contain the general opinion of His Highness' Government on the recommendations as a whole, besides one or two suggestions on matters not referred to.

Paragraph number and recommendations made therein.

Views of His Highness' Government.

302

(1) That, with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.

In the opinion of His Highness' Government, this is a desirable measure.

305

(2) That, with the consent of the Rulers of States, their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for the future.

So far as this State is concerned, its relations with the Government of India are expressed in the Mysore Treaty of 1913. This Government would welcome such an examination in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practices for the future as stated, *provided* the practices are in consonance with the spirit of the Treaty and the declared policy of non-interference in the internal administration of the State.

It is desirable that this enquiry should be entrusted, if possible, to a Committee composed of a Senior Judge of a High Court and a representative each of the Government of India and of the State concerned.

In the Darbar's view it is very necessary that the opportunity should also be taken to concede to the State the fullest freedom, compatible with Imperial interests, for its industrial and economic development.

His Highness' Government welcome the assurance in paragraph 305 of the Report that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to the Princes

Paragraph number and recommendations  
made therein.

Views of His Highness' Government.

306

(3) That a permanent Council of Princes should be established.

and their States by Treaties, Sanad and Engagements or by established practice.

His Highness the Maharaja has never been enthusiastic about the need of such a Council. By this form of numerical representation the larger and more progressive States will not wield their legitimate influence in the Assembly, at all events not to the extent of their importance or commensurate with their population or magnitude of their interests. The largest or the most advanced State gets the same representation as the smallest or the most backward. The proposed Council is also open to the objection that all Ruling Princes may not be able to visit Delhi, and their position as Sovereign Princes places them at a disadvantage for the discussion of political questions. Some of the Princes may not care to expose themselves to criticism by taking sides on current public questions. For these and other reasons, the Council will not correctly represent the views and interests of all the Indian States.

An annual Conference of Princes on the present basis, that is, without a rigid constitution, may be of some social and educative value and help also in the protection of the rights and privileges of Princes and their States.

As at present advised, His Highness does not propose to attend this Conference or the Council of Princes, if one is formed, but he would like to have the option of sending a representative to the Council, if he considers it desirable to do so.

His Highness' Government are glad to observe that the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State would not be affected by the institution of this Council.

Paragraph number and recommendations made therein.

Views of His Highness' Government.

307

(4) That the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee.

A Committee like what is proposed would be an advantage only if the wholtime services of specially qualified eminent men could be engaged and they are stationed at the Headquarters of the Government of India. In any case, the States which choose to remain outside the Council of Princes should be separately and adequately represented on the proposed Committee, due regard being had to their size and relative importance.

308

(5) That, where the Viceroy thinks this desirable, Commissions of Enquiry should be appointed in regard to—

(a) the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and a State or between one State and another; and

(b) the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local representatives.

The proposals seem generally suitable but His Highness' Government would add that the responsibility for a final decision in all important matters should rest with the Government of India, except when the Government of India is unable to accept the finding of the Commission or is itself a party to the dispute. In the latter event, the case might be referred for decision by the Secretary of State. In the Darbar's opinion the value of this concession would be enhanced if the State concerned is also given the option of having such cases referred to a Commission.

309

(6) That, when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family, they should always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him.

Same remark as clause 1 against (5).

310

(7) That, as a general principle, all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India.

This is a desirable change provided the portfolio of the Political Department continues to be held by His Excellency the Viceroy.

Paragraph number and recommendations made therein.

Views of His Highness' Government.

### 311

(8) That means should be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both.

His Highness' Government have always contended that provision should be made for deliberation between the Government of India and the Indian States on matters of common interest to both. The Darbar are glad that this claim of the States has been clearly and expressly recognised. But questions of common interest can be effectively deliberated upon only in a common Chamber consisting of the delegates of the States and of the representatives of British India. His Highness' Government entertain no apprehension that the representation of Indian States in a second Chamber of the Government of India would infringe the doctrine of non-interference on the part of the Princes in the affairs of British India. Nor would such an arrangement lead to interference by representatives of British India in the affairs of Indian States. As stated in paragraph 312 of the Report "the trend of events must draw them (Native States) still closer into the orbit of the Empire, and the process need give rise to no alarm lest their internal autonomy be threatened". His Highness' Government are inclined to endorse the view of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State who stated in the House of Commons on the 6th August 1918 that the "Second Chamber would indicate the road along which in due course and when they wished to share great Imperial purposes, the Princes of India who were now rather isolated in constitution, might join the upper house in deliberating common affairs." In the opinion of His Highness' Government, joint consultation between the Council of Princes and Council of State or between the representatives of these bodies would not be a satisfactory arrangement.



Paragraph number and recommendations  
made therein.

Wives of His Highness's Government.

*Concluding observations.*

His Highness' Government are of opinion that the proposals contained in paragraphs 302, 305, 308 and 310 of the Report have reference exclusively to the relations of the States to the Government of India and might have been made at any time independently of the contemplated reforms in the constitutional machinery of the Government of India.

The proposals which are closely connected with the Scheme of Reforms are only three, *viz.* :—

(1) the creation of a Council of Princes ;

(2) the establishment of a Standing Committee of that Council ; and

(3) provision for joint deliberation on matters of common interest.

The Standing Committee for all practical purposes may be construed as forming part of the Scheme of Council of Princes.

A Council of Princes may be of some use for the protection of the dignity and privileges of the Ruling Princes and may, as stated above, be of value also as social and educative measure. But it cannot, in the opinion of His Highness' Government, deal satisfactorily with matters relating to the Indian Empire as a whole. That work can best be done only by the representatives of the States sitting, along with the representatives of British India, in one of the proposed constitutional Assemblies of the Government of India.

M. VISVESVARAYA,

*Dewan of Mysore.*

*11th October 1918.*

# Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Gaekwar of Baroda.

*Extract from a letter No. R.-514, dated the 20th September 1918, from the Dewan, Baroda State, to the Resident at Baroda, embodying the views of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda.*

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2. The distinguished authors of the Report have rightly recognised at the outset the existence of a perturbing feeling in the minds of some Princes that the measure of Sovereignty and independence guaranteed to them has not been accorded in full in actual practice and that a tendency has been manifested by the Political Officers to level down distinctions of rights and status by uniformity of treatment. If a definite line is drawn separating Sovereign Princes who enjoy full autonomy in all their internal affairs from others who do not, in order that the future relations between the Crown and the Sovereign States may be improved and their full internal autonomy restored, His Highness' Government would consider the move to be on the right line.

3. With regard to the proposed standardisation and codification of Treaties, His Highness' Government cannot view with favour any such attempt. It is apprehended that such an endeavour may only have a levelling and corroding influence upon the superior Treaty Rights of individual States. The Report correctly recognises that the Indian States range widely from Sovereign States with full autonomy in all their internal affairs to States in which British Government have assumed large powers of internal control. Uniformity of standards and codified methods of interpretation will tend to obscure these important distinctions of status no less than uniformity of nomenclature does now.

A tendency has lately grown in certain official quarters to regard Treaties and Engagements as obsolete and antiquated, and to interpret them in the light of relations that have been established by a body of case law subsequent to their first execution. The report rightly recognises the existence of a feeling of uneasiness in the minds of the Princes regarding this tendency to whittle down the rights and privileges secured by solemn Treaties and His Highness' Government trust that this tendency will be rectified in all future interpretations of Treaties.

What the Ruling Princes have all along desired is a full recognition of their internal sovereignty and a removal of all restrictions on the development of their resources. This cardinal principle of maintaining inviolate the sovereign status of the Ruling Princes and their internal independence should be the corner-stone of every new attempt to reconstruct the fabric of political relations between the Indian Princes and the Government of India.

4. The proposal to institute an "Advisory Council" of Princes does not commend itself to His Highness' Government. As already communicated in connection with the scheme of the Council of Notables proposed at the time of the Morley-Minto Reforms, "a merely ornamental advisory body

Council of Princes, paragraph 306.

would scarcely be a useful organ." It would be more desirable to have a properly constituted deliberative assembly with well defined powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally as well as questions of common interest between British India and the Indian States. It is proposed instead to call at this stage only an Advisory Council of Princes to be consulted on such questions affecting the States generally which the Viceroy would decide to refer to them. But the utility of even such a Council is likely to be greatly impaired if little initiative is left in their hands. The Princes should be free to interpellate and suggest to Government suitable questions on which their considered opinion may be helpful in removing the several disabilities under which they are labouring. Their suggestions should find ready acceptance on the agenda, which should be finally settled by a Working Committee of Princes, on which the Secretary, Political Department, should also be asked to work as one member and formally approved of by the Viceroy.

To get any substantial benefit from the formation of such a Council it is necessary that the existing restrictions on mutual intercourse and interchange of ideas between the Princes should be removed. This method of working is entirely new to the Princes and they could get a better appreciation of the various subjects if they could freely exchange their views before attending the sessions of the Council.

His Highness' Government note with approval that the institution of the proposed Council of Princes is not intended to supplant the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State; for no advice given by any such consultative body can take the place of individual negotiations required by Treaty obligations. The preservation of the right of dealing direct with the Government of India should in fact be an absolute *sine qua non* of the working of any such general Advisory Council.

It is suggested that any line of distinction drawn between the Sovereign States which enjoy full powers and others which do not, should not disqualify the latter from forming part of the Council of Princes, which it should be the endeavour of Government to make as largely representative as possible. Moreover, the membership of the Council of Princes should be entirely voluntary.

5. The Standing Committee of Representatives should be raised to the status of a Political Board. The advice of such a Board may be of great help to the Political Department, especially when questions involving an intimate knowledge of custom and usage come up for decision. Such a Political Board, however, cannot have much scope for usefulness unless its tenure is extended to from 3 to 5 years.

6. The principle of referring questions of dispute between two or more States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India, to a Judicial Commission is sound. The Report, however, has recommended only its qualified recognition; and the reservation making it available only where the Viceroy thought such a reference desirable is obviously unsound, as the Government of India may often themselves be a party to such dispute. The proposal leaves much room for improvement and it is suggested that—

(a) reference to such a Commission should be left to the option of either party;

- (b) the Commission should not be only a consultative body making a report to the Viceroy but a deciding Judicial Tribunal ; and
- (c) its decision should be subject to an appeal by either party aggrieved to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

7. Similarly, as regards the proposed Commission of Enquiry into the alleged misconduct of a Ruler, the opinion of the Enquiry into Misconduct, Commission so appointed to advice the Viceroy paragraph 309. should be—

- (a) referred to the Secretary of State for final orders ; and
- (b) the Ruler aggrieved with such orders should have the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ;
- (c) the Ruler complained against should have an adequate right to challenge the nomination of any Commissioner proposed to be empanelled for the enquiry ; and
- (d) the same safeguard of enquiry should be available when it is proposed to debar him from succession or withhold from him any powers of a Ruler to which he has an inherent title.

8. The proposal to place all important States in direct political relations with the Government of India does not affect Baroda. What is more necessary, however, is the correct recognition of the proper functions and the place of the British Resident. His position should be only that of diplomatic representative accredited to the Ruler's Court ; and his functions only of a channel of communication. He should have no power to withhold any letter or message intended for transmission and no judicial or supervisory powers in the State.

9. The Reforms' Report considerably assures all the Princes that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by Treaties and Engagements. Mode of affecting constitutional changes. It is accordingly suggested that the changes alluded to above should be effected by a Royal Message or Proclamation and not by any Legislative enactment on the Statute Book of the Realm.

10. There is little further to urge in connection with the other Reforms outlined in the Report. It is confidently hoped that the joint deliberation on matters of common interest by the deliberative Assembly referred to in paragraph 4 above and the representatives of British India will be really effective ; and no matter vitally affecting the interests of the Rulers should be decided without free and frank deliberation with all the States concerned. Joint Deliberation, paragraph 311.

11. The Reforms proposed for discussion have been sketched necessarily on too general lines and until fuller information is furnished on all their bearings and the merits of their working have been seen for some years, His Highness' Government feel their inability to give any definite and final opinion on their value. They have many points to commend them, but they can only produce the desired result if they are carried out in actual practice in the same noble spirit in which they have been conceived. Conclusion.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

*Extract from a letter, dated the 24th August 1918, from the Diwan of Travancore, to the Resident in Travancore and Cochin.*

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*

The views of the Darbar are as follows :—

(1) *That a permanent Council of Princes should be established.*

In paragraph 306 of the Report it is stated that this Council would be a permanent consultative body and that the Viceroy would refer to it the questions which affect the States generally and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common. The latter class of questions form the subject-matter of recommendation No. (5) as given in your letter and will be dealt with separately. Questions which affect the States generally would naturally fall within the province of the Council. The Darbar appreciates highly the value of such an institution but doubts whether it would be convenient for all the Princes forming the Council to attend its meetings regularly, especially for those who, as in Travancore, are at great distance from the Headquarters of the Government of India. It is possible that important conclusions may be arrived at by the Council in the absence of a Prince whose State may be seriously affected thereby. It is worthy of consideration whether, in such cases, arrangements should not be made for the recorded views of the Darbar concerned being placed before the Council and the Government of India.

(2) *That the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee.*

The Darbar has no particular suggestions to offer on this point. In paragraph 307 of the Report it is stated that the Viceroy or the Political Department may refer to this Committee questions affecting the Native States which come up for decision in the Political Department especially matters of custom and usage, with a view to obtain advice as to the right course to pursue. The functions of the Committee as thus stated are, it is noted, more limited in scope than those of the Council as explained in paragraph 306 of the Report. The special provision that no reference affecting any individual State would be made to this Committee without the concurrence of its Ruler is one to which the Darbar attaches considerable importance.

(3) *That where the Viceroy thinks it desirable, Commissions of Enquiry should be appointed in regard to :—*

- (a) *the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any local Government and a State, or between one State and another, and*
- (b) *the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local representatives.*

(4) *That when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family, they should always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him.*

These two recommendations are dealt with in paragraphs 308 and 309 of the Report in which the constitution of the proposed Commission is also explained. The Darbar thinks that these proposals are sound.

(5) *That means should be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes in matters of common interest to both.*

This question is dealt with in paragraphs 157 and 311 of the Report. The Darbar is deeply sensible of the advantages of this proposal and attaches importance to the need for 'deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both and so as to ensure that as far as possible decisions affecting India as a whole shall be reached after the views of the Darbars have been taken into account.' The exact form in which effect would be given to the proposal is not definitely stated, though some suggestions with reference to it are made in the concluding portion of paragraph 311 of the Report. The Darbar would suggest, in this connection, that in the discussions between the Government of India and the Princes in regard to matters of common concern to both, the popular element in the Government of British India under the proposed reconstitution may not be given a voice as such a course would not be quite in harmony with the political relationship between the Government of India and the Princes. This relationship, which is often based on Treaty obligations, has special features about it which it is desirable to retain intact, unaffected by the constitutional changes contemplated in British India.

#### **Views of His Highness the Raja of Cochin.**

*Letter dated the 1st September 1918, from the Diwan of Cochin, to the Resident in Travancore and Cochin.*

With reference to your demi-official No. 77-18-2, dated the 17th August I write to say that the subject has received the attention of the Darbar. I am to say that the Darbar approve of the five recommendations set forth in the first paragraph of your letter under reply. I am, however, to point out with reference to the proposed Council of Princes that, since the place of meeting will probably be in Northern India, it may not be possible or convenient for Princes from all parts to attend every meeting that may be held. Where a Prince is unable to attend, I am to suggest that a copy of the agenda to be discussed should be supplied to him well in advance of the date fixed for the meeting, so that he may be able to submit his views to the Council. As the Council will be a purely consultative body, it is presumed that the recommendations of the majority will not necessarily commit or bind individual States irrespective of their views, and that matters referring strictly to an individual State will not ordinarily be discussed in Council without the concurrence of its Ruler. Subject to these observations, I am to say that the proposals have the support of the Darbar.

#### **Views of the Faridkot Darbar.**

*Extract from a letter No. 778-Political, dated the 3rd September 1918, from the Political Agent, Pudukkottai, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.*

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The Pudukkottai Darbar, reserving any modification of opinion that may be found necessary on ascertaining the views of His Highness, have replied as follows :—

“ *Recommendation (3), paragraph 306.*—We are in favour of the establishment of a Council of Princes, which we consider will be able to render very

valuable services both to the Viceroy and to the Ruling Princes. We agree also with the proposals about the holding of the meetings of such a Council, the preparation of the agenda and the conduct of business.

*“Recommendation (4), paragraph 307.*—We are in favour of the proposal to appoint a standing committee of the Council of Princes, subject of course to the proviso stated, *viz.*, that no reference affecting any individual State would be made to the Committee without the concurrence of the State’s Ruler.

*Recommendation (5), paragraph 308.*—We infer from the wording of this paragraph that it is intended to differentiate some functions of the Viceroy from those of the Governor-General in Council, *i.e.*, it appears that the Viceroy presumably as representative of the King-Emperor will be given the function of arbitrator or umpire between the State and the Government of India. In such cases we think it would certainly be advantageous to have a commission appointed to advise the Viceroy; the personnel of such a commission, as suggested in paragraph 308, is open to no objection.

“We venture to enquire whether any valid distinction can be drawn between the ruling of the Government of India and the advice of any of their local representatives.

*“Paragraph 5 (b).* As far as we are concerned, we believe that we are bound to treat the advice of the Political Agent as conveying the ruling or advice of the Government. If there is in future to be any real distinction between the advice of the local representative and that of the Government of India, we imagine that it must be in contemplation to delegate to the local representative some of the powers now exercised by the Government. If that is so, we presume that we shall be consulted before any such delegation is made. However that may be, in the present conditions it appears to us that all the disagreements mentioned in this paragraph can be reduced to the single case of dissatisfaction of a State with the advice or ruling of the Government of India. If we are in direct relations with the Government of India, any disputes between us and another State (from our situation it is hardly possible that any such could arise), or between us and the Local Government, would naturally go for decision to the Government of India, and it would only be in the event of our being dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India that a reference to the extraordinary powers of the Viceroy could become necessary.

*“Recommendation (6), paragraph 309.*—We should welcome the introduction of the procedure suggested in this paragraph.

*“Recommendation (8), paragraph 311.*—We think it is certainly desirable to provide some means of ensuring that matters of common interest to the Government of India and the Princes are not decided without some joint consultation such as is here indicated.”

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### Views of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

*Extract from a letter, dated the 13th September 1918, from the Commissioner, Rohilkhand Division, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces.*

As regards recommendations (2) to (6) and (8) the Nawab says that they are calculated to create an atmosphere of better understanding and co-operation between Government and the Ruling Princes and are therefore a step in

the right direction, and that they are based on principles which underlie the proposals put forward by the Princes themselves. He further adds that he is grateful that the illustrious authors of the Scheme have been generous enough to accord recognition to the claims of Ruling Chiefs.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

*Extract from a letter, dated the 23rd August 1918, from the Private Secretary, Benares State, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces.*

The Maharaja gave the proposals contained in the Government of India letter his very best consideration and desires me to state as follows :—

The proposals as they stand connote a radical change in the political relation of the Government of India with the Indian States. The interference of the Supreme Government in the affairs of the States, instead of being of a benevolently despotic and indefinite nature, will in future be on definite and constitutional lines. The future Government of India also at the same time instead of being an Imperial organisation as contemplated and initiated at the Imperial Durbar of 1877, is to be an Imperial federation in which the States in all stages of development shall be equally treated as units of the federation along with the British Government, which alone of course shall be competent to exercise the rights of the external sovereignty. From being the "pillars of the Imperial edifice" sharing its burden according to their individual capacity these States shall in future have to play the part of the wheels of the administrative chariot in which the sluggish wheel shall be bound to either mend or end itself. The Government of India may not desire "to force the pace"; but the pace shall have to be forced in the very interest of the offending wheel. The hope, rather conviction, expressed at the end of Chapter X of the Report "that the processes at work in British India cannot leave the States untouched and must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character" is bound to be fulfilled at no very distant date.

Whether the new departure from the old established relation will be to the ultimate advantage of the States, and whether it will preserve and foster the ideals of chivalry and personal devotion characteristics of the indigenous rule, and whether the inhabitants of the States deprived of the patriarchal form of Government, while still being under a personal and despotic ruler, will fare better, time alone will show.

As to the concrete proposals themselves : They are stated to be purely optional so far as the States themselves are concerned. They are not applicable universally. It is therefore of not much use to criticise them, from the point of view of the States in general. His Highness would, therefore, discuss them in view of the proposals themselves apart from any other consideration.

### (1) PARAGRAPH 2 (2) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA LETTER AND PARAGRAPH 305 OF THE REPORT.

The proposal is a vague one. It does not say what will be the scope of the examination contemplated and what will be the practices which it is proposed to simplify, standardise and codify. Unless this is known it is not possible



to discuss the proposal fully. But in any case His Highness would strongly deprecate any attempt to examine in detail the individual relation of the States with the Government of India, by interpreting the letters of the original Treaties without reference to case laws. This is bound to revive old and long forgotten controversies and create hopes which it will be impossible to satisfy. Treaties to have any practical meaning must be considered along with the case laws which have grown around them. The result of a minute examination of these Treaties (which were written under circumstances which no longer exist) in the abstract regardless of the case laws will cause more harm than good and should be avoided. The relation of the Government of India with the States had been very clearly stated in the paragraph 297 of the Report, *i.e.*, "the States are guaranteed security from without, the Paramount Power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other States, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the States' relations to foreign powers are those of the Paramount Power; they share the obligation for the common defence and they are under a general responsibility for the good Government and welfare of their territories." Nothing can be clearer, and His Highness would leave matters where they are.

(2) PARAGRAPH 2 (3) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA LETTER AND PARAGRAPH 306 OF THE REPORT.

As the Council of the Princes is to be purely a consultative body, and the transaction of business between the Government of India and any individual State is not to be affected by its institution, and as His Highness understands the decisions of the Council will not be binding upon any individual State, and that its creation will not infringe the natural right of a State to approach the Government of India direct, if it so chooses, the Maharaja gratefully welcomes the proposal of the establishment of a permanent Council of the Princes.

(3) PARAGRAPH 2 (4) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA LETTER AND PARAGRAPH 307 OF THE REPORT.

The proposed formation of a standing committee of the Council, His Highness is afraid, shall not serve the purpose for which it is intended. Princes of one end of country know little, if not less than the Political Officers of the Government, about the feelings and usages of those of the other end. They are not, and cannot be, in a position, from their own personal experience or the history of their States, to advise the Political Secretary on the right course to pursue in respect of other States. On matters of customs and usages in particular, their advice will be rather more misleading. The standing committee, unless its composition is such as to contain the Princes or Dewans from all parts of India, will serve no useful purpose. However, as it is definitely laid down that no reference affecting any individual State would be made to it without the concurrence of its ruler, there seems to be no harm in its establishment. It may be useful in particular circumstances.

(4) PARAGRAPH 2 (5) AND (6) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA LETTER AND PARAGRAPHS 308 AND 309 OF THE REPORT.

His Highness fully approves of the proposal of the appointment of the Commissions of Enquiry in regard to—

(a) the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and a State, or between one State and another; and

(b) the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local representatives; and also to advise the Viceroy when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family.

This proposal is sure to be of untold benefit to the Princes and their family and will be hailed as a very valuable concession by the Ruling Princes of India. It is sure to meet a long-felt want and will cut at the root of the feeling of insecurity which the Princes feel under the present circumstances.

(5) PARAGRAPH 2 (8) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA LETTER AND PARAGRAPH 311 OF THE REPORT.

His Highness fully approves of the proposal that means should be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both; provided that individual States which might be vitally interested in the subject of the discussions are represented on the joint committee.

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*Letter dated the 16th January 1919, from His Highness the Maharaja of Benares to the Political Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department.*

I am so sorry that owing to an uncompromising attitude taken by my medical advisers I am unable to attend the Conference of the Princes to which it had pleased His Excellency the Viceroy to invite me. I, however, crave permission to make a few remarks upon the subjects which, as the agenda says, will be discussed at the meeting.

I have already expressed my opinion on certain proposals contained in Chapter X of the Reforms Schemes, in the letter of my Chief Secretary dated 23rd August 1918.

I would, however, take the liberty to make a few further observations on the proposals as a whole and I dare hope that I shall be forgiven for taking liberty in this respect.

When discussing any new proposal it is necessary to consider five fundamental points:—(1) the state of things already existing, (2) whether after full trial it proved satisfactory or otherwise, (3) if the latter, in what respect it was unsatisfactory, (4) if the former, what was the necessity for making a change in it, and (5) whether the new proposal was likely to prove an improvement over the existing state of affairs.

The existing relation of Indian States with the Government of India and the policy governing it are the outcomes of a series of practical experiences. They have shaped themselves not artificially, but gradually in the course of a natural evolution.

When the East India Company first came to this country, the idea of an Indian Empire was not even dreamt of by them. Their sole interest was trade and trade alone. If they waged war or concluded peace, if they entered into treaties or engagements the object underlying them was the promotion of trade, the safety of their own interest or the elimination of a rival competitor. Occasionally, no doubt, the possibility of an Indian Empire did flash before the

eyes of certain far-sighted statesmen who, as Governors-General, were now and then sent to India by the Company, but the Board of Directors at Home did not fall in with their views or endorse their opinion. The political policy of the East India Company would appear to any close observer of history as extremely vacillating and void of any fixed goal or principle. Policies of subordinate isolation, of the ring fence, of annexation, of non-intervention, of subordinate union, of unconcern, etc., etc., were followed at close intervals. Each policy had its advocates and its days, but to no abiding effect. It was only in the year 1858, when the Government of India was transferred to the Crown, that a steady policy was adopted towards the Indian States; and as the foundation stone of that policy the Government of India assumed the position of the Supreme Government in India to whom the Indian States were under an obligation to owe allegiance and which alone was the fountain head of all honours and competent to recognise succession, settle succession disputes and questions of precedence and, in short, the sole authority from which all rights sprang and which could bestow, curtail or take away powers, at its will. And as a concrete proof of that authority the *sanads* of adoption were issued to all important Princes and accepted by them. The mere acceptance of these *sanads* by the Indian Princes conclusively showed :—(1) That they accepted the right of the British Government as the Supreme Power to resume the States in default of an issue of the body and (2) that the right of adoption was a privilege which they did not possess, as a matter of right, but which was conferred on them by the British Government as a matter of grace. The position thus unreservedly accepted by the Indian Ruling Houses might not have been in keeping with the letter or even the spirit of treaties and engagement originally concluded with the Princes, but as I have said above those treaties were not the result of a fixed Imperial policy which was adopted only in the year 1858 and adhered to since then. Be that as it may, but as soon as the *sanads* of adoption were conferred on, and accepted by, the Princes, they, at the same time agreed to the modification of the treaty relations then existing, which in legal phraseology can be said to have been carried out, with the mutual consent and agreement of the two original contracting parties. There can thus be no question of the interpretation of the old treaties and engagements, which in the altered state of affairs, are in fact quite obsolete and at best have an academical value only, serving to prove the comparative importance of one State with another and thus helping in the solution of the question of precedence, ceremonials, salutes and the like. This new policy gained further confirmation at the Imperial Assemblage (Lytton Darbar) at Delhi on the 1st January 1877, when the Imperial policy was publicly proclaimed and accepted by the Princes, who also accepted gifts of the swords of honour and banners in token of their acceptance of the suzerainty of the British Government.

For practical purposes all Indian States irrespective of their past history and treaty rights are, since the year 1858, placed in one category. As Sir William Lee Warner truly remarks, "A State which fell to the British Government by conquest or cession and was then recreated or regranted by the Company is not considered on that account inferior to one which never came into British possession and whose original relation with the British were formed on a footing of equality \* \* \* The differentiation of States as allied, tributary, created or protected, is illusory, all are alike respected and protected."

The present position in short is this. The British Government is the Paramount Power in India. The Indian States (irrespective of their original history and of the letters of their treaties) each and all are in subordinate union

with that Government. The British Government is responsible for the protection of the States and has a right of intervention in their internal affairs in certain grave contingencies, such for instance, to suppress rebellion, to check gross misrule, to suppress inhuman practices, to secure religious toleration, and so forth. The British Government exercises its authority through the medium of its agents attached to the courts of Indian Princes.

The question now arises whether the existing policy has proved successful or otherwise? The European War just concluded would furnish the best answer to it. The Indian States as a whole stood by the British Government as soon as the war was declared, placing all their resources unreservedly at its disposal, straining every nerve to help the British cause. This was not done because they appreciated the justice of the war, or were eager to champion the cause of righteousness. These questions never entered their minds. They joined hands with England because it was a war waged by England to which they were indebted in more ways than one, and whose cause was their cause. The policy followed by the British Government since the year 1858 has been so exceptionally successful, and has made such a hold on the minds of the Ruling Princes, that with one accord, without a single exception, they ran to the British banner to win or die together. Under such a state of things who would say that the present policy has proved defective or requires modification?

Another proof of the unqualified success of the existing policy is the unanimity obtaining amongst the Ruling Princes "including some of the most honoured names" who, as the report itself says, "desire only to leave matters as they are." When such is the case I cannot imagine how any attempt in making a change in the present state of affairs is justified.

It is now necessary to examine if new proposals are likely to be an improvement over what is obtaining just now.

The proposals contained in Chapter X of the Reform Scheme Report are vague and indefinite. They do not point out a fixed goal which they would lead to. Until this is known it will serve no useful purpose to discuss them. The mere inclusion of Chapter X in the Reform Scheme Report would be regarded by many India States with apprehension. The Reforms Scheme as a whole is based on the declared policy of the British Government to gradually grant a responsible autonomous Government to British India. I fail to see how the proposal can have anything to do with India under the Native rule. If it is an attempt at the transfer of the control of His Majesty's political relation with the Indian States from the hands of the British Government to those of any autonomous Government of British India, I would, with all emphasis I could command, say that it should not be attempted as it would simply lead to disaster. This is sure to draw the States into the whirlpool of British Indian politics where their relation with the autonomous Government will be at the mercy of every political change.

If the idea is to create any sort of federal Government on the lines of United States of America or of the late German Confederacy, I would still say that the experiment is bound to fail.

There can be no federation without a common aim, and without the surrender of certain functions, of even internal sovereignty to a central authority. The federated states of America, I understand, have armed the central Government even with powers of taxation with a federal court and executives. The Supreme Government in America has not merely control over all measures that concern peace and war, and foreign relations or concern among the several

States ; it also regulates the fiscal system of the States themselves. How many States in India, I would venture to enquire, will be agreeable to divest themselves of their authority in fiscal matters or invest a central legislative authority with the powers of prescribing, by general laws, the manner in which public acts, records and proceedings, should be framed and the effects thereof as is the case in America ? This will mean unlimited interference on the part of the central authority which, I know, will be strongly resented by the Indian Chiefs and Princes.

The Indian States, it can be truly said, have lost their international life. None of them enjoys even an iota of external sovereignty and most of them share even their internal sovereignty, in various degrees, with the British Government. Sovereignty is, no doubt, divisible, but it is impossible to completely sever the relation between the external and internal sovereignties. Each is dependent on the other. The policy of internal administration is more often than not regulated by external considerations and *vice versa*. To attempt to carry on the one without a consideration of the other is bound to fail. Indian States in order to run their internal administration successfully must, therefore, remain in constant touch with the external policy of the British Government in India which, in other words, means the policy of the British Empire, which again would mean the policy of the civilized nations of the world. And this is possible only through their being in touch with the policy of the Government of India through the Political Agents. In order, therefore, to rule successfully there are only two lines to be adopted by the Indian States. Either to form themselves into a federation and create a Central Executive to whom certain functions of even internal sovereignty should be ceded, and to whose directions they should submit implicitly in all important matters of government, including the administration of justice : or to remain as separate political units having nothing in common with each other, strung together like beads in the common string of His Majesty's Government.

I am afraid Indian States are not prepared just at present to accept the first proposal, and any attempt towards that end is sure to cause very serious and widespread discontentment. The second alternative is therefore the only safe course to pursue, which means to leave matters as they are.

This question naturally leads to the consideration of the position of the Political Agents appointed at the courts of the Indian Rulers. Their original status no doubt was analogous to that of ambassadors only. But by and by they acquired the position of political, and in many cases of administrative advisers to the Chiefs. This change in their status was, however, for the good of the States themselves. The responsibility taken by the British Government for the protection and well-being of Indian States is not limited to the Chiefs only but also extends to their subjects. The Chiefs have been guaranteed protection from external invasion and from internal revolt. Whenever there is a revolt in a principality the British Government is bound to suppress it ; and this naturally gives it a right to look into the grievances of the revolvers and put matters right, if necessary, by eliminating the cause of discontentment. Indian States in fact are not always national Governments. More often than not the Rulers have little in common with the ruled in matters of race, religion or prejudices. Muhammadan Princes rule over Hindu subjects and Hindus over Muhammadans, Mahratta Chiefs hold sway over Hindustani ryots and Hindustani rule over Deccanis and so on. The subjects of the Indian States therefore look upon the British Government to act as an intermediary between them and their Rulers in certain grave contingencies, more specially in matters of religious tolerations, etc., etc.

In order therefore to keep the Chiefs informed of the external policy of the Government of India, to enable them to mould their administration to conform with that policy, and also to advise the Chiefs, if need were, in respect of measures which were desirable in the interests of their subjects, it is very necessary that the Political Agents act not merely as ambassadors accredited to one court by another court, but also as mouthpieces of the Supreme Government, who has accepted certain very high responsibilities in respect of the States. The Indian States are personal governments and are run on autocratic lines. The success of their administration would, therefore, depend, mostly upon the personal character of their Rulers; consequently the tone of administration might vary with each succession and this would cut at the root of the continuity of a policy which is alone conducive to good government. Absolute security from all external and internal danger would naturally make a Ruler indifferent to the consequences of any administrative measure taken in hand by him, and it is, therefore, doubly necessary that he had beside him an adviser to draw his attention to, if he was going astray. The Political Agent is the only disinterested adviser about a Chief and from my personal experience I have always found his advice useful and at times vitally useful.

In saying the above, I would respectfully remark that nothing is farther from my intention than to suggest that Indian Chiefs as a class are void of the sense of responsibility or require some one to remind them of their duties as Rulers. On the contrary, I am strongly of opinion that the Rulers of nearly all important States of the present day are more alive to their duties and responsibilities than would be the case even in European countries. But this is a question which should not be considered in the light of individualities but in the generalised form of the system itself.

Having stated the above I would invite your attention to the letter referred to in the second paragraph of this letter. It contains my views regarding the different points raised in Chapter X, and they may be taken for what they are worth.

But in this connection I would take the liberty to make one more observation which I did not do in the above quoted letter. The proposal to draw a line between the States, who have full administrative powers and those who have not, will be most invidious and will cause very serious heart burnings. All States have rendered good services to the Government according to their means and consequently deserve well of the Government. To draw a line between them thus making those below the line feel their inferior position for no fault of theirs, ought to be deprecated. If a line must be drawn it ought to be drawn between salute and non-salute Chiefs or if it be necessary to draw it higher still let it be drawn at the top of the 9-gun Chiefs. No one will object to either. But to draw a line of demarcation between two sets of Chiefs, on the basis of their ruling powers, would, I venture to think, be a very unwise action.

As the Government of India in the opening paragraph of Chapter X of the Reforms Report have been pleased to express their appreciation of the services of the Indian Princes in connection with the late War, with a keen desire to do something substantial for them, to give a proof of its appreciation of their services, I would most respectfully beg to point out that the proposals formulated will fall very short of the purpose.

Indian Rulers have a peculiar history of their own and are most conservative. The idea of chivalry is still present in their minds and they care more for their honour and dignity than for any material gain. They want sympathy and a thorough appreciation of their views and aspirations. Every State has its own story to tell and its own problem to solve and their craving will not be

satisfied by the proposals made. These proposals lead to a direction quite contrary to their tastes and tendencies.

I hope I will not be considered presumptuous, if I make a few suggestions which I am sure will be considered as a real boon by the Indian States and shall be worthy of this memorable occasion.

(1) In recognition of their services during the late War the Government be pleased to grant fresh *sanads* to all the important States (by which word I mean States enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and above) reiterating clearly the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States, except in case of a minority and for the prevention or correction of flagrant misgovernment. In these *sanads* the Chiefs should be styled as Princes in subordinate alliance with His Majesty.

(2) To create an exclusive political service, like the Indian Civil Service. It may be partly recruited by selection from the Indian Civil and Military Services but mostly from the diplomatic service at home. Once officers enter the political line they should confine themselves to it except in cases when they might be considered eligible for Lieutenant-Governorships.

(3) All important Chiefs must have direct relations with the Government of India, and a right to approach the Viceroy direct in connection with any matter in which they disagree with the Agents. The disability of the Chiefs to put up their cases directly before the Viceroy has been the cause of almost 95 per cent. of the troubles of the Indian States. When a Chief makes a representation, it goes to the Viceroy through the Political Agent who forwards it with his own note placing the matter before His Excellency in his own light and from his own point of view, and which the Chief has no means to have a knowledge of. The Viceroy's decision is therefore always one-sided. If the Chief has the right to approach the Viceroy direct either personally or in writing in case he does not wish to send his representation through the Political Agent, or does not agree with his views, it will cause a very real satisfaction and will be hailed as a boom. The last word in a matter of controversy should also be that of the Chief to whole the whom correspondence should be made known before a decision is arrived at. The Viceroy of course will exercise his own discretion and pass orders accordingly. But the mere fact that the Chief had an opportunity to have his say, personally, will materially mitigate the pangs of disappointment even if the decision is unfavourable to him. Personal Rulers can be satisfied with personal representation only.

(4) All useless and vexatious articles in a treaty or *sanad* (such for instance, the disability of a Chief to correspond with another except through the medium of the British Government to repair a fort or to import ammunition, to purchase a property in British India, etc., etc.), should be deleted; and all restrictions on the ruling powers of the Chiefs should also be removed.

(5) All distinctions of feudatory, tributary, created or allied and even of meidatised Chiefships should be omitted and all important Chiefs be styled the allies of His Majesty, or being in subordinate alliance with him.

(6) The presentation of *Nazar* on ceremonial occasions and Durbars should be discontinued.

(7) The heir-apparents should be given some status of their own and some sort of ceremonial (however small but distinguishing) might be prescribed for them.

(8) All tributes paid by the Chiefs should be remitted and some form of Imperial Service military organization substituted instead, as a general obligation of the Chiefs. This will be more useful to the Government in time of

War and will be most gratifying to the Chiefs also even if it costs them more than the tribute itself. The remission of the tribute will be no novel measure. This has been done on various occasions in the past as a perual of Aitchison's Treaties will clearly testify. A general remission of it on the present occasion, like the general remission of succession *nazarana* on the occasion of the last Delhi Darbar, will have a most important political effect and will amke the Princes hail it as a real and substantial reward.

(9) The Political Secretary should be considered as an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Council of the Government of India and should regularly attend meetings and join in its deliberations. Questions affecting the Indian States are often discussed at the Executive Council meetings where there is none to represent the States.

These are a few suggestions merely indicating the line on which the Government might be pleased to show its appreciation of the services of the States. I am sure these will cause very real satisfaction and make the States feel that their services have been really appreciated, which will not be the case otherwise.

As for the question of precedence on several occasions, which is one of the items on the agenda, I would respectfully say that its consideration should be dropped. The matter is a very delicate one and should be left as it is just at present.

### Views of the Faridkot Darbar.

The utility and necessity of the recommendation contained in paragraph 302 of the Report is indicated in the following three propositions :—

- (1) "That uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinctions of status."
- (2) "That practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also."
- (3) "That it would improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States, if a definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others."

The first proposition stated above admits of serious doubt for the simple reason that each State stands on its own peculiar footing in its relations with the Government of India. The relations of the States with the Supreme Government are determined by Treaties, *Sanads*, Agreements or established practice which differ widely. This is a fact too well known to be obscured by mere "uniformity of terminology."

The proposed classification seems further to be open to the objection that it would defeat its own object. At present, both in theory and in practice, each State stands by itself. After the classification, States placed under the same category would be much more liable to be treated alike and thus distinctions of status between them would be more obscured than they are to-day.

(2) Inadvertent application to the greater Chiefs of practice appropriate in the case of the lesser ones can scarcely be due to "uniformity of terminology", in view of what has been stated above. The mere fact "that the term 'Native States' is applied to a collection of about seven hundred rulerships which exhibit widely differing characteristics" ought to, and it is submitted does not, deceive a wide-awake and intelligent Political Officer. At all events, the



grouping of several States under a single head would, it is to be feared, increase the chances of such mistakes occurring with respect to members of the same group.

(3) It is not easy to understand how and in what way exactly the proposed classification 'would improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States'. The classification as such professes to do no more than divide the States into two groups, "separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others." This by itself does not lead to the conclusion that future relations would be necessarily improved thereby.

Besides, the proposed division would seem to be open to the following objections, which may be stated at some length as the proposal may lead to far-reaching consequences :—

- (i) The term "full powers of internal administration" is vague and has not been authoritatively defined. In one sense, it may be argued, that no State in India enjoys powers of the exact description stated above ; for, as is well-known, even the powers of the premier States are restricted in regard to the number, equipment and strength of Armies, Coinage, Customs and Tariff, Post and Telegraph, Railways, Legislative and Executive Powers, Criminal Jurisdiction and other matters of purely internal administration.
- (ii) Few States would be found to possess exactly the same or similar powers of internal administration. The Treaties and *Sanads*, as also the practice that has grown up around them, are so unlike as to make the task of effecting any reasonable classification almost impossible. In fact, the measure of autonomy enjoyed by the various States is so unequal that it seems to be hopeless to make it the basis of any logical or fair division.
- (iii) Whatever meaning be assigned to the expression "full powers of internal administration," it is certain that several States would come in the nebulous region where it is impossible to draw any hard-and-fast line of demarcation, and an attempt to do so would be necessarily arbitrary and therefore undesirable and inexpedient.
- (iv) Any division of Indian States into classes or groups implying inferiority and superiority of status is bound to create jealousies, dissatisfaction and resentment amongst the Princes and Chiefs—a result which the Government of India doubtless do not desire.
- (v) Nor would all the Princes included in either of these two groups be any the better satisfied ; for there will always remain the apprehension amongst them that the members of the same group might be brought down to the same dead level of the lowermost in the same group.
- (vi) Again, such an arbitrary division will place the majority of Indian States in a very anomalous situation which would deprive them of any form of direct representation in the councils of the Empire. While taking into consideration the sympathetic and wise policy of the Government expressed by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in his speech at Dhar on the 14th August 1918 : "I need hardly assure Your Highness that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges and interests of the

relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours and welcome their Rulers equally cordially as partners and co-workers," the Darbar are more than assured of the attitude of the Government towards the smaller States, and cannot entertain in the remotest degree any apprehension that the Government of India are not also anxious to obviate such an anomalous position.

In view of the foregoing considerations the Darbar, as at present advised, do not think that much useful purpose would be served in the way of improvement of future relations between the Crown and the States by drawing a definite line of demarcation separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others, even if such a course were reasonably possible.

## II.

While considering the recommendation contained in paragraph 305 of the Report the Darbar notice with extreme gratefulness and satisfaction that the illustrious authors of this historical document record: "That the Princes should be assured in the fullest and freest manner that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by Treaties, *Sanads* and Engagements, or by established practice." This is quite in conformity with the solemn declarations made in the past. In the gracious Proclamation of 1858 by Queen Victoria in Council to the Princes, Chiefs and Peoples of India, Her Majesty was pleased to declare: "We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon'ble East India Company are by Us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained: and We look for the like observance on their part . . . We shall respect the Rights, Dignity and Honour of Native Princes as Our own . . ." In His Message of 1903 His late Majesty King Edward VII renewed this assurance in similar terms, which His Majesty the present King-Emperor was graciously pleased to repeat in His speech at the Imperial Coronation Darbar at Delhi in 1911. The most recent Royal pronouncement on the subject is contained in His Imperial Majesty's Message to the Princes and Peoples of India at the outbreak of the war in 1914, where He is graciously pleased to observe: "Paramount regard for treaty, faith and pledges, word of rulers and peoples is the common heritage of England and India." Thus it is inconceivable that the Supreme Government would do anything which might lead to the impression, however unfounded, that they desire to disturb Treaties and Engagements dating back to a hundred years and more which have become thrice sanctified by the repeated assurance of three successive British Sovereigns. It must have caused, therefore, some uneasiness in the minds of the Indian Princes to read the following words contained in the Report: "We cannot disregard the fact that the general clause which occurs in many of the Treaties to the effect that the Chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country has not in the past precluded, and does not even now preclude, interference with the administration by Government through the agency of its representatives at the Native Courts" (Paragraph 303) and . . . "the conditions under which some of the treaties were executed have undergone material changes, and the literal fulfilment of particular obligations which they impose has become impracticable" (Paragraph 304).

As against these statements, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, one of the illustrious authors of the Report, in the course of his inaugural speech at the

Conference of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs on the 30th October 1916, said : These Treaties are sacred, and I can assure you that it will be my earnest desire to maintain them not only in the letter but in the spirit in which they were framed ”.

The Darbar are, therefore, not in favour of any scheme of simplification, standardisation or codification of existing practice which may have the effect of contravening the terms of Treaties, *Sanads* or Engagements solemnly entered into between the Supreme Government and the Princes of India. The Darbar are also sure that this cannot be the intention of the Government of India. But there seems to be no objection to simplify, standardise and codify, “ of course only by consent of parties ”, those rules of existing practice on which the Treaties are silent. With regard to matters covered by Treaties, the best course would be to go back to their original terms rather than to legalise the anomalies that might have crept into practice.

### III.

(1) With regard to the recommendation No. 3 (contained in paragraph 306 of the Report) the Darbar heartily agree that a Council of Princes may be established as a permanent consultative and deliberative body. As in the past, each State, in keeping with its own historical associations and peculiarities, maintained relations with the Supreme Government independent of other States, so when bringing such a body of States of all shades and varieties into the common chamber, under one constitution so as to form a part and parcel of one federation, it appears only too reasonable that components of such a body should not come only through one channel but through other channels too which had played an important part in bringing isolated Indian States in touch with the Central Government on matters of Imperial concern or questions of sentimental and historical importance so that in future that concord, harmony and mutual good-will which are so desirable for the maintenance of cordial relations which it is no doubt the anxiety and concern of the Government of India and earnest endeavour of the States not only to maintain but to improve upon and if possible to still strengthen them, may prevail throughout the country.

Therefore as regards the constitution of the proposed Council the Darbar are of opinion that the following important points may with advantage be borne in mind, when finally deciding the constitution of the Council of Princes:—

- (a) The States maintaining Imperial Service Troops for the defence of the Empire by no means take a small measure of pride in the share which they have taken in the past and are taking in the present world-wide war. It is not for us to vindicate the importance and utility of Imperial Service Troops ; His Excellency the Viceroy has on more occasions than one publicly given expression to the assistance which such troops have been able to render and the regard which they have been able to win from the immediate British Officers under whom they had to perform their duties in the various theatres of war. Besides it is not an illegitimate pride nor an unfounded satisfaction that the States maintaining troops for the service of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor are amongst those States who might well be satisfied for having effectively shared in the struggle for

peace and justice, the cause of which Great Britain has so chivalrously championed, so all the Princes who maintain the Imperial Service troops should be eligible for the membership of the Council of Princes.

- (b) The privilege of return visit from His Excellency the Viceroy to an Indian Prince has a sentimental as well as official recognition of the importance of the Prince concerned and as such cannot be lost sight of ; nor can it be said that the privilege of such a high nature is a mere courtesy. But on the contrary it is a cherished privilege which is much coveted and treasured by the States, and so all the Princes who enjoy this privilege should be eligible for the membership of the Council too.
- (c) All the Princes who are entitled to a salute of 11 guns or over should be eligible for membership.
- (d) As regards the representation of the rest of the Princes and Chiefs which is strongly recommended, a Committee consisting as suggested below be appointed to advise the Government of India on the subject, for each territorial group separately :—
  - (1) Provincial Head of the British Government or Agent to the Governor-General—President.
  - (2) One Ruling Prince eligible for membership under any of the above categories.
  - (3) Two Princes from amongst the minor Chiefs who do not fall under any of the categories cited above.
- (e) The illustrious authors of the ' Report ' propose to replace the Conference of Princes by a permanent consultative body with almost the same constitution. The Princes who used to be invited to attend the Conferences of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs should in no case be deprived of a similar privilege simply on account of change of the name of the body.

As pointed out above, the Indian States exhibit widely differing characteristics ; it does not therefore seem a safe policy to decide upon only one basis for the eligibility to admission into the Council of Princes and therefore the States ruled over by hereditary Indian Princes or Chiefs in the domain of which the laws passed by the Provincial or Imperial Legislative Councils do not *ipso facto* become the law of the land should have the right of direct representation on the Councils of the Empire.

#### IV AND VII.

The Darbar are in general agreement with the proposals made in paragraphs 307 and 311.

#### V AND VI.

The Darbar reserve their opinion, for the present , on the Commissions of Enquiry proposed in paragraphs 308 and 309 of the Report.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur.

*Extract from a letter, dated the 19th September 1918, from His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur, to the Commissioner and Political Agent, Ambala Division.*

1. All the Indian Chiefs who have got powers within their territories whether they are restricted or unrestricted and whether they are entitled to salute guns or not come under the category of Ruling Chiefs irrespective of the extent of their territories and amount of their revenue. Thus, the Ruling Chiefs can be easily divided into 3 groups—

(a) Those who enjoy full powers over their internal affairs as well as are entitled to salute guns.

(b) Those who have restricted powers but are entitled to salute guns.

(c) Those who enjoy powers but are not entitled to salute guns.

I agree with the proposal of drawing a line of demarcation between the Chiefs, but I am not in favour of drawing this line on the basis of enjoyment of restricted or unrestricted powers by the Chiefs in their respective States.

2. No objection, but with the suggestion that where existing circumstances of an individual State and its relation with the Government necessitate, the review of the provisions of the Treaty, *Sanad* or Engagement, as the case may be, full consideration may be given to the case.

3. No objection.

4. No objection.

5. No objection.

6. No objection.

7. No objection. Only one Political Agency should remain as an intermediary between a Native State and the Government of India.

8. No objection.

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*Extract from a telegram, dated the 15th January 1919, from the Government of the Punjab, to the Political Secretary to the Government of India.*

\* Following from Maharaja Sirmur is repeated. *Begins*: My views already expressed in my letter dated 19th September 1918 stand with the supplement that every Ruler who enjoys the privilege of guns irrespective of his territory should not be deprived of the proposed privilege. \* \* *Ends*. \* \*

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### Views of His Highness the Raja of Suket.

*Extract from a letter, dated the 14th September 1918, from the Wazir, Suket State, to the Commissioner, Jullunder Division.*

In the opinion of the Suket Darbar, the recommendations 2 to 6 and 8 are quite suitable and conducive to a better understanding of the interests of Indian States. In regard to recommendation No. 1, the Darbar is of opinion that although a definite line, if drawn between Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration and who do not, may afford some convenience in improving future relations between the Crown and the States, such a demarcation would, perhaps, not be received by the lesser States sympathetically as

this tends to place them somewhat outside the same considerations which they claim in common with bigger States under the uniform definition of the Native States of India. Moreover, a collective classification of the character suggested is not likely to be useful in view of the fact that the relations of each and every State are governed and can in future be improved on its own merits.

Lastly, the Darbar desires me to request the favour of your kindly communicating His Highness' gratitude to the Government of their deep and keen interest in the welfare of the Indian States.

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### **Reply of His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur.**

"As His Highness does not desire to participate in the proposed Council of Princes, there appears to be no need for him to express an opinion."

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### **Reply of His Highness the Maharao of Sirohi.**

The Musahib Ala writes :—"I have placed the letter under reference before His Highness, who has directed me to request you to be kind enough to convey the most sincere thanks of His Highness to His Excellency for the kind solicitude of the Government of India for the welfare and progress of Native States.

"I am further directed by His Highness to acquaint you that His Highness is very keen on the vital necessity of our treaties, rights, *izzat*, dignity, privileges, and prerogatives being scrupulously respected and maintained intact."

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### **Views of His Highness the Maharawal of Banswara.**

"His Highness the Maharawal of Banswara is of opinion that recommendations (3) to (6) and (8) detailed in the Foreign and Political Department letter No. 2311-I. A., dated 25th July 1918, seem to him to be very suitable".

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### **Views of His Highness the Nawab of Tonk.**

"As regards my opinion upon the specific recommendations about Native States made in the Report of His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on Indian Constitutional Reforms, I would say that the recommendations made in the report are almost the same as were suggested by the Conference of Native Chiefs to which I have already agreed. I think the recommendations are very sound and I sincerely hope they will be finally accepted and passed."

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### **Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Karauli.**

"The Darbar entirely agree with the proposal made in the Chelmsford-Montagu Reforms that with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. The Darbar are of opinion that since the wave of new democratic ideas is sweeping over the

whole of the Indian Empire and its effects are visible in many of the States it is therefore most desirable both for the Rulers, individually and collectively, and for the Government of India that early steps should be taken to draw the dividing line between the two classes of States mentioned above.

*"Paragraph 305.*—As for paragraph 305 of the Report, the Darbar think that having regard to the present position and the evolutionary spirit working in some of the Native States, it is a matter more of necessity than of consent that the relations of the Rulers of the States with the Government of India should be examined in order to simplify, standardise and codify standing practice for the future. Such information and enquiry and examination of the existing relations between the two would not only place the Government of India in a better position as regards their future action, but would enlighten the Ruling Princes of their duties towards the Crown. This would lay the foundation stone of a better understanding between the Government of India and the Ruling Princes.

*"Paragraph 306.*—It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Native States of India have not been left untouched in the Chelmsford-Montagu Reforms as they had been in the Minto-Morley Scheme. The inauguration of the permanent Council of Princes would afford the Princes sufficient opportunity to render whatever service they can in the way of advice and they would be more in practical touch with the Government of India and its practical policy toward Native States.

*"Paragraph 307.*—The Darbar, while agreeing that the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee, would respectfully suggest that the Council of Princes while making recommendations of selecting members of the Standing Committee would keep in view to avoid misunderstanding that every Prince with full ruling powers should have a chance to sit on the Committee in his turn. This suggestion would, if approved, give all Princes a chance to take part in the discussion and be an easy means to educate them.

*"Paragraph 308.*—The Darbar entirely agree that when the Viceroy thinks this desirable a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed in regard to the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any Local Government and a State. But in regard to disputes between the two States the Darbar would urge that the two States should at first be given a chance to appoint an arbitrator from among themselves, and if this fails, then a Commission might be reappointed.

*"As for part (b) of paragraph 308 of the Report, the Darbar agree that when the Viceroy thinks this desirable a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed in regard to the decisions of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the Government of India or the advice of any of their local representatives.*

*"Paragraph 309.*—The Darbar entirely approve of the suggestion that when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family, they should always be referred to a Commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him.

*"Paragraph 311.*—The Darbar have no objection to the proposal of the Report that means should be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both. It will be a matter of pride to the Princes if the Government of India were to take them into their confidence, and such confidence would lead to the benefit of both."

### Views of His Highness the late Maharawal of Dungarpur.

I. (1) The States enjoying perfect internal autonomy and full sovereign rights and entitled to salutes of 11 guns and over, should, in my opinion, be classed as Princes.

(2) This is a most important question and requires very careful consideration and I am of opinion that in the case of States which have full sovereign rights within their own territory and enjoy perfect internal autonomy and have Treaty relations with the Government of India, some uniform practice may be devised, with the consent of the Rulers of the States, that may simplify and define the existing procedure for the future, in the interests of the States as well as those of the Government. While as regards smaller States enjoying no Treaty rights a different procedure may be adopted. This, it is believed, will remove irritation and friction that are likely to be caused, under the present system, by the indiscriminate and inadvertent application of the practice suitable to the smaller and unimportant States, to the bigger and important ones.

(5) It might be added that where the parties consider it desirable the Viceroy should concede to the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry in regard to (a) and (b).

(7) All important States enjoying full internal autonomy and sovereign rights and entitled to 13 guns and over should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India.

As regards the smaller States or mediatised Chiefships whose powers of internal administration are limited and who are at present under various Local Governments, they should be grouped together under several political charges and they too should be placed in direct relation with the Government of India, for however small in area or revenue they may be and however great the restriction of their powers, they are none the less Chiefships and their proper place is among the Indian States rather than British Indian Provinces, and their status and dignity should be as scrupulously maintained as those of the bigger and important ones.

(3), (4), (6) and (8) It is very kind of the Government of India to allow the discussion of these questions in the Conference and I hope they will be fully considered and decided for the mutual good of the Indian States and the Government of India.

II. In my opinion, in the case of such Princes whose seats have not been settled or who sit under protests at any civil functions, the date of accession to the *yati* should be considered the only deciding factor in the matter of precedence, specially where the salutes are the same.

Seats at Official Darbars that have already been settled should not be disturbed at all.

In conclusion, I am to add that the views that I have expressed above are subject to any modifications, alterations and additions that may suggest themselves to me, as the result of the discussion of the questions at the informal meetings of the Ruling Princes that may be held prior to the deliberations of the Conference and at the formal Conference itself.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Indore.

The Government of India have been pleased to call for a written opinion of His Highness on :—

(1) the question of precedence of Ruling Princes *inter se* at social functions, and on



- (2) the recommendations made by His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Chapter X of their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

2. It is desired, at the outset, to convey an acknowledgment of the care and industry bestowed in preparing the Report and of the solicitude shown by the distinguished authors for guarding and promoting the interests of Ruling Princes and Chiefs. Expressions occur which are extremely gratifying. Assurances are given "that no constitutional changes which may take place" in British India "will impair the rights, dignities, and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads* and engagements or by established practice"\* and

\*Paragraph 305 of the Report.

†Paragraph 157, *ibid.*

are handsomely acknowledged

‡Paragraph 298, *ibid.*

have occurred" have not

§Paragraph 299, *ibid.*

authors have discerned the right cause of uncertainty and uneasiness when they observe that a political

||Paragraph 302, *ibid.*

to their individual relations with Government are uneasy as to its ultimate effect" and that "they fear

¶Paragraph 304, *ibid.*

that the British Government will "observe treaty obligations", "refrain from interference" and "protect the States from it".† The services which the States have rendered during the war are shown that "our quarrel is their quarrel."‡ It is further observed that the "changes which which assured to the States their powers of internal administration."§ The distinguished applied to the greater ones also";|| that "the Princes, viewing the application of this case-law, which has grown up around the treaties, to their individual relations with Government are uneasy as to its ultimate effect" and that "they fear that usage and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty rights of individual States".¶

3. These sentiments leave no doubt as to the lofty and generous motives underlying the recommendations. Each State has, however, its peculiar rights, customs and traditions which cannot be fully within the knowledge of other people. This indeed has been fully recognised by the distinguished authors of the Report. They have produced an atmosphere of confidence for the full expression of the views of Ruling Princes and Chiefs by extending an invitation to them to do so. The opportunity in unique, and full advantage should be taken of it.

4. Before proceeding any further it is necessary to invite full attention to the basic and axiomatic truth that His Highness's treaty relations are with the British Government, maintained in India by His Excellency the Viceroy as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor. An autonomous Government of India, controlled by the elected or nominated representatives of British India, is not the power with which His Highness' ancestors entered into treaty or political relations. To such a Government His Highness has never owed and never can owe any obligation nor can British India and its would-be autonomous Government rightly advance any claim to occupy in political relation to His Highness the position accorded by treaty to His Majesty and his Government. With an autonomous Government presided over by a Governor-General, British India can but occupy with regard to Indore the position of a sister State like Gwalior or Hyderabad, each absolutely independent of the other and having His Majesty's Government as the connecting link between the two. Here it might be mentioned that it is on account of the desirability of not mixing up British Indian affairs with those of Indian States

that the head of the present Indian Government functions in a dual capacity as Governor-General for British India and as Viceroy for maintaining His Majesty's political and other treaty relations with the States. So long as the "Viceroy" continues to hold the position he does now with regard to the Native States, it is of no concern to the States what the functions of the "Governor-General" are. For this reason therefore it would be necessary when an autonomous Government for British India comes into existence to treat it as sister and neighbouring State and to insist on His Highness's right to deal direct with His Majesty's Representative in India or His Majesty's Government in London, rather than become a part of or co-ordinate factor in the machine of any autonomous Government of British India. This would be in consonance with, and befitting the position of, His Highness as an "independent ally of the British Government."

5. The Holkar State would view with apprehension, and protest against, as a breach of its treaty rights, any attempt at the transfer of the control of His Majesty's political relations with it, from the hands of the British Government to those of any autonomous Government of British India. It is impossible to say where this process, if once begun, would stop or what the resultant effect of this transfer would be both in the direct dealings of such a Government with the Native States and the indirect reaction on them of political movements. His Highness's Government would strongly protest against being drawn into the whirlpool of British Indian politics where their relations with the autonomous Government would be at the mercy of very political change. For the sake, therefore, of the preservation of the rights, prerogatives and privileges of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar it is essential that the political relations of the Holkar State should remain with His Majesty's Government as represented in India by His Excellency the Viceroy, but not with the representatives of British India whose interests may be divergent. From this it follows as a corollary that the Political Department should not be recruited from the services of British India. This is necessary to ensure that Department's entire freedom from the control of British India and to prevent British Indian politics affecting the smooth current of political relations between His Majesty's Government and the Native States.

6. Paragraph (3) of the Agenda deals with the question of the proposed permanent Council of Princes for the deliberation of matters which affects the States generally and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common. It may be noted that in the time of Lord Lytton an Imperial Privy Council was brought into being to advise the Government of India, but His Lordship included only twelve Ruling Princes (afterwards reduced to eight) as he could not recommend a larger number "without extending the honour to minors, or Chiefs of a rank too low for so high and honourable an office or to Chiefs not wholly fitted for the dignity of Councillors".\*

\*Government of India's Despatch to the Secretary of State, *vide* page 234, Mukerji's "Indian Constitutional Documents."

guardianship of common and Imperial interests, and as a means of promoting more intimate relations among component parts of the Indian Empire"; but this project was not proceeded with† as the "majority of Ruling Chiefs" and "nearly all the Political Officers" were "opposed to the formation of a Council on which the Ruling Chiefs and territorial Magnates

†Secretary of State's Despatch on page 268, *ibid*.

would sit together": and the other objections were that the Chiefs had "no knowledge of the conditions of British India"; while the Magnates were "out of touch with the people".\* There was also then the proposal of an Imperial Council composed only of Native Princes to a limited number for advising the Government of India on questions of an Imperial character, but some of the more important Princes disliked "the idea of collective consultation," hinted "at difficulties of precedence among themselves", and considered "free discussion to be only possible among equals."† These Princes expressed a preference for consultation by letter and did not wish "to be invited to attend meetings, both for the personal reasons" (precedence, etc.), "and because of the expense and inconvenience and the interruption of their regular administrative work".‡ Lord Minto agreed that there was much force in these objections and Lord Morley too took the same view and observed that it would "be a mistake to push the project, unless it commands the clear assent and approval of those whose presence in the Council would be essential to its success".§

\*Government of India's Despatch, *vide* page 232, Mukerji's "Indian Constitutional Documents."

†Page 235, *ibid*.

‡Page 235, *ibid*.

§Page 269, *ibid*.

7. These and similar considerations weighed with His Highness when in his Note, dated the 28th January 1918, forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy with a Kharita, he observed:—

"Considering the divergence in the history and political status of the various States, it is a difficult if not an impossible task to secure for the proposed Chamber an equitable representation of all interests with any possibility of finding a common ground where the divergent interests would meet and thus enable the Chamber to voice the joint and unanimous opinion of all the Princes and Chiefs. It would be distinctly improper an unfair to accept in all cases the views of the majority of the members as the representative opinion of the Indian States and thus run the risk of drowning the voice of the Princes of the first rank in the consensus of opinion of a number of Chiefs who may in no way compare with them in territory, prestige or political status".

8. To make the matter clear, it may be observed that His Highness's vital interests have suffered quite recently. It was this majority of opinion which weighed with the British Government on the question of succession in Native States and he has had consequently to make a representation.

9. The distinguished authors have provided two safeguards in order to obviate such risk. The first is that the "direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State would not be affected by the institution of the Council"; the second is that a definite line would be drawn separating "the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others"; and to make the proposals in paragraphs 306 to 311 of the Report applicable to them only. It may well be expected, however, that the Rulers who would thus be left out will make strenuous efforts to be included: and the British Government may concede to their wishes. At any rate the fact remains that all "the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration" are not entitled to the same rights and privileges.

10. A careful perusal of the terms of the treaties (or agreements) of various States and of the political history and records of the period will show that the States can be grouped under various classes.

11. None of the Native States have powers of external sovereignty, but in other respects their obligations to the British Government under treaties are of various nature. For instance, as regards the obligation for common

defence, the States of Hyderabad, Mysore and Indore, under the arrangements concluded some years back, are exempt from any sort of liability.

12. Rulers of States having such diversity cannot look at questions involving rights and prerogatives from the same standpoint and any advice coming from them may prove harmful to others.

\**Vide* paragraph 1 (1) of the Agenda. The proposal,\* therefore, to draw a line separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others, though an improvement in a way, does not go far enough to fully secure the desired end. It is strongly urged that no such permanent Council should be brought into existence to advise His Excellency the Viceroy on "questions which affect the States generally or which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or British India and the States in common", but that in pursuance of the excellent principle of consultation which has been accepted in the Report, a reference should be made in these matters to the Rulers individually through the usual channel and their "considered opinion" ascertained. This course would avoid the enormous expenditure of time and money which has to be incurred at present in attending a Conference at Delhi, and would also secure a calm and deliberate consideration of the matter referred, which is not possible when Rulers have to discuss matters in Council and give their opinion forthwith. If nevertheless the Council comes into being His Highness, as he has already said, would not join it at present but would wait and see how it works on and safeguards his interests.

13. The next proposal† is that with the consent of the Rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy but in order to simplify, standardize and codify existing practice for the future.

† Paragraph 1 (2), *ibid.*

The distinguished authors of the Report point out in paragraphs 303 and 304 two factors which in their opinion have been at work to bring about relations contrary to the texts of the treaties or agreements. They justify the operation of the first factor in these words :—

"We cannot disregard the fact that the general clause which occurs in many of the treaties to the effect that the Chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country has not in the past precluded, and does not even now preclude, interference with the administration by Government through the agency of its representatives at the Native Courts. We need hardly say that such interference has not been employed in wanton disregard of treaty obligations. During the earlier days of our intimate relations with the State British Agents found themselves compelled, often against their will, to assume responsibility for the welfare of a people, to restore order from chaos, to prevent inhuman practices, and to guide the hands of a weak or incompetent Ruler as the only alternative to the termination of his rule."

14. This is one way of looking at things. There is also the other view, and that taken by such distinguished authorities as Lord Hastings and Sir Charles Metcalfe, both makers of treaties, who laid the foundations of the Indian Empire.

15. Lord Hastings, in the Private Journal which he kept as Governor-General, observes :—

"In our treaties with them we recognise them as independent sovereigns  
Then we send a Resident to their courts. Instead of acting in

the character of ambassador, he assumes the functions of a dictator; interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest which, under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council: and the Government identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we violate the feelings of the Native Princes so much as in the decisions which we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to the succession to the *musnud*."

16. Sir Charles Metcalfe, in his Paper on the affairs of Jaipur, which he wrote as Governor-General in 1835, is no less emphatic:—

"Another evil of interference is that it gives too much power to our agents at foreign courts, and makes Princes and Ministers very much the slaves or subjects of their will. An interfering agent is an abominable nuisance wherever he may be, and our agents are apt to take that turn. They like to be masters instead of mere negotiators. They imagine, often very erroneously, that they can do good by meddling in other people's affairs; and they are impatient in witnessing any disorder which they think may be remedied by our interference, forgetting that one step in this course will unavoidably be followed by others, which will most probably lead to the destruction of the independence of the State concerned."

"It must be admitted to be an evil of the non-interference policy that temporary and local disorder may occasionally ensue, and must be tolerated, if we mean to adhere strictly to that principle. But this is a consequence which we naturally dislike. We are not disposed to wait until things settle themselves in their natural course. We think ourselves called on to interfere, and some bungling or unnatural arrangement is made by our will, which, because it is our own, we ever after support, against the inclination of the people and their notions of right and justice."

"The true basis of non-interference is a respect for the rights of others—for the rights of all, people as well as Princes. The treaties by which we are connected with Native States are, with rare exceptions, founded on their independence in internal affairs. In several instances the States are, with respect to external relations, dependent and under our protection but still independent in internal affairs. It is customary with the advocates of interference to twist our obligation of protection against enemies into a right to interfere in the internal affairs of protected States—a right, however, which our treaties generally do not give us, otherwise than as the supporters of the legitimate sovereign against usurpation or dethronement, in the event of his not having merited the disaffection of his subjects."

"The advocates for interference would probably maintain that it is right to anticipate mischief and prevent it by decided interference, and, as disorder will sometimes follow our adherence to non-interference, there would be much weight in that argument if our interference were always productive of good. But we often

create or aggravate mischief and disorder by injudicious interference, and prevent a natural settlement of affairs, which would otherwise take place. One of the strongest arguments in my mind against interference is that it is more apt to work evil than good. There is nothing in our political administration that requires so much circumspection, and caution, and discreet judgment, as interference in the affairs of other States. A single mistake on the part of an agent may cause irreparable mischief ; and the power left to agents on such occasions is immense. Almost everything depends on their judgment. The effects of interference are anything but certain. It is not, therefore, a conclusive argument in favour of interference, although it is the best, that we may thereby prevent evil ; for, on the contrary, we are just as likely to create it ; I should indeed say, infinitely more so. And the evil created by interference is generally irremediable. It virtually, if not ostensibly, destroys the State to which it is applied and leaves it only a nominal, if any, existence."

"Our attempts to interfere for the better government of other States have often been wretched failures as to our purpose, but have nevertheless had all the bad effects of interference on the States concerned, as well as on the minds of other States. Where interference shall begin, and where end, and to what object it shall be confined, and how that object shall be accomplished without involving further and unnecessary interference, are all nice points to determine. The question of interference altogether is, indeed, the most difficult of any in Indian policy ; but interference is so likely to do evil, and so little certain of doing good, that it ought, I conceive, to be avoided as much as possible. The evils of non-interference may certainly be such sometimes as we would not like to permit to continue, but their effects are generally temporary, and leave the State independent in internal affairs as before. The effects of interference are permanent, and degrade the State for ever, if they do not destroy it".

17. The operation of the second factor is justified by the distinguished authors of the Report thus :—

"Moreover, we find that the position hitherto taken up by Government has been that the conditions under which some of the treaties were executed have undergone material changes, and the literal fulfilment of particular obligations which they impose has become impracticable. Practice has been based on the theory that treaties must be read as a whole, and that they must be interpreted in the light of the relations established between the parties not only at the time when a particular treaty was made but subsequently. The result is that there has grown up around the treaties a body of case-law which any one who is anxious to appreciate the precise nature of existing relations must explore in Government archives and in text books."

18. The distinguished administrators who negotiated the treaties and agreements and established the British Power were however very particular in not treating in a light manner the terms of those sacred

documents. Sir A. Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) wrote to Major Malcolm on the 17th March 1804 :

“ I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every frontier of India, ten times over, in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and the advantages and honour we gained by the late war and the peace ; and we must not fritter them away in arguments, drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations, which are not understood in this country. What brought me through many difficulties in the war, and the negotiations for peace ? The British good faith, and nothing else.”

19. Sir John Malcolm in his “ Instructions to his Assistants ” says :—

“ On all occasions where they are referred to, treaties and engagements should be interpreted with much consideration to the prince or chief with whom they are made.\*

\*Page 452, Malcolm's Memoirs, Volume II (Edition of 1824).

There is often, from opposite education and habits, much difference between their construction and ours of such engagement ; but no loose observation, or even casual departure from the letter of them, ought to lead to serious consequences, when it appeared there was no intention of violating the spirit of the deed, or of acting contrary to pledged faith.

†Page 452, Malcolm's Memoirs, Vol. II (Edition of 1824). When any article of an engagement is doubtful, I think it should be invariably explained with more leaning to the expectations originally raised in the weaker than to the interests of the stronger power ”.†

20. Lord Auckland, Governor-General, in his minute dated the 2nd January 1842 on the Orchha case, observes as follows :—

“ I cannot, for a moment, admit the doctrine, that because the view of the policy upon which we may have formed engagements with native princes may have been by circumstances materially altered, we are not to act scrupulously up to the terms and spirit of those engagements ”.‡

‡Paragraph 146, “ Papers respecting the succession by Adoption,” printed under the order of the House of Commons in 1850.

21. Even more authoritative than the last two views is the following pronouncement of Lord Hastings, who made more treaties than others. Addressing the Nawab of the Karnatic he used these words :—

“ A treaty plighted the public faith of the nation, so that it must be my duty to maintain its terms according to their true spirit, which ought always to be construed most favourably for the party whose sole dependence was on the honour of the other ”.§

§Paragraph 11, Private Journal of Lord Hastings, Volume.

22. This emphasises the need there is for faithfully observing the terms of a treaty. When construing it, it is often essential to look to the circumstances which brought it about. Questions may arise, in course of time, not covered by the treaty or some provision of it may become inapplicable. In both cases the remedy lies in entering into a fresh treaty or agreement to modify the previous one. Without, however, taking this course, if a treaty were to be interpreted in the light of subsequent relations between the parties, an element of uncertainty would come into operation and the sanctity of treaties

would be endangered. The subsequent relations indicating the so-called precedents or political practice but clearly contrary to the spirit of the treaties or agreements come into existence from various causes. In Native States where the system of government is personal, it happens that owing to the minority of the Prince or some other disability, the interests of his House or of his State are not fully safeguarded. Or, it may be that whether the Prince is in this situation or not, he or his ministers may have no liberty of choice of action and may be powerless. Cases can be imagined where his interests clash with those of the British Government or other States. As representing the British Government the Political Officer will naturally feel inclined to safeguard the rights of his government or to carry out their instructions and his influence over the Prince or his ministers may be too strong for the latter to think of disagreeing with him: and they may thus be led to adopt a course eventually harmful to the rights or privileges of the State. Or again the Political authorities or the Government of India—whether influenced or not by the political practice or customs in other States—may think of introducing innovations quite inconsistent with or contrary to the previously existing practice or customs of the State concerned. Thus in 1905 when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales paid a visit to the Holkar State the official programme based on past practice said that His Highness the Maharaja Holkar would drive His Royal Highness in the same carriage. This was given in the printed programme which was circulated everywhere. And yet on the Railway Station His Highness was told that he was not to drive in the same carriage and he had to come away in a separate carriage behind the procession. During the same visit at the opening of the Edward Hall by His Royal Highness, His Highness, though the host and Ruler of the State, was not given his customary seat by the side of His Royal Highness. Again, in 1911 on the occasion of the investiture of His Highness with Ruling Powers, innovations quite contrary to past practice were introduced, such as (1) in assigning a place to the Peshwai Sardars in the procession from the Residency to the Darbar Hall, (2) in forming a procession on the entrance of the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General to the Hall, (3) in considering the Darbar to be that of the Agent to the Governor-General and (4) conducting the Maharaja to a chair representing the *gadi* in token of his being formally invested. Protests were made at the time, but they were unavailing except that in the case of the last mentioned innovation the Government of India admitted that it was unsuitable and should have been omitted. Further representations had consequently to be made and it is satisfactory to note that the Government of India have lately declared in their Memorandum on "Successions in the Native States" that the Investiture Darbar should be considered as that of the Prince and not of the British Representative and this has the effect of restoring the previously existing practice in these matters. On the occasion of the last visit of His Excellency the Viceroy to Indore, a right place was given to the carriage of the Peshwai Sardars.

23. Treaties or agreements are solemn documents which give full opportunity to the parties concerned to think about them; but this safeguard is necessarily absent in the case of usages (or practice) or precedents. It is but right and proper therefore that before any usages or precedents can be allowed any value, they should be carefully scrutinized with due regard to their attendant circumstances to make sure that there has been no undue influence, mistake or some such invalidating circumstance in operation. If such a circumstance exists, the incident can have no value as a precedent or as establishing a usage in that State. *A fortiori* it can have none with reference to other States where the incident has not occurred.



24. The danger of applying a wrong precedent may here be well illustrated by reference to a latest instance. At the investiture of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar with ruling powers in 1911 above referred to, a precedent from other States was followed by the British Government; and it occasioned a mistake in ceremonials. The point was brought to the notice of Government who very kindly agreed that the precedent was inappropriate and gave an assurance that the point would be borne in mind on future occasions.

25. In these circumstances it should be obvious why "the Princes, viewing the application of this case-law to their individual relations with Government, are uneasy as to its ultimate effect." The British Government have time after time declared that the treaty rights of States would be scrupulously observed. This declaration affords a complete guarantee to the States for their rights and it is suggested that any political practice or usage which may be contrary to the spirit of treaties or agreements should be authoritatively declared as null and void. Unless this is done the treaties would lose their sacred and binding character. If, however, any practice or usage is acceptable to any Ruling Prince, it should form the subject of a fresh treaty or agreement in order to obviate all chances of doubt or misunderstanding.

26. Paragraph 1 (4) of the Agenda suggests that the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee to advise the Government in matters affecting Native States. It is noted with satisfaction that "no reference affecting any individual State would be made to the Committee without the concurrence of its Ruler." It is wise to resolve to take action in such matters after full consultation with those who are in a position to offer sound advice based on their long association with the State concerned and their intimate knowledge of its rights, traditions and usages. This local knowledge can only be acquired after years of painstaking study and it is hard to conceive that Princes and Ministers will be readily available who possess this knowledge of the States about which the Government may consult them. If they have not this knowledge, their opinion will not be helpful in enabling the Government to arrive at a right decision and may even be misleading. Even if the members of the Advisory Board can spare sufficient time and energy to read up all the records and thus gain a degree of familiarity with local conditions, how can they, being foreigners, be expected to enter fully into the feelings of a State or to appreciate its sentiments? Unless they can do so, they cannot be regarded as suitable advisers to the British Government on matters connected with the State.

27. In such matters where the rights, privileges, and usages of a State are concerned, the safest and soundest policy for the Government would be for them to decide on the line of action to be taken after full and free consultation with the State itself. The Prince after a full enquiry and consultation with his ministers and advisers could state his views on the subject and these could be sent to the Viceroy through the usual channel. In case there is a difference of opinion between the State and the local representative of the British Government it would help the Government to arrive at a right decision if they make the Prince fully acquainted with the views of their local representative so that the Prince may be enabled to adduce additional facts in support of his contention or to point out any error that might be detected in the argument of the British representative. If this course fails to meet the requirements of the case, the Prince could be invited by His Excellency the Viceroy to depute his trusted Minister to discuss the matter with him personally. In this way mistakes could be avoided. No State would like to hazard its interests by entrusting to strangers unacquainted with its traditions and privileges,

however high their rank and abilities may be, the function of advising the British Government on matters of vital importance to it.

28. The next item\* relates to "Commissions of Enquiry." The  
*\*Vide* paragraph 1 (5) of the spirit permeating the following passage is  
 Agenda. appreciated :—

"In such cases there exists at the present moment no satisfactory method of obtaining an exhaustive and judicial inquiry into the issues, such as might satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, that the issues have been considered in an independent and impartial manner."

To enable the States concerned to derive the fullest benefit from the proposal it is essential that a reference should be made to the proposed Commissions in all cases of importance and if any party is dissatisfied with the finding of the Commission he should have a right of appeal or representation to higher authorities. It is further absolutely necessary that a definite procedure should be laid down, with the consent of Native States, for the guidance of the Commission. If these provisions are made, His Highness may agree to the proposal. It is presumed, however, that in minor cases such elaborate machinery would not be employed, but that a simpler procedure, like that at present, would be followed.

29. Another item† refers to the Commissions to enquire into the conduct  
 of a Ruler. The idea of putting a Ruler on trial  
 though the proceedings of it may not be made  
 public, is of a startling nature. The position  
 of the Rulers of Indian States is unique. Set in authority over millions of their subjects they exercise a power and influence which is a great asset to the Empire. The whole-hearted loyalty of the subjects to their Ruler is entirely a personal loyalty built up on ancient tradition and custom. To the subject the Ruler is the embodiment of world power and all his hopes and interests are bound up in the State. Any action that tends to lower the prestige of the Ruler in the eyes of his subjects is sure to weaken his hold on them and thus render his task of carrying on the Government of his State more difficult if not impossible. What can lower a Prince more than the spectacle of his being dragged like an ordinary criminal before a Court of Enquiry. Even if the verdict is in his favour, his glamour goes for ever, thus weakening not only his hold but that of his successors too on the willing respect and obedience of the people that had been paid to the Ruler from generation to generation. The notion that the trial of a Ruler is possible would encourage mischiefmongers and busy-bodies who are to be found everywhere, to stir up discontent by exaggerations and inventions. They may gain the ears of the British authorities; and the matter may prove an endless source of mischief and nuisance both to the Ruler and the British Government.

30. These considerations are themselves sufficient reasons why the proposal should be deprecated; and there is hardly any need to consider whether the course can be defended or justified in the case of those Rulers whose treaties contain no clauses enjoining attention to the happiness of their subjects and to the administration of justice, but give them an absolutely free hand in the internal affairs of their States. It may very well be asked whether one "ally" can be tried by another.

31. Of course nobody would like to defend mal-administration in a Native State. It is in the best interests of the Princes and their subjects that anarchy and chaos do not reign in their States. The growth of education and the gradual

appreciation of the requirements of the times make it improbable that in any Native State of note, the same standards of administration would in future be found to be adequate that sufficed for the people fifty years ago. Changes will come and nobody would like to pretend that he can stop them coming. But what is maintained is that the Native States should be left severely alone to work out their own destinies as indeed was strongly recommended by the distinguished Statesmen mentioned above. The British Government can, if they think necessary, point out to a Prince the probable effects of his actions and may advise him as to the best course to be pursued : and there can be no doubt that a friendly and timely hint like this will meet the situation.

32. Paragraph 1 (7) of the Agenda—As far as this State is concerned under Article XIV of the Treaty of Mandsour (1818), “an accredited minister from the British Government shall reside with the Maharaja” and “the latter shall be at liberty to send a Vakil to the Most Noble the Governor-General”. Accordingly a British Officer called the Resident was stationed with the Maharaja Holkar and he was in direct communication with the Government of India. Since 1854, the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India has been performing the duties of the Resident, except during the short period, 1899—1916, when owing to special circumstances, a separate Resident was posted. It is a mark of honour that a high Political Officer of the status of the Agent to the Governor-General should reside with His Highness, and it is believed that this time-honoured arrangement will be continued in future if an Agent to the Governor-General is continued under the new arrangements.

33. The item in paragraph 1 (8) of the Agenda relates to the joint “deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both.” The distinguished authors of the Report observe\* that “in the past it certainly has occasionally happened that the States were vitally affected by decision”, affecting India

\*Paragraph 311.  
as a whole, “having been taken without reference to them” although “they have a clear right to ask for it in the future.” This is a welcome announcement. In view, however, of what has been stated above on the question of the Council of Princes it is desired that in matters of common interest an opportunity will be given to the Indore State to represent at its option its views as it does under the present arrangements. His Highness, it is presumed, would ever be ready and willing to advise His Excellency or render any assistance to the Empire as his grandfather (His Highness the late Maharaja Tukoji Rao) used to do as Councillor of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India, and that should there be an invitation from His Excellency the Viceroy to the proposed Council to take part in the deliberation before the Council of State or to serve on a Committee of the Privy Council, His Highness would ask that on such occasions he, too, may be allowed at his option to depute a representative.

34. With regard to the question of precedence among Ruling Princes *inter se*, His Highness has already observed that, in view of the relations that subsist between the Ruling Princes and the British Government, it is not possible to differentiate between the order of precedence for purely social and purely official purposes. The two are so intimately connected with each other as to preclude the possibility of bifurcation without infringing on some or other of the rights and privileges which are enjoyed by the Ruling Princes since they entered into treaty relations with the British Government ; rights that they greatly value and which the British Government are as anxious to maintain as the Ruling Princes themselves. The status of a State depends not on the size or extent of resources but on its previous history ; on the position it

occupied when that State entered into political relations with the British Government and on the extent of autonomy exercised. It is a complex matter and will necessarily lead to divergence of views. In such questions it is but natural for every Ruler to adhere to his own point of view. As His Highness has already observed, it would be undesirable to approach any subject that might have the least tendency, however remote, to disturb the present feeling of mutual esteem and good-will and, therefore, this question should not be considered at the Conference.

R. DUBE,

*Chief Minister to His Highness the Maharaja of Holkar.*

*The 20th December 1918.*

### **Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha.**

I have much pleasure in noting below my opinion on the questions contained in the Agenda for discussion at the Conference of Princes.

I.—(1) I find, on this side of India at any rate, that the States may be grouped into three classes, namely, the Treaty States, the *Sanad* States and the Minor States or Estates. Not only from their own historical status, but from the terms of their engagements with the Government of India, the three classes were markedly different from each other. But during this long interval there has been a tendency towards the levelling down of their status. The common terminology of "Native States" referred to in paragraph 302 of the Reform Scheme would not alone do much to this end. There appears to have been other factors. One of them was the fact that the Political Agent has occasionally to deal with every one on the same subject. This has led, probably inadvertently, to the same procedure being adopted for all the States, tending to level down their status. Let me explain myself by an example.

Formerly, in referring to my Darbar, the Political Agent made use of a distinct letter to the Diwan. Recently, the practice has been adopted of issuing a single circular which every one of the States has to note and pass on to the next. As I understand it, this form of communication was not meant for such parties. The State coming at the bottom of the list get the circular long after it was issued, while there appears to be no advantage gained. If it saves the trouble of copying in the Agency Office, it throws the trouble on the States. And since the invention of the typewriter with its adjuncts, the carbon paper and the duplicating machine, even that point is lost. One would be tempted to think there might be some other object of the procedure adopted. As I have said, this is an example.

I agree with the proposal that a distinct and definite line should be drawn separating the States with full internal independence from others. But the theoretical line alone would not be enough. In fact such line already exists. The difference should manifest itself in practice in the treatment accorded to the States. What that treatment should be in the case of the former class was indicated by the Marquis of Hastings in 1814 when he said :—

"In our treaties with the Native Princes we recognise them as independent Sovereigns.

"Then we send a Resident to their Courts. Instead of acting as Ambassador \* \* "

The above instanced levelling tendency, then, it would only be fair and just to check, and therefore, to remove, the cause that leads to it. One way that might suggest itself would be to appoint a Resident for a State of the former class, or two or more States of the same class situated together and not very large in individual territory, and to put another Political Officer in charge of the other States or Estates. But a better way perhaps would be to let the historical and geographical group remain related to a single Resident, and to let the communication between the Resident and the little States or Estates in the group pass through the Treaty State concerned. The latter system has several advantages to recommend it. It is the less expensive to the Government, and expense is one of the most important post-war problems. And it would tend to uniformity and reciprocity of measures adopted in combating famines and epidemics without losing the individuality of the petty States.

(2) I agree with this proposal. At the invitation of Government I have given instances of disregard of treaty engagements so far as Orchha State is concerned, and I hope the information will be of use in providing the remedy.

(3) I agree that a permanent Council of Princes should be established. From the nature of the case and from the fact that some of the largest States do not seem likely to join it, I understand that the Council will be a consultative and advisory body, and that there will be no voting and no decision binding on each and every State.

(4) I also think that the formation of a Standing Committee is equally necessary.

I need not enter into the details of either the Council itself or the Standing Committee, as I feel sure they can be better dealt with by a discussion in the Conference that is going to be held. I am, however, inclined to think that the Political Department might, with advantage to both, refer to the Committee one and all questions of common concern instead of referring some and withholding others.

(5) In my opinion the resort to a Commission, as proposed in paragraph 308 of the Reform Scheme, is a valuable provision. I should like to add that where either party objects to the appointment of a particular High Court Judge, for reasons to be mentioned confidentially, the objection should be given due consideration and another Judge selected. It should not be difficult to effect the change when there are so many High Court Judges to choose from. Of course, the objection would imply no reflection on the Judge. To prevent any unpleasantness, the selection may not be notified or made public until it has been agreed to by the parties.

(6) I agree that an enquiry on questions named in the Agenda, with the help and advice of a Commission as proposed, would be more conducive of not only actual equity and justice for the party concerned but of the feeling of the same, which is little less necessary. The scheme, however, while recommending 5 members, detail only 3, namely, one High Court Judge and two Ruling Princes. It does not specify the remaining two. I should think all the four, besides the High Court Judge, should be Ruling Princes. Here again, I would add the proviso that, if the defendant, for good reason to be shown, objects to the inclusion of any Prince so chosen, his objection should be heard and generously considered.

(7) I realise the benefit of the general principle of placing all the important States in direct relation with the Government of India, that is, with only one medium of communication between the Government of India and the States. To this I should like to add that, in order to keep such States in touch with

the Government of India, they might be allowed to maintain, at their option, their accredited agents at the Viceregal Court. If the choice were restricted between a local Resident and an Agent to the Governor-General as they now exist, I should prefer a Resident. But with a broader view and taking into account the multitude of smaller States that tax the energy of the Political Officers, I may add that such group of them as have a historical relation with an important State should be made to correspond with its Resident through that State. There would be nothing new in this idea, as there are already instances of this nature existing. Further advantages accruing to the Political Department and those petty States have already been mentioned in paragraph 1 above. I need only add my conviction that the main State would willingly undertake this honorary work for the sake of a name.

(8) I realise the necessity of providing means for joint deliberation on questions of common interest to British India and the States, while I like the general principle of the line of action indicated in paragraph 311 of the Reform Scheme. I trust, as regards details, that the Princes will be better able to discuss it among themselves at Delhi before the question is taken up in the Conference. For the practical working of this scheme appears to me to require full consideration and deliberation.

II.—Regarding the question of precedence at social functions, it is not only necessary to say what it should be in future, but to know the governing principle on which that precedence has been arranged at the social functions in the recent past. I should, therefore, prefer to see this question gone into and discussed fully among the Princes, who will be assembled in the Conference, where any information found necessary will also be readily obtainable.

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### **Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Samthar.**

I will co-operate in the matter suggested in the Princes' Conference.

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### **Views of His Highness the Nawab of Jaora.**

The distinguished and talented authors of the Reform Scheme in their excellent and admirable Report on Reforms have, out of genuine interest for our Order, devoted a whole chapter (No. X) in giving expression to their provisions and proposals for the future position to be occupied by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of Native States. In doing so, the first proposal put forward is to bring into existence a Council of Princes. This Council is intended to be a permanent consultative body.

Paragraph 306 which relates to this Council, makes no mention as to how this Council is to be constituted and composed, but from a reference made in paragraph 302, it is apprehended that the idea is to separate "the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others." The learned framers of the Report have stated their opinion that they were convinced that it would improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States if a definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others. This view of the able authors might naturally lead one to conclude that the object is that the Chiefs exercising full powers only are to be the members of the Council excluding all others who do not exercise such powers. If I am right in drawing this conclusion, I strongly assert that this basis of constituting the Council neglects

the claims and interests of smaller States. It does not seem that the interests of smaller States, whose importance is no less, have been adequately guarded as compared with those of wealthier and more powerful Rulers. A Council with such constitution would not at all be acceptable to many of us and we desire to raise our voice strongly and emphatically against it. Such a constitution would enable a second class State in Gujarat with a small income of about two or three lakhs and without the honour of a salute, to gain a membership of this Council simply because, by some chance of administrative arrangement, it happens to come under the class of full-power Chiefs.

A Council so constituted would be a Council of a chosen few but not a thoroughly representative assembly. A Council of Princes should, to all intents and purposes, be a perfectly representative institution. To make it so representative, and in order that it may be so useful to serve the intended purpose, it may be suggested that the constitution be defined to include all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs down to 9 guns irrespective of any consideration of their being a tributary or a feudatory to any larger or bigger State. The true test of the dignity and position of a Chief is the honour of the salute he enjoys. Hitherto all Chiefs, up to 11 guns salute, have been invited to this Conference from the year 1916 to 1918 without any consideration of one being a feudatory or a tributary of another. The Council of Princes, proposed by the honourable framers of the Report, is to evolve out of, and is to take its rise from, this Conference. With what propriety or justification then one can now exclude a Chief from the precincts of the Council who has taken part in the deliberations of this Conference for the past three years?

I, therefore, propose that the definition defining the constitution of the Council should fix the dividing line at salute Chiefs down to nine guns. This definition is simple and offers no difficulties. It is not to be feared that the constitution formed on this basis will result in the Council being too large and unmanageable. The total number of such Chiefs is 110, and as some are invariably minors and others too old and infirm to attend, while a few may have other causes to be absent, I think there is absolutely no danger of such a large attendance that difficulties may be felt in conducting the work of the Council with convenience.

I, therefore, hope my suggestion on this point will be carried and accepted by the Government.

2. I now go to paragraph 307 which embodies the second proposal that "the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer matters relating to customs and usages."

This proposal, specially the composition of the Standing Committee, requires reconsideration. The customs and usages vary all over and are different in different provinces and agencies, and therefore to appoint a small Standing Committee would not be of much value. The Committee may not be in a position to give substantial advice to the Government or the Political Department regarding peculiar customs and local matters of different provinces. One small Committee may fail to guide the Government in the right direction and the object of creating such a Committee may not be satisfactorily gained. It may, therefore, be proposed that the Council of Princes should be asked to appoint annually from amongst its own members a series of local Standing Committees one for each agency, *e.g.*, Rajputana, Central India, etc., to which the points of customs, usage, etc., may be referred with regard to that particular agency. Such Committees, in my opinion, will be of greater help to Government than one small Committee of a few Chiefs.

3. The third proposal is for Commissions of Inquiry contained in paragraphs 308 and 309 of the Report. The proposal to appoint Commissions of Inquiry into disputes between a State and Local Government or the Government of India and for cases of misconduct is really to be greeted and approved, but it will be worth while consideration if such a Commission is necessary for inquiry into cases of disputes which may arise between two or more States.

A Commission presided over by a Judge of a High Court of Judicature will be a very costly and expensive tribunal. The contending parties will have to be represented by very able lawyers to obtain an exhaustive judicial inquiry into the issues. This will involve them in heavy costs without even the small solace of recovering them at the end. To small State confronting a bigger one such a litigation may prove to be ruinous. A wealthy opponent, I mean Ruler of a big State, may in spite of irritation prolong the inquiry, with some excuse or other, for months and years with the idea of exhausting the weak party and thereby to compel him to yield. There is every danger of the weak side being thus crushed and ruined beyond all hopes. A Commission of Inquiry cannot therefore be said to be a suitable and reasonable machinery for getting disputes settled in a just way.

In cases of disputes between States, the Government is quite a third party, uninterested and unconcerned, and therefore they are better fitted to adjudicate such disputes. In my opinion, disputes between two States should always go first to the Local Administration and then to the Government of India, and the parties should have the final right of appeal to the Secretary of State for India.

A decision thus given by the Government of India and finally by the Secretary of State will carry much weight and will be more convincing and comforting to the parties than that of a Commission of Inquiry. I trust this suggestion will be accepted and the proposal will be accordingly modified.

4. The proposal contained in paragraph 310 to place all important States in direct political relations with the Central Government is one which will commend approval of us all. For most of the States there exist at present two intermediate agencies, the Political Agent or a Resident and the Agent to the Governor-General. The Political Agent is no doubt an officer of use and importance to small States as he is a friend and adviser of Chiefs, and we derive benefit from his experience, but his medium makes the correspondence lengthy and matters are greatly delayed. To avoid delay and to get matters settled with as much ease and convenience as possible, it is necessary to curtail one agency and I, for my part, would prefer to propose that the medium between a Darbar and the Agent to the Governor-General may be abolished. In my opinion, it is sufficient to have one agency, that of the Agent to the Governor-General.

5. The proposal advanced in paragraph 311 for joint deliberations on matters of common interests is one to be accepted without objection.

6. In paragraph 305 of the Report, it is stated that the Government of India are of opinion that there is need for re-examination of the position of the Ruling Princes. There could be nothing wrong if engagements be made more clear and distinct and ambiguity and misunderstanding, if any, be so removed as to make the position of Chiefs definite and distinct. For my part, I would not object to such a re-examination of position specially when assurances are given by the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy that the re-examination will not be "with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify existing practice for



the future " and that " no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secure to them by treaties, *sanads* and engagements or by established practice." In face of such an assurance from the distinguished authors of the Report, drawn up with such wisdom and foresight, I can hardly conceive any reason to voice against the proposal.

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#### Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Charkhari.

I shall concur with the proposals carried out by the collective opinion of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs on the questions to be discussed at the Delhi Conference.

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#### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Ajaigarh.

I whole-heartedly support the view enunciated in paragraph 302 of the Report that there should be an improvement in the relations between the Crown and the States ; but it appears to me that the application of a common term "Native States " to all Indian States is a sign of possession by the Ruling Princes of a privilege, common to all, *viz.*, the powers of internal administration of their respective States. Differences in respect of powers enjoyed by Rulers of different States, are only of degree and not of kind, and so the uniformity of terminology is desirable, emphasising, as it does, the common feature of all Native States, *viz.*, the possession more or less of internal autonomy, the differences in the powers of States being matters of details. When relations of different States, with the Paramount Power, are based on treaties, *sanads* and engagements and when practice followed by the Government of India in its dealing with States differs with the status of each State, it appears very unlikely that the mere fact of a common designation is calculated to obscure distinctions of status. Therefore the common name "Native States " or any other that may apply to all Ruling Princes and Chiefs may be retained. If, however, any other name is devised, it may be wide enough in its scope to embrace the whole order of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs. I advocate this view with the sole object of maintaining the unity and solidarity of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs as a body. With the reservation noted above, I accord very cordial support to the Chapter X of the Joint Report under reply.

I take this opportunity of expressing my hearty thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for their earnest efforts in the direction of improving the position of Native States by allowing them a place in the constitutional development of India.

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#### Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Bijawar.

His Highness has informed the Political Agent that he will be content to accept the consensus of opinion of his brother Ruling Chiefs on the Agenda.

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#### Views of His Highness the Raja of Ratlam.

My views have been expressed at the meeting held at Indore on the occasion of His Excellency's visit, the proceedings\* of which have been recorded, and in my subsequent letter to the Political Agent, as also in

\*A, *infra*.

†B, *infra*.

my separate memorandum.†

A.

PROCEEDINGS\* OF A MEETING WHICH THE RULING CHIEFS, WHO WERE PRESENT AT INDORE TO MEET HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, HELD ON THE 19TH AUGUST 1918 TO CONSIDER THE REFORMS SCHEME AS AFFECTING STATES.

\* The original proceedings were circulated for confirmation, and this paper embodies replies received thereupon.

While agreeing generally with the proposals as regards the States, there are certain points which it appears desirable to consider from the points of view of the small States, whose interests do not appear to be adequately guarded as compared with those of wealthier and more powerful Rulers.

*Paragraph 302.*—The proposals, as they now stand, draw the defining lines as between Chiefs exercising full powers and those which do not.

In the Scheme proposed by the Princes, two alternatives were considered, *viz.*, to draw the line—

(1) at those exercising full sovereign powers ;

(2) at those who had salutes of not less than 11 guns who were not feudatories of another Darbar.

The definition is adopted here. It appears to bristle with difficulties. Thus, without going more deeply into the question, the position of the Bombay States alone, under this definition, would be anomalous. Thus certain second class States in the Bombay Presidency would, under this definition, be eligible for a seat in the Council, while the same definition would exclude salute States of Central India.

The definition based on salutes as given in the Princes' own proposals is vitiated by the limitation to 11 guns and the proviso regarding feudatory relationships.

The definition should, in our opinion, fix the dividing line at salute Chiefs—that is, down to 9-gun Chiefs irrespective of any peculiar tributary relationship which may obtain.

This definition is simple and offers no difficulties. The total number of such Chiefs is 97, but as some are invariably minors, some too old or in different, there does not appear to be any danger that such a definition will result in the Council being too large and unwieldy ??

*Paragraph 307.*—The composition of this Standing Committee, in our opinion, requires reconsideration. Provinces and

[This proposal was accepted by all attending the meeting.] Agencies have their own peculiar customs and usages and other local matters on which the advice of such a Committee would be invaluable. But it is essential that such Committee should be formed of those who belong to the locality concerned. This would not be easily obtained by appointing one fixed Standing Committee and we, therefore, suggest that the Council of Princes should appoint, yearly, from among its own members, a series of local Standing Committees, one for each Agency, *e.g.*, Rajputana, Central India, etc., to which points of custom, usage, etc., could be submitted for opinion at any rate in the case of Hindu States.

[This proposal was accepted by all attending the meeting.] *Paragraph 308.*—Two classes of disputes are here referred to, *viz.* :—

(1) As between two States.

- (2) As between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India.

It is proposed that, in such cases, failing ordinary methods, a special Commission should be appointed with a High Court Judge to adjudicate, each side being represented by a nominee.

We would suggest that these two forms of dispute should be differentiated *viz* :—

- (1) Cases between two States should *not* be submitted to such a Commission but be decided by the Government of India.
- (2) Cases between a State and a Government or the Government of India could be so treated.

The objection to a Commission is mainly expense. The nominee would undoubtedly have to be a Barrister or Pleader, and this would introduce all the pains and penalties of judicial litigation without even the small solace of recovering costs at the end and, without wishing to imply that such is likely to be the case, it is still conceivable that an irritated rich Darbar might contrive to prolong even a bad case until a poor opponent was ruined or at any rate put to great expense.

With regard to this proposal, His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar proposed an amendment—

- “Cases between two States should not be submitted to such a Commission but be decided by the Government of India unless both parties desired that it should be so submitted.”

This was circulated and on it the following views were expressed :—

\* \* \* \* \*

*His Highness the Raja of Ratlam* remarks that it is inconceivable that both sides would desire a Commission—or at any rate it would very rarely occur. The idea he held was that the principle underlying the proposal for a Commission was that, where dissatisfaction existed, a third party could be given an opportunity for going into the case. But in disputes between the States, the Government of India is already in the position of that third party and years of practice have shown that there is never a shadow of doubt as to the “independent and impartial manner” in which it investigates cases, and hence a Commission in such cases is an unnecessary re-duplication of machinery. It would only create a litigious disposition in the States, which are now in Central India free from it, a spirit which has led to large sums being budgetted yearly in some Kathiawar States simply for litigation. Hence His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar’s amendment appears unnecessary.

As regards disputes between two States, however, it should be laid down that a right to a final appeal to the Secretary of State should be recognised.

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*Paragraph 310.—His Highness the Raja of Ratlam.*—This matter is of vital importance, but was not sufficiently discussed at the meeting and should be again fully discussed and a definite and unanimous decision arrived at on it before the Conference at Delhi. Generally His Highness holds that the post of Agent to the Governor-General is essential in Central India. In His Highness’ opinion the present arrangement, which gives a Political Agent to

States, is most suitable to the case of small States. Without him there would be no one in direct and sympathetic touch with the Darbars, a loss which would be accentuated when bigger neighbours had residents in direct correspondence with the Political Secretary. Still the system should be uniform throughout, possibly the presence of such an intermediary officer might even prove detrimental.

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## B.

### MEMORANDUM ON THE PROPOSED COUNCIL OF PRINCES.

#### (HOW IT AFFECTS RATLAM, THE PREMIER RAJPUT STATE IN MALWA.)

"From being at the head of a large and powerful family, the Raja of Ratlam has great influence, and can, upon emergency, call a numerous band of his kindred and clansmen into the field." So wrote Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., nearly a century ago, when he was in Military and Political charge of Central India. (*Vide* his Memoir of Central India, Edition of 1823).

In another place in the same work is written :—

"The Rajas of Sitamau, of Sailana, Kachee Baroda, and Multhan, are all descendants of Rattan Singh (the founder of the Ratlam State): the elder brother of the family continuing to rule over the town and the province of Ratlam and to receive a general obedience and respect from the Junior Branches."

Aitchison has, in his "Treaties, Engagement and *Sanads*", referred to the high position of the Raja of Ratlam in the following terms :—"The Raja of Ratlam, who is descended from a younger branch of the Jodhpur family, is considered the principal Rajput leader in Western Malwa and in consequence receives a voluntary allegiance an assistance if called for from the neighbouring Rajput Chiefs." (*Vide* paragraph 587, Volume III, Edition of 1876.)

Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) C. E. Luard, in his Gazetteer of the Ratlam State, writes :—"The Raja of Ratlam being the head of the Rathor Rajputs of Malwa, important clan questions, even between persons who do not belong to the Ratlam State are referred to him for decision." (*Vide* paragraph 12, Ratlam Gazetteer, published in 1908.)

The latest Government publication "The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India" compiled from the official records under the orders of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India has the following reference to the present Ruler of Ratlam : "The head of the Central India Branch of the Rathors is Major His Highness Sir Sajjan Singh Bahadur, Raja of Ratlam, whose State was founded in 1651 by Rattan Singh, a grandson of Raja Udai Singh, of Jodhpur". (*Vide* paragraph 133 of the Imperial Visit to India, published in 1914).

Nearly half the area of the Ratlam State territory is granted in *jagirs* over which the Raja of Ratlam exercises "all suzerain rights, such as *sayer* (customs), excise, forests, unclaimed property, treasure trove, and civil and criminal jurisdiction, as also the escheat of lands in case of a Thakur's death without heirs."

The State has the right of minting its own coin. The State enjoys a permanent salute of 13 guns. The Ratlam Darbar has power to legislate for the

State, and several Acts and rules specially passed in former years by the Darbar are still in force in the Ratlam State ; but with a view to co-operating with the Government of India, in their judicial policy by securing uniformity in laws and procedure, in recent years the spirit of the British Indian laws has been followed by the orders of the Darbar in all the civil and criminal courts of the State, as has been done in many other States, big or small. The existing laws and rules are amended by circulars when necessary.

The Raja of Ratlam thus enjoys full jurisdiction in criminal cases and can pass any sentence authorised by law, but is required to submit all sentences of death and transportation for confirmation by the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.

The civil powers of the Darbar Court are unlimited, and it is also the final court of reference and appeal.

In the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms recently issued certain proposals regarding the institution of a Council of Princes have been made which are viewed by this Darbar, as also by several others similarly situated, with considerable uncertainty and uneasiness ; for it has been observed by the Honourable framers of the Report in paragraph 302 :—

“ We are convinced that it would improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States if a definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. Our own proposals in paragraphs 306 to 311 below assume that such classification can and will, after due enquiry, be effected, and are intended to relate only to States of the former class ”.

This line of policy was foreshadowed in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at an informal meeting at Viceregal Lodge in February 1918, when he stated that he would ask the Political Secretary to take up and examine very carefully the question as to what Ruling Princes and Chiefs should be regarded as comprised under heading (a) of paragraph 2 of the Draft Scheme prepared by the Ruling Princes, that is, exercising unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction and the power to make their own laws.

The Ratlam State exercises full civil and criminal jurisdiction and has the power to make its own laws and enjoys all the rights and privileges of an important Native State, and its Ruler is entitled to a return visit from the Viceroy. The mere practice, therefore, of having the punishment of death or transportation passed by the Darbar confirmed will not be considered, it is hoped and trusted, as a ground for excluding the Ratlam State from the proposed Council of Princes.

It is a matter of history that the armies of Scindia, Holkar and the Pindaries laid waste many Rajput States about the beginning of the 19th century ; and to put a stop to this the British Government adopted a general scheme of settling the country ; and this it did by entering into alliances with States in Rajputana and into similar engagements with those in Gujrat, Kathiawar, etc. Ratlam is also a Rajput State, but it politically happens to be in the Central India Agency ; while the bordering States of Partabgarh, Banswara and Dungarpur are in the Rajputana Agency. In 1817, when the Government was “affording protection to Rajputana States by entering into alliances with them and requiring them to disclaim all subjection to or acknowledgment of superiority of Mahratta Darbars”, like Holkar and Scindia, the Ratlam Chief

was having recourse to arms to free himself from such subjection. To quote from the Gazetteer of Ratlam compiled by Colonel C. E. Luard, M.A., I.A. :—

“ \* \* \* \* To meet Scindia's demands was, of course, impossible, as the State had been laid waste and the revenues had dwindled to almost nothing. There was, therefore, no alternative but to have recourse to arms ; and Partab Singh (Raja of Ratlam) accordingly placed himself at the head of 12,000 Rajputs, including many clansmen who were subjects of other States, and determined to make a last desperate attempt for liberty. Broughton in his ‘ Letter ’ mentions how ‘ Babu Scindia experienced a severe mortification in the defeat of the detachment sent against the fort of Ratlam. The garrison sallied out during the night and completely defeated the troops sent against them, with the loss of more than half their numbers and all their guns.’ Further bloodshed, however, was averted by the opportune appearance of Sir John Malcolm who mediated an agreement with Scindia and guaranteed, on behalf of the British Government, the payment of the tribute due, while Scindia was to send no troops into the country or interfere in any way in the internal administration or succession.”

While the Rajput Chiefs of the neighbouring States of Banswara, Partabgarh, Dungarpur, etc., which are neither bigger nor more advanced nor more important than Ratlam, have unrestricted criminal jurisdiction, the Rajas of Ratlam, Sitamau, Sailana, etc., and even the Nawab of Joara (a treaty Chief) have not the same,—confirmation being required for capital punishment,—simply because there appears to have been no uniformity of policy or system when different parts of the country were settled in the beginning of the 19th century. The proposed basis of classification would thus, it is feared, exclude the Malwa Rulers from the Council of Princes, while it would evidently admit many petty Chiefs of Gujarat and Kathiawar, who, though paying tribute to Gaekwar or Junagarh, and in some cases having even feudatory relations with them, and entitled only to nine or eleven guns and thus inferior in status to Ratlam, happen to exercise criminal jurisdiction without the condition of confirmation of capital punishment, which stipulation, however, it may be submitted, cannot be said to affect in the least the enjoyment of full powers of internal administration by this State.

It is, therefore, hoped that the Government will now, as in the past, safeguard the interests of the Ratlam Darbar and give it an assurance that there is no cause for anxiety as to its dignity, privilege, prerogative and position as a sovereign Darbar suffering owing to any arbitrary classification.

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### Views of His Highness the Raja of Sailana.

I. (1) That with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers, who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others :—

(a) It is quite in the fitness of changed circumstances that a classification of the existing Native States is deemed requisite by the illustrious authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, because they very truly and justifiably say that “ Uniformity of terminology (Native States) tends to obscure the distinction of status ”. States should be differentiated so that the position assignable to them may be in accordance with some valid and intelligible principle. The differentiation is necessary for the purposes of paragraphs 306 to 311 of the Report.

(b) The so-called number of existing Native States is about 675 comprising big, small and smaller holdings. But all important States are indigenous territories varying in their extent, historical importance and other incidents.

(c) The Report seeks to differentiate the existing Native States by the only criterion, that is, of their possession of full powers of internal administration and it is plainly laid down that the proposals contained in paragraphs 306 to 311 apply to this class only and not to the remaining portion of the existing Native States, the Report assuming that "such classification can and will after due enquiry be affected."

(d) The previous history of classification of Native States though meagre is pertinently suggestive. In 1813, Lord Metcalfe grouped the Native States, and in 1818 Mr. Prinsep again classified the States in four divisions. The classification by those two high authorities, who had entire access to the records of the Government of India (Lord Metcalfe being the Governor General of India) was based on the then existing relations of the Government of India and the Princes. Mr. Tupper who was specially appointed to collect and formulate the political case law and practice of the Native States, mentions without repudiation the classification of Mr. Prinsep in his book "Our Indian Protectorate" published in the early nineties of the last century. The 1st Table of Salutes authorised by Her Majesty was contained in an Order in Council, dated the 20th March 1857, although its issue in India was delayed by the Mutiny. The earliest lists published by authority were sanctioned by Orders in Council, dated the 23rd January 1860 and the 1st March 1864. They were revised in 1867 and 1877 under the sanction of Her Majesty. These lists of salutes are regarded by the Princes as the surest possible index of their status. It is believed that these salutes were sanctioned on the total consideration of all the *pros* and *cons* of the different shades of sovereignty enjoyed by the Princes. The Table of Salutes could fairly be regarded as a suggested authorised classification, because the enjoyment of salutes is the most potent and patent sign visible of sovereignty.

(e) Just a century after the classification of Mr. Prinsep, owing to the pronouncement of the 20th August 1917 by the Government of His Majesty, need for an organic constitution of Native States of India was felt by some of the important progressive Princes and Chiefs assembled in Conference of 1917, who appointed a Committee to consider the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. The Committee considered the various functions of the proposed Chamber. For the membership of the Chamber the Committee could not but classify the existing Native States, and after mature consideration suggested the following classification :—

(a) Princes exercising full powers, etc.

(b) Princes enjoying salutes of 11 guns and over, excluding States and Estates having feudatory relations with other States, from participation in the Chamber, with a reservation for others deemed fit for participation.

(f) The Committee of Princes without putting its report before the entire House as agreed upon submitted it to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, as the time for the departure of the Secretary of State was almost up. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State almost entirely accepted the Committee's report for classification, as is evident from the Digest of Proceedings of the informal meetings held at the Viceregal Lodge on the 4th and 5th February 1918.

(g) In July last, the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms was out. The terse phraseology of the last two sentences of paragraph 302, does not clearly specify the status of those Princes who enjoy the honour of 11 guns salutes and over comprised in the classification recommended by the Committee of the Princes and accepted by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in the Digest of Proceedings of the meetings held at the Viceregal Lodge on the 4th and 5th February 1918. The paragraph 302, recognising only one class comprising Princes enjoying full powers fit for participation in the proposals set forth in paragraphs 306 to 311, is very disappointing not only to those Rulers who enjoy the honour of 9 guns' salutes, but also to those who enjoy the honour of 11 guns' salutes and over who have somewhat restricted powers. The whole of the Chapter X of the Report does not find any place for those who enjoy full powers *de jure* but not *de facto*. Some smaller Native States enjoy almost full powers of sovereignty and as such there ought to be found some place for them in the proposed Constitution.

(h) The question is whether the criterion of enjoyment of full powers could be the only criterion for the determination of the status of a Native State. Paragraph 302 does not clearly specify, as stated above, those Ruling Chiefs who though they exercise somewhat restricted powers, enjoy other powers, the patent signs of real sovereignty. All the Princes and Chiefs enjoy some sort of internal sovereignty in their States. The Government has recognised the principle that sovereignty could be divided into smallest portions but full sovereignty in internal administration has not been defined anywhere in the political literature of the Government of India. The enjoyment of full powers of sovereignty in the internal administration even by some of the most important States if construed within the purview of paragraphs 303 and 304 of the Report, would be found to be the enjoyment of only restricted powers. Full power in internal administration has come down to mean the power of exercising the capital punishment. There are Rulers who enjoy the power of life and death over their subjects but enjoy salutes of 9 guns only. According to the classification of paragraph 302, paragraphs 306 to 311 will be applicable to such Rulers who though enjoying full powers have the honour of 9 guns' salute only. But these 9 guns' salute Rulers, some of whom enjoying full powers have not been invited to the present Conference for the determination of the all-important question of classification. While on the other hand the Princes enjoying the honour of 11 guns' salutes and over, with full powers but requiring confirmation by political authorities in capital sentences, have been invited to the present Conference for the determination of the subjects mentioned in the Agenda, including the question of classification. But according to the wording of paragraph 302 they cannot be supposed to be intended for the benefits and privileges of paragraphs 306 to 311. Being invited for the determination of classification, the Princes of 11 guns' salute and over exercising the full powers with the restriction for confirmation of capital sentences, cannot justifiably be ousted from the benefits of paragraphs 306 to 311, owing to the accepted recommendation of the Princes' Committee for classification, although that recommendation has not been couched *in extenso* by the illustrious authors of the Report in paragraph 302.

Up to this time I am not aware of any principle fixed by the Government for the grouping of Native States, and I believe that the possession of full powers by itself cannot justifiably create a class. Supposing it could, then what would be the number of such Ruling Princes who by their treaties and engagements have got the powers of capital punishment without any confirmation of the sentences awarded by them by the Political authorities? The



number would be very small indeed, and out of that small number some have already expressed their unwillingness for participation in the Reform proposals and as such the number would remain very insignificant, considering the extent of the vast Indian Empire under homogeneous Indian rule. The composition of the Princes' Council ought to be proportionate to the extent and the interests concerned.

(i) What are the other possible criteria for the determination of the classification of the existing Native States. Though not exclusive nor exhaustive the criteria may be considered as follows :—

1. Previous history of the State before the suzerainty of the British Power in India.
2. Constructive and *de jure* possession of full powers dwindling down to restricted powers by justifiable or unjustifiable encroachment or long disuse.
3. Previous history of the State, prior to and at the general pacification in 1818.
4. Subsequent acquirement of position after 1818 by winning distinctions and honours for meritorious services.
5. Extent of territorial possessions.
6. Actual extent of internal sovereignty.

All the above criteria would be dealt with by those who have intelligent self-interests in them.

(j) The strongest and the most patent criterion of sovereignty in India as sanctioned by various Orders in Council by Her Most Excellent Majesty the Queen-Empress is the enjoyment of salute of guns and is prized by the Princes of India par excellence.

The other criteria enumerated in this paragraph are no doubt of great force too, but that of salute of guns is the most visible of them all. Should no single criterion be feasible to accept, some basis of a mixed nature may be found, so that a justifiable equation may be struck. The whole question requires further discussion at our hands.

In my opinion, all the Princes who enjoy the honour of salute of guns of any number should be grouped as Sovereign Princes, only fit for the privileges of paragraphs 306 to 311 as Class I, irrespective of their possession of full powers or somewhat restricted powers. This class should be differentiated from the remaining States and estates which exercise some sort of judicial powers. These latter may be formed into another group called Class II and may be styled as Chiefs.

I. (2) That with the consent of the Rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise and codify, existing practice for the future :—

The change of policy had been entirely in the hands of the Government in the last hundred years. Each State is dealt with separately. The case law or the political practice of separate States has grown bulky, rather uncertain. That codification has not proved an unalloyed blessing in British India and elsewhere, is the opinion of some eminent administrators ; it has advantages and disadvantages like other essential questions, but on the whole the advantages preponderate, as the result becomes more certain by codification if it is effected in plain language. The codification removes the potential complaint

of confidential reports, the copies of which are not supplied. The Government have reserved their own proposals.

I propose that there should be a mixed Committee of the political authorities and the Princes or preferably their representatives, for the discussion and report on the question of codification. The report of the Committee should go to the Council of Princes which would finally decide the feasibility of codification. The Committee should also draw up a list of the matters on which codification is required. The word "necessarily" should be deleted from the text in the Agenda.

I. (3) That a permanent Council of Princes should be established :—

The goal of British Policy in India is Responsible Government as declared in the weighty pronouncement of the 20th August 1917, by the Government of His Most Excellent Majesty the King-Emperor and is hailed exultantly by the Princes and Peoples of India. Democracy is to be the rule of the near future. Native States being geographically part and parcel of India cannot escape the spirit of democratic liberalisation, which, though resisted for a time, shall have to be accepted finally. It is only a question of time. The future administration of India is to be a federation of Provincial Governments of British India and Native States, with a Central Government headed by the Viceroy. As stated above the goal of British Government in India is Responsible Government by progressive sure steps. With this goal in view in British India, the Native States cannot remain unaffected without assimilating the principles of congregational liberalisation. The Paramount Power, through its ministers and by the inclusion of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in the Imperial and War Conferences and in the Peace Conference, has declared unmistakably that the Indian Princes are partners of the Great British Empire. What Prince of India is there—be he an ally, a friend, a protected Ruler, a feudatory, a tributary, or a vassal—who does not wish to be proud of being regarded as a partner of the Empire of His Majesty the King-Emperor? When the aim of the British Government and the heartfelt wish of the Princes are identical there is cogent and imperative need of having an organic constitution for all important Native States, and for adequate carrying out of the constitution there cannot but be a Council of the Princes.

I propose that all the Rulers of the existing Native States who enjoy the honour of salutes should be members of the Council of Princes. Out of 675 and odd Native States the number of Princes who enjoy salutes is about 115, including those who do not wish to participate in the proposed constitution and as such the Council would not be unwieldy and abnormally large.

I fully support the proposals contained in paragraphs 307 to 311 of the Report contained in paragraphs I (4) to I (8) of the Agenda.

II. I believe that the proposal contained in this paragraph ought to be dropped, as the question of precedence of Ruling Princes *inter se* at social functions is replete with serious difficulties at present based as it is on sentiments, and may be left for the Princes themselves. The coming events are already casting, as they invariably do, their shadows before, in clear and distinctive outlines. The time is soon coming when the Princes would themselves wish to have a programme for precedence in social functions.

#### Memorandum by His Highness the Raja of Sailana.

A copy of the digest of the informal Meeting of the Ruling Princes at the Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, on the 4th and 5th February 1918, and a copy of the

Indian Constitutional Reforms have been received by me. The proposed Council of Princes suggested in the latter is welcomed by all of us.

2. His Excellency the Viceroy's policy as adumbrated on the Draft Scheme prepared by the Ruling Princes, suggested the classification of the Native States for the purposes of the composition of the proposed Chamber of Princes, on the basis of the exercise of unrestricted criminal jurisdiction and the power to make laws and on the basis of the enjoyment of the salute of 11 guns and over not included in the first category. In fact the note, dated the 17th February 1918, with which the Draft Scheme was circulated, clearly states that it was not the intention of the majority of the members of the Committee who proposed the Scheme to exclude from the Chamber of Princes, the Princes who enjoyed hereditary salutes of 11 guns and who did not exercise full criminal powers. After discussion, His Excellency the Viceroy stated that he would ask the Political Secretary to take up and examine very carefully the question as to what Ruling Princes and Chiefs should be regarded as comprised under the headings (a) and (b) mentioned in the Draft Scheme.

3. Practically the above suggestion of His Excellency the Viceroy is incorporated in the last sentence of paragraph 302 of the Report on Constitutional Reforms. The question is whether the criterion of the salute of guns which has been getting precedence over other powers of Ruling Chiefs, is to give place of precedence to the enjoyment of plenary criminal powers. The paragraph 302 does not clearly specify the position of those Ruling Princes who though they exercise somewhat restricted criminal powers enjoy the honour of salute of guns in comparison to those Rulers who exercise plenary criminal powers but enjoy no honour of salute of guns or enjoy nine guns only. No doubt the Government would strike out some equation for such a case. From the note of the 17th February 1918 with which the Draft Scheme of the Ruling Princes was submitted, I have no doubt that the Rulers enjoying the honour of salutes of 11 guns and over, though exercising restricted criminal powers, would not be debarred from the proposed Council of Princes mentioned in paragraph 306 of the Indian Constitutional Reforms.

4. Sailana enjoys the British protection and obtained the same settlement as Ratlam. In fact, out of the two copies of the same settlement one was given to Ratlam and the other to Sailana. Under this settlement non-interference in the internal affairs and succession was secured to this State. As such, this State makes its own laws and regulations, has its own mint, enjoys practically full civil and criminal powers but confirmation of capital punishment by the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General has become a practice. In the introduction of Volume IV (1893) of Aitchison's Treaties and Engagements it is stated that the mediatised Chiefs have no power of life and death. It seems that this remark was introduced later on under some peculiar circumstances and ought to have been regarded as a temporary measure. The restriction is not found at all in the settlement instruments, which secures entire non-interference in all the internal affairs of the State. There is as well no clue for the restriction mentioned in the said introduction or elsewhere in Aitchison's Treaties. There is likewise nothing to show that the remark in the introduction was entered by the consent and approval of the parties concerned or that the remark was the result of any adjudication by the Government of India. Lunawada and Sunth-Rampur States have the same settlement as the States of Ratlam, Sailana and Sitamau, but Lunawada and Sunth-Rampur Rulers exercise within their settlements full criminal powers, including death sentences, without any confirmation by the Political authorities although they only have the honour of 9 guns salute. The political and social status of the Lunawada

and Sunth-Rampur Rulers is decidedly inferior to those of the mediatised Rulers of this Agency, so much so, that under the warrant of salutes they get the salute of 9 guns each, and as such, are not entitled to be addressed as Highness. The settlements of Lunawada and Sunth-Rampur on the one side and the settlement of the mediatised Rulers of this Agency on the other side being similar, it is hoped that the Central India Agency would see its way to be instrumental in the restoration of the plenary criminal powers to the mediatised Rulers of this Agency without any restriction for confirmation in capital sentences.

5. I believe that many Princes in Central India Agency enjoying 15 guns salute have also to take confirmation of the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor General in cases of death sentences, but solely for this restriction of confirmation these Princes would not be considered ineligible for membership to the proposed Council of Princes. Unlike these States, the Kathiawar and Gujarat Chiefs of 9 and 11 guns salute enjoy full criminal powers and can pass capital sentences without confirmation. It is not conceivable that these Kathiawar and Gujarat Princes would have eligible claims for the Council of Princes to the exclusion of the 15 guns salute Princes who enjoy restricted criminal powers. These States of Gujarat pay tributes to more than one State. Are they to be considered in any way feudatories? If they could be, then the notion of divided sovereignty in no time and no country could be recognised. The payments by these Princes are merely expediency payments and nothing else. Kolhapur State which enjoys a 19 gun salute, requires confirmation for death sentences and also requires sanction for the appointment of its Minister from the Political authorities concerned. These two facts are wanting for full sovereign rights but the Ruler of Kolhapur on that account could not be considered as debarred from selection for the Council of Princes within the purview of paragraph 302 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. Many other instances could also be quoted.

6. The mediatised Rulers of Central India are of no recent creation. They have long pedigrees dating from the 16th century A.D. and from the very beginning are in the Imperial system of protected States. Along with other mediatised Rulers, I myself had the honour of being invited to the Rulers' Conferences at Delhi, and likewise in the Coronation Durbar of 1911 no distinction, hard and fast, was shown to my State in all Imperial functions as far as the Ruling Princes of the Indian Empire were concerned. Any apprehension for the mediatised Rulers being ineligible for the Council of Princes is out of question, but the terse phraseology used in paragraph 303 of the Indian Constitutional Reforms has led me to discuss the entire question of the basis of the enjoyment of full criminal power as the criterion for eligibility to the Council of Princes.

For reasons stated above, it is undesirable and even impolitic to attempt any classification of the Indian Native States, solely on the enjoyment of plenary criminal powers and the power of enacting laws, and would likely result in unpleasant and bitter controversies.

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### Views of His Highness the Nawab of Baoni.

1. Chapter X of the Reform Scheme, *i.e.*, the Agenda under consideration, does not put forward any practical basis for discussion. But I take up the various paragraphs of the Agenda, in order, and express in brief my personal opinion thereabout.

*States to be distinguished with the standard of their importance.*—The Conference, I hope, will have a great regard for this vital point in dealing with the various questions that are to be raised, when it actually takes place at Delhi, specially when organising a general Council, to act as the representative of the Indian Princes at the Government headquarters.

Paragraph 302.

*Government intervention.*—There have been, and there will always be, such cases in the Indian States, that the Government intervention will be most necessary. There should be a *defined limit* of the Government intervention and the Conference should scrupulously adhere to this *holy policy*.

Paragraph 303.

*Treaties.*—There should be amendments, where necessary, without injuring the *bona fide* objects.

Paragraph 305.

*There should be organised a Princes' Council so that matters should be discussed.*—I agree with it. Nothing could be done without such a Council. Chiefs enjoying salutes down to 9 guns must have a vote.

Paragraph 306.

*To form Standing Committees.*—These must be formed.

Paragraph 307.

*Commissions of Enquiry.*—May be started when need requires, without injuring the purse of poor States.

Paragraph 308.

*Deprivation of a Ruler's powers.*—It is very delicate matter, and I cannot express a definite opinion here, though I believe that, of course, there may be very grave cases, to have a recourse to such extremes. But, as a trustee, the Government should have a right.

Paragraph 309.

*Mutual relations between the Government of India and the States.*—I believe the Conference will exert every nerve to maintain the blissful relations and strengthen them as much as it lies in the power of the Conference.

Paragraph 310.

*Mutual consultation between British India and the Indian States.*—To make the Political machine work quite smoothly this is of utmost importance.

Paragraph 311.

I may here express my opinion, to be put before the Conference, about the formation of the Council. Under the present scheme, a wholesale Council is to be kept at the Government headquarters. If we desire that this enormous Council should be executive, I fear that it will prove a failure. It will be too big, and only an ornament and will come to nothing before long, as it may be formed on the standard of salutes or sovereign powers only. Thus a huge Council, at Simla or Delhi, will be most difficult to form. I am of opinion that, throughout the whole country, local councils should be organised among various specified circles, as the Conference may agree to frame, and from each of these "Local Councils", members should be selected and nominated for the *Chief Council* to be kept at the headquarters of the British Government at Simla or Delhi. Of course, the selected members, from the local Councils, will be the ablest and most fit to represent the Indian Princes and such a Council will be really executive and not ornamental.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Chhatarpur.

The kind sentiments expressed in the Joint Report of His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India relating to Native States deserve the best thanks of all of us. It is kindly feelings like these that have hitherto helped and will in future help the establishment of excellent relations between the British Government and the Native States and the deepening of loyal feelings on the part of the latter to our illustrious Emperor. I fully approve of the Agenda for the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs to be held at Delhi. It goes without saying that the Agenda this year is very important indeed, as it relates to questions of vital interest to the Native States. I am glad to see that my opinion has been invited on the points raised therein. I have nothing particular to say on the items of the Agenda except Nos. 1, 2 and 7 of its first part. These are such as seem to require a very tactful handling, as any adverse decision against particular Chiefs may cause an amount of heart-burning and dissatisfaction. I think at least 100 Chiefs should be included among the Rulers of important States and none enjoying a hereditary salute of 11 guns need be excluded.

The classification of the Native States on the sole basis of the enjoyment of full powers of internal administration by their Rulers does not seem very logical or desirable. To take only one point of significance and ignore many others equally, if not more, important in the general status of the Rulers may be a cause of injustice to those who are otherwise far more important than many such Rulers and have invariably been recognised as such even by the Government. Most of the larger States in Bundelkhand enjoy full powers of internal administration with the only exception that they have to refer death sentences for confirmation to the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General at Indore. Many other States in Central India, and other provinces are placed in a similar position, although they have been enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 to 15 guns. On the other hand, there are many such States which can pass even death sentences without any such reference, although their relatively general importance is quite ordinary and they do not enjoy a salute of even 9 guns. Besides this, some of these Rulers have no right to be called even Their Highnesses, and they enjoy seats in the Darbars much lower than those of the above-mentioned Rulers. From the practice and precedents hitherto followed consistently by the Government, it seems that it does not intend the above preference, but all the same it will naturally follow from the unqualified acceptance of the item No. 1 of the first part of the Agenda. It is open to doubt whether those Princes who have plenary powers in every department of administration but have only to refer death sentences for confirmation by some Political Officer and certain decisions of criminal administration by their Dewans are appealable, though only in theory, to some Political Officer, should be said to possess full powers of internal administration or not. It is submitted that this point may be definitely decided in favour of the Princes.

His Excellency the Viceroy has been kindly inviting certain Princes to the Chiefs' Conferences. It would be very disappointing if any of the Princes, who have been receiving such invitations, should in future be anyhow excluded from the class of the Princes enjoying plenary powers, and should also be considered important enough under item No. 7 of the first part, to have the privilege which is the subject thereof. The subject of the second item of the first part of the Agenda is ostensibly very important and seems to require very careful handling. It is hoped that the relations may be examined in a charitable spirit.

### Views of His Highness the Raja of Rajgarh.

In paragraph 302 of their Joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, the illustrious authors remark—" we are convinced that it would improve and assist further relations between Crown and the States if a definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. Our own proposals in paragraphs 306 to 311 below, assume that such classification can and will, after due enquiry, be effected, and are intended to relate only to States of the former class ".

In paragraph 306 they remark—" we wish to call into existence a permanent consultative body. There are questions which affect the States generally and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common, upon which we conceive that the opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value ". This body is to be called the Council of Princes.

In paragraph 307 it is proposed that the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer matters of custom and usage and others, as it has been represented that difficulties have occurred by reason of the fact that the Political Department comes to decisions affecting Native States without being in a position to avail itself of the advice of those who are in a position to know from their own personal experience or the history of their States the right course to pursue. This body, like the Council of Princes, will be a purely consultative body.

In paragraph 308 the recommendation is made that Commissions of Enquiry should be appointed whenever the Viceroy felt that such an enquiry was desirable, in disputes which may arise between (1) two or more States, or (2) between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India, and (3) with a situation caused when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the Government of India or the advice of any of its local representatives.

In paragraph 309 it is recommended that such Commissions should be appointed to enquire into cases of misconduct on the part of the Ruler of a State.

In paragraph 310 it is recommended, as a general principle, that all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India. Paragraph 311 provides means of deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both.

2. The Draft Scheme prepared by the Ruling Princes, and presented to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State on the 4th and 5th February 1918, contains nearly identical proposals. It may, therefore, be assumed that the proposals made by the Ruling Princes are accepted with one important reservation, *viz.*, that whereas the Princes proposed that the Chamber or Council of Princes shall be composed of—

- (a) Ruling Princes exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws ;
- (b) all other Princes enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over : provided that no State or Estate having feudatory relations with a Sovereign State shall be eligible for membership ;

the illustrious authors of the Joint Report restrict the membership to Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration. As a matter of fact, all their proposals about the formation of Standing Committee, or Commissions of Enquiry, etc., etc., are restricted to Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal

administration. States of which the Rulers do not enjoy full powers of internal administration, constitute a class by themselves, and the assumption is implied, as the fact is nowhere expressly mentioned, that they are not affected by their proposals. It is also in accordance with recognised constitutional principles that, when the Rulers of States coming under the general designation "others" have no voice in the Council of Princes, their affairs cannot come for discussion before that body, nor will their matters be referred to the Standing Committee for an expression of opinion. If this assumption is correct, then it is clear that in the far-reaching and comprehensive scheme of Reforms, which marks an era in the history of this country and which affects and improves the status of all classes, communities and interests in British as well as Native India, the Rulers of the second class are the only body who do not participate. This in itself is a result very much to be deplored.

With all deference to the illustrious authors of the Report, I feel bound to say that a classification of the States on the lines indicated will very likely be viewed with dismay by the whole body of Indian Chiefs. A distinction on somewhat similar lines was attempted once before and proved to be a source of considerable irritation and anxiety to the Rulers of Indian States. I mean the distinction between "dependent or subordinate" and "independent" States round which so much controversy centred in connection with the application of the Doctrine of Lapse, a doctrine now happily remembered only as a matter of historical interest. Issues affecting the very existence of States then depended upon whether a State came under the designation dependent or independent. It requires an effort of the imagination at the present day to realise what that doctrine meant, specially to States classed as dependent or subordinate. No clearer enunciation of that doctrine is to be found than in the words used in his minute on the Nagpur case by Lord Dalhousie, where he remarked :—

"The opinion which I gave in the Satara case was restricted wholly to subordinate States, to those dependent principalities which either as the virtual creations of the British Government or from their former position, stood in such relation to the Government as gave to it the right of a Paramount Power in all questions of the adoption of an heir to the Sovereignty of the State. In the case of every such State I held that sound policy at this day required that the British Government should take advantage of any lapse that might occur, whether it arose from failure of all heirs whatsoever or from failure of heirs-natural, so that succession could only pass by permission being given for the adoption of an heir."

These distinctions and all the haze of doubt and mistrust which the operation of the Doctrine of Lapse generated were happily dispelled by the distribution of Lord Canning's Adoption Sanads and the inauguration of the present generous policy towards Native States. The Chiefs are happy in the assurance that His Majesty is desirous, to use the words of the Adoption sanads "that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued." The classification now of States into those the Rulers of which enjoy full powers of internal administration and those who do not, is unhappily reminiscent of the old distinction. I do not by any means suggest that such classification as is now intended would necessarily be followed by a corresponding change in the attitude of the Supreme Government towards Chiefs who do not enjoy full powers of internal administration ; but the fact remains that they are excluded from the Council of Princes and do not participate in any of the measures of reform initiated in the comprehensive scheme.



For sixty years the Native States of India, enjoying varying degrees of sovereignty, have derived the greatest benefit from the application to each one of them of the broad and generous principles which guide the Paramount Power in its general relations to the mass of them. This is particularly the case with the petty Chiefs, who have shared the consideration shown, and enjoyed most of the privileges accorded, to the more powerful members of the family. Sovereignty in Native States is shared, of course, in varying degrees between the British Government and the Chiefs. Some States enjoy a substantial immunity from interference in nearly all the functions of internal administration, while others are under such subjection that the Native Sovereignty is almost completely destroyed. But communities whose Rulers ordinarily exercise even the smallest degree of sovereign authority are classified as Native States are excluded from the territories subject to the King's Laws and enjoy the privileges of Native States. To introduce any distinctions in a body which for so long has been treated as a class by itself, specially at the present time when the Empire is passing through the greatest crisis known in history, and all Chiefs, high and low, those possessed of full powers of internal administration and those not so happily circumstanced, are rallying round their August Sovereign and doing their best to help the Empire; would, in my opinion, be inexpedient.

In the Draft Scheme prepared by the Ruling Princes, it was proposed that the Chamber of Princes should be composed, in the first instance, of "Ruling Princes exercising full Sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and power to make their own laws." In the Joint Report admission to Council is restricted to Rulers enjoying full powers of internal administration. Some explanation is perhaps needed as to whether the connotation of the two terms, *viz.*, Rulers enjoying full powers of internal administration, and Rulers exercising full sovereign powers, are identical. As a matter of fact, full sovereign powers, in the accepted sense of the term, are possessed by no State in India, as none has the power of negotiating agreements with other States or making peace or war. On the other hand, full civil jurisdiction and the power of making laws are possessed by all. The Indian States are described by one authority (paragraph 2, Tupper's Indian Protectorate) as "autonomous States enjoying various degrees of sovereignty; levying their own taxes, administering their own laws, and possessing territory which is for purposes of internal administration, foreign territory and has not been annexed to the dominions of the British Crown." All alike are subject to the introduction of British Indian laws in the case of Cantonments, Civil areas and areas occupied by Railways. It is in the matter of criminal jurisdiction alone that marked difference among the different States exist. But this, I think, is more a matter of practice and administrative convenience than implying any inherent difference of status among the States themselves. It depends, moreover, in a great measure upon the political exigencies of the period when the States first came to be included in the protectorates. Indeed, the treaties of a given period give expression to the political needs of the day. At one period it was considered necessary to take away the power of negotiating agreements with other States; at another to emphasise the military obligations of the States. Only in one instance, *viz.*, the Instrument of Transfer to Mysore, drawn up in 1881, has an attempt been made to embody all obligations in a single document. About the Rajputana States it is remarked in Aitchison's collection of Treaties, Engagements and *Sanads*, paragraph 1; Volume III, that the object of the treaties to be formed with them was the establishment of a barrier against the predatory system and against the extension of the power of Scindia and Holkar beyond the limits which Government

designed to impose on it by other measures. It was not at that time proposed to acquire the power of exercising any interference in the internal administration of the Rajput States, but to subject only their political measures and external relations to the control of the British Government.

In the matter of criminal jurisdiction two different practices are observed. There may be others but of these I am not aware. In India, including Rajputana and Central India, the power to try for capital offences all persons except British subjects is left with big States, while in the case of small Chiefships the jurisdiction is shared in different degrees between the British Government and the Chiefships. In Southern and Western India a distinction is made between those having power to try persons except British subjects and those having power to try only their own subjects. In the Southern Mahratta country the Patwardhan Jagirdar has power to try for capital offences any persons except British subjects. The Jagirdars of Ramdurg and Mudhol have power to try for capital offences their own subjects only. None of these, except the Jagirdar of Mudhol, is entitled to the honour of a salute.

Malleson's Native States of India, paragraph 366.

The same distinction prevails in Kathiawar, Mahi Kantha and Rewa-Kantha. To illustrate the curious position sometimes created by these arrangements, I may mention that Ratlam, Sailana and Sitamau in Central India, and Sunth-Rampur and Lunawada in Rewa-Kantha are historically of the same status. With all of them engagements were mediated by Sir John Malcolm, guaranteeing against the interference of Scindia in their internal affairs. They are, to use a Central India expression, guaranteed Chiefships of the first class, *i.e.*, those in which the interference of the superior Chief is excluded by the terms of the guarantees. According to the practice in Central India, as described in Rule 10 on page 7 of Volume IV of Aitchison's book of Treaties, etc., Ratlam, Sitamau and Sailana have no powers of life and death. They have to submit all trials for heinous crimes and all sentences of death, transportation or imprisonment for life to the local officers of the British Government. The Rajas of Sunth-Rampur and Lunawada have power to try their own subjects for all offences. Both these Chiefs are entitled to salutes of 9 guns. Thus the right to try their own subjects for all offences, which is claimed in the Draft Scheme drawn up by Ruling Princes, as an attribute of full sovereignty, is enjoyed by the States of Sunth-Rampur and Lunawada in Rewa-Kantha and not by the States of similar status in Central India, *viz.*, by Ratlam, Sailana and Sitamau. The possession of extended criminal powers is thus not a proper criterion for admission into the Council of Princes. The principle would operate unequally, exclude many a big State and ancient family and include others not entitled to the honour of a salute.

If the suggested distinction between Rulers entitled to full powers of internal administration and others does not imply any difference in treatment, as I fully believe it *does not*, a better and more generally acceptable criterion, I am emphatically of opinion, would be the possession of the honour of a salute—all Chiefs entitled to the honour of a salute to have the honour also of being admitted to the Council of Princes. The matter touches the honour and dignity of States. Many other considerations, besides the possession of full criminal powers, were given due weight before a State was admitted to the dignity and honour of salute. It is one of the prerogatives of the Crown to grant honours and decorations, and it is in the fitness of things and in accord with Indian sentiment that Chiefs so distinguished should have, by virtue of their position all alike, the honour of sitting in the Council of Princes. The unwieldy size

of such an assembly for purposes of deliberation may be said to be an argument against its formation ; but it is to be remembered that all salute Chiefs can never be expected to be present at one time. There are sure to be many absentees on account of youth, age or other infirmities and reasons.

After what I have said above, it is unnecessary to say anything about the exclusion from the Chamber of Chiefs having feudatory relations with another Chief proposed in the Draft Scheme prepared by the Ruling Chiefs. It has, moreover, not been accepted by the illustrious framers of the Joint Report. Such a distinction should, in my opinion, not be permitted. It would open up irritating and vexatious questions that have long since been laid at rest. Why, it may be asked, if a State has for so long enjoyed a separate existence, been recognised as such by the British Government, makes and administers its own laws, is not dominated in any way by another State and is in all respects autonomous, should it be excluded from the Council, because in the troublous times which preceded the advent of British rule in this country, when might was right, when predatory gangs careered over the land a principality of ancient descent, submitting to the force of circumstances, had entered into engagements to pay tribute with one or other of the leaders of those gangs ? The first act of the British upon their arrival on the scene, was to place war and aggressions under their interdict and to perpetuate the condition of things then found to exist. Sir W. Lee Warner has aptly remarked that in the first quarter of the 19th century, the Indian States presented the appearance of a sea suddenly petrified when in a condition of storm and disquietude. The statesmen of those days had no leisure to elaborate schemes of administration or explore into the history of the States with whom they found themselves dealing. Years after, when the country had settled down and the Government was transferred to the British Crown, the circumstances of each State were gone into thoroughly and minutely and a table of salutes was issued. Each State deserving of the honour found a place according to its position in the community of Princes. The admission of a State to the honour and distinction of a salute by Her Majesty in Council should, therefore, be now sufficient guarantee of the dignity and status of his house. To go behind an accepted and well recognised fact is unnecessary. The more so as, if a step further back were taken, it would bring to light the incongruous fact that nearly all the States, including Udaipur, Jaipur and Jodhpur of Rajputana, and, for the matter of that, of other provinces as well, were held in subjection and had found it convenient to pay tribute to one or other of the Mahratta leaders. The introduction of any such distinction as is suggested in the draft scheme of the Ruling Princes, would lead to much irritation and discontent, which is hardly desirable when such a beneficial scheme is going to be launched. Taking all facts into consideration, I am strongly of opinion that membership should be open to all Chiefs entitled to the honour of a salute of nine guns and over.

The next proposal in the Joint Report is about the creation of a Standing Committee, a body purely consultative, like the Council of Princes. This is the Advisory Board of the Draft Scheme prepared by Ruling Princes. This proposal also, in my opinion, requires reconsideration. In a continent like India, custom and usage, subjects upon which alone the opinion of the Standing Committee is likely to be of value, differ widely from province to province and even within the limits of the same province. The Indian States are placed so far apart, and the divergencies in race, religion, language, institutions, conditions and customs are so vast that for any one belonging to one part of the country to express any useful opinion upon the customs of another part is impossible. One Standing Committee for the whole of India would labour under this disadvantage and, in my opinion, not answer the purpose it is designed to

serve. A more convenient and satisfactory course would be to have several Committees on a territorial basis, *viz.*, a Committee for the Central India States, another for Rajputana and so on. Such Committees would be able to deal with the questions coming up before them with greater knowledge of local conditions and their verdict shall command greater confidence.

About Commissions of Enquiry, I prefer that such should be appointed to adjudicate only upon cases between a State and a local Government. Cases between two States should, as heretofore, be decided by Political Officers with the option of an appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy. It should not, in my opinion, be open to a State dissatisfied with the decision of the Government of India to apply for a Commission of Enquiry. A Commission conducted on the lines indicated is a costly business and sure to prove the ruin of many a State.

I agree to the proposal contained in paragraph 309 of the Report about the appointment of a Commission to enquire into cases of misconduct, etc., though after the experience of the Baroda Commission, I had thought that method was regarded as unsuitable.

Tupper's "Our Indian Protectorate," page 118.

About the proposal of having direct relations with the Government of India, I prefer to see the present arrangements undisturbed, at any rate for the present. We have a local Political Officer who is our friend, philosopher and guide, who has intimate knowledge of our affairs and whom we can freely consult on all occasions and in all matters and there is the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor General who is invariably an officer of ripe experience possessing knowledge of affairs acquired in different parts of the country. If an officer here and there interferes too much in the internal affairs of a State, what on the other hand is the check on a Chief who so far forgets himself as to neglect and misbehave towards the vast populations committed to his care? Whatever views may be entertained by others, I am strongly of opinion that the presence near us of officers of wide experience and wide outlook is to us a distinct advantage. Moreover, in the highly centralised administration of a vast continent like India it is almost an axiom that the opinion of the proverbial 'man on the spot' should receive proper weight and consideration, otherwise there is great danger of important matters being decided by the Government of India without reference to local conditions and interests.

### Views of His Highness the Rana of Barwani.

I.—(1) It is necessary as suggested in the Report, that a definite line should be drawn. In defining, however, the two kinds of Chiefs, full powers of internal administration should not be made the basis of differentiation. The difficulties that would crop up with this definition are obvious, *e.g.*, in the cases of many of the Bombay Presidency second class States who would thus supersede many salute Chiefships of Central India. I am, therefore, of opinion that the defining line be kept between all salute Chiefs, irrespective of tributary relations and non-salute Chiefs.

(2) I have nothing to say in this. The only point I have to mention is that it would be impossible to have an uniformity of practice, as every State has its own peculiar practices based on custom and authority.

(3) I agree with a suggestion that all salute Chiefs be made as eligible members of it.

(4) I do not agree. In my opinion, there should be Provincial Committees nominated by the Council of Princes, one for Central India, one for Rajputana, and so on. This Committee, composed of Princes of the Agency, would be in a far better position to deal with questions of individual States concerning custom, usage, etc.

(5) (a) In cases of disputes between the Government of India, any Local Government and a State, I am of opinion that Commissions of Enquiry can be appointed. In disputes between two States the Government of India should be the deciding authority. I propose that in such cases the right of appeal to the Secretary of State should be recognised.

(b) In this case, if a decision is made by the Government of India, the State concerned should have the right of appeal to the Secretary of State. If the decision is by a local representative, the appeal, being first made to the Viceroy, should go up to the Secretary of State.

(6) I have nothing to say.

(7) In the case of the smaller States of Central India, the present system of work, with an intermediary Political Officer between the State and the Local Government, has proved most satisfactory and beneficial. I have nothing to say against it.

(8) I have nothing to suggest in this.

II.—It is not possible for a single person to tackle satisfactorily this vast question which is full of difficulties. It would, in my opinion, be better to appoint a Committee of Princes to thrash out the whole question thoroughly and then to place it with their views before His Majesty's Government for final decision. If this be not feasible, the subject may be postponed till the Council of Princes is finally established and recognised by a Royal Proclamation.

### Views of His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor.

*Paragraph 302 of the Reforms Report.*—This proposal of classifying the Indian States into groups as embodied in paragraph 302 of the Report is desirable.

*Paragraph 305 of the Reforms Report.*—There is no objection to re-examine the relations of the Rulers of States with the Government of India with the above-mentioned view, in such a way as not to impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to the Rulers by treaties, etc., assured in paragraph 305 of the Report.

*Paragraph 306 of the Reforms Report.*—The proposal of creating a permanent Council of Princes as detailed in paragraph 306 of the Report is admirable. If it is proposed to limit the number of Princes to be admitted to this Council as in the case of the members of the Council of State (*vide* paragraph 277 of

\*A.B.—It is suggested that the rules of creating such a Council should be so framed that none of the Princes and Chiefs who get the high honour of an invitation to the annual informal Delhi Conference would be excluded from it.

the Report), it is submitted that the rules of its formation should be so framed as to afford an equal opportunity of serving on this Council to all the Princes.\* The name "Council of Princes" is, in my opinion, quite suitable to such a body and would be acceptable to all. However, if an indigenous and independent name is to be preferred, I think the name Hind

Raja Mandal will serve our purpose.

*Paragraph 307 of the Reforms Report.*—The suggestion of the appointment of a Standing Committee annually by the Council of Princes for advising His Excellency the Viceroy on the questions that will be referred to them is also commendable.

*Paragraph 308 of the Reforms Report.*—The arrangement of appointing Commissions of Enquiry is suitable.

*Paragraph 309 of the Reforms Report.*—The suggestion of referring the question of the misconduct of a Ruler to a Commission of five persons is also desirable. I have only to suggest that the appointment of the two persons of high standing should be made in such a way that the composition of the Commission would not be challenged on any ground.

It would be advisable if the Princes of the States near the State in question are selected on the Commission and a challenge to the extent of two persons proposed on the Commission is provided as in the case of a jury to be appointed under the Criminal Procedure Code (*vide* Section 277).

*Paragraph 310 of the Reforms Report.*—All the alternatives recommended in paragraph 310 about this point are proper and reasonable.

*Paragraph 311 of the Reforms Report.*—The proposals regarding the joint deliberation of the Council of State and the Council of Princes on matters of common interests, are very apt and appropriate and will no doubt tend to bring about closer relations between the Princes and people of India.

*Item No. II of Agenda.*—In my opinion it is not necessary to discuss and decide this question at present as we have not heard of any specific complaints in this matter. However, if it is thought desirable to take up this question, I have to suggest that the matter should be better independently investigated by Government, as I think there will be great difficulties for the Assembly of Princes to arrive at a decision on this point.

Besides it will have to be noted that the consideration of the above question will have to be postponed until the cognate question of classifying the Rulers into groups as per paragraph 302 of the Report is settled beyond all disputes, as the point of precedence will have to be decided in reference to the Rulers of these two groups separately or together.

### **Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.**

Before proceeding to give my views on the different items on the Agenda I may be allowed to say that I had very much hoped to be personally present at, and to take part in, the deliberations of this year's very important Conference, but reasons of health and other weighty considerations have compelled me to reluctantly abandon my visit to Delhi. I may also be allowed to remark that this, I feel, will handicap me in giving my opinion on each item on the agenda because I would much have liked to hear Their Highnesses' weighty comments on them before venturing to arrive at a definite conclusion of my own. However as I cannot attend, much though I regret my inability to do so, I must do the best I can with the material in my hands.

*Item 1 (I) of the Agenda is—*

“with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.”

I unhesitatingly agree that it would improve the relations between the Crown and the States if a line is drawn separating important Rulerships from

the less important ones, as in the words of the illustrious authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms "uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinctions of status"; but I cannot agree when the "enjoyment of full powers of internal administration" is taken as the only criterion for the separation of important States from the others.

Further on in paragraph 302 the authors of the Joint Report say that their own proposals in paragraphs 306 to 311 are intended to relate to the States in the first category only and they assume that a classification of States into two categories can and will be effected after due enquiry.

First of all I may say in any of the classifications of Native States made by Government up to date, there is not found anywhere a definition of "full powers of internal administration", in other words of "full sovereignty". In view of paragraphs 303 and 304 of the Report it is apparent that very few, if any, States enjoy "full sovereignty" and if the letter of the Report is strictly interpreted very few States will be entitled to receive the benefits which the Reforms are to confer on Native States.

I am of opinion that what the authors of the Report really meant should be done was separation of important States from the others, and that the restricted space that was available to them for the chapter on Indian States in the Report made them inadvertently omit the clearing of this point.

As paragraphs 306 to 311 including the eligibility for membership of the Council of Princes apply only to States in the first category I feel all the more certain that it cannot be the intention of the illustrious authors of the Report to exclude any State of importance from the benefit of the proposed Reforms. Now on what criteria should the importance of a State be judged? Should it be judged only on the single criterion of the "enjoyment of full powers of internal administration" which, I take it, means, in a sense "full civil and criminal jurisdiction and the power to make laws?"

I submit that in my opinion that is not the only criterion of the importance of a State, though perhaps it is the outward symbol of sovereignty. Stated briefly the other, and, in my opinion, the more important criteria of the importance of a State should be—

- (1) the area of a State;
- (2) the population over which its Ruler has authority;
- (3) the revenue of a State;
- (4) history and importance of a State previous to the British connection.

In this connection I may say that some States are the parents of several other States of importance but at the psychological moment of their first connection with the British power their star was in the descendent and their importance was not fully considered when they entered into engagements with Government either through the incapability or minority of the Ruler, the incapacity or treason of his ministers or through such accidental causes.

- (5) subsequent acquirements of distinctions and position;
- (6) resources present and potential; and
- (7) the hereditary salute of the State which is the outward symbol of the sovereignty of its Ruler and which is based on consideration of all the above criteria of its importance.

As a matter of fact all States had full criminal jurisdiction over their subjects at some time or other, and in most cases where restrictions have been placed on the powers of their Rulers subsequently it was due to the misrule of a

particular Ruler at some time or other or due to the predatory habits of his subjects.

These conditions of misrule or the inability to suppress crime do not prevail in most cases at the present moment, and if "full power of internal administration" is taken as the main criterion of the importance of a State it will, in my humble opinion, be a wiser policy on the part of Government to give extended powers to the Rulers of otherwise important States than to place these States in the category of unimportant ones.

If the words of the Joint Report are illiberally interpreted, some Rulers enjoying only 9-gun salutes will be placed in category I, while others enjoying 11 and even 15 guns will be placed in category 2. This, I submit, will be certain to be construed by some Rulers as a distinct lowering of their "izzat" and dignity and I cannot for a moment believe that it can be the intention of either His Excellency the Viceroy or the Secretary of State, when framing the Report, to lower the dignity or hurt the susceptibilities of any Ruler of an important State who at present ranks above some of those that will fall in class I, which will be the case, if the Report is not read in the spirit in which it is framed.

In this connection I may be allowed to mention that the Princes' Committee in the "Outlines of the scheme concerning the Ruling Princes and the Indian States" which they submitted to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, suggested the following composition for the Council of Princes :—

- (a) The Ruling Princes exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws.
- (b) *All other Princes enjoying a hereditary salute of 11 guns or over.*  
(The italics are mine.)

It is apparent from the Digest of the proceedings of the informal meeting held in the Viceregal Lodge on the 4th and 5th February 1928, that these recommendations of the Committee about the composition of the proposed Council of Princes was accepted by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. The Political Secretary was asked to examine the question as to what Ruling Princes should be regarded as comprised under heading (a). The exclusion of any Prince not coming under heading (a) but who would come under heading (b) was never contemplated.

In the preliminary draft of the proposed agenda prepared by Sir John Wood the Princes falling under (b) of the Committee's recommendations were *included* in the composition of the proposed Council of Princes.

This however is not very clearly stated in paragraph 302 of the Joint Report. So I hope and trust Their Highnesses will see to it that the Committee's recommendation on the composition of the proposed Council of Princes is adhered to in its entirety and I hope and believe that His Excellency the Viceroy will give a sympathetic and liberal ruling in the matter.

If anything further is needed to urge our absolute claim to eligibility for membership, it is provided by the fact of our being invited to all previous Conferences generally and the invitation to us to attend this year's Conference (*after* the publication of the Joint Report), in particular, which in my opinion is a strong index to the views held by His Excellency the Viceroy as to our inclusion in the Council.

Relations of the Rulers of States with the Government and their examination for simplification, standardisation and codification.

I am in favour of item 1 (2) of the agenda, but I do not think this subject can be tackled and decided at once.



I beg to propose that a joint committee consisting of one Ruler or representative from each territorial group or States and of the necessary number of Political Officers be appointed to thoroughly examine the subject with instructions to submit its report with recommendations to the next year's Conference or to the Council of Princes if it comes into being before that date.

*Item 1 (3)—*

I am in favour of the establishment of a "Council of Princes."

As to its composition I have given my views in discussing item 1 (1)

I agree with the proposals about the agenda for the Council, its functions, its president, and its chairman in the absence of the Viceroy, its meeting, and its rules of business.

Establishment of a permanent Council of Princes.

As to designation I am in favour of an Indian name—I am in favour of the name "Raj Mandal."

In connection with the establishment of a Council of Princes I have two subsidiary proposals to make, *viz.* :—

(1) Along with the Central Council of Princes, Provincial or rather "territorial" Councils of Princes or of their representatives should also be established. The advantages claimed for this proposal are :—

(i) The Provincial Councils through their knowledge of local conditions will be useful for the supplying of information to the Central Council as well as for the preparation of items of agenda.

(2) On Provincial Councils reasonable and proportional representation could be given to the minor Chiefs, who under the present scheme of reforms have neither a voice in the Council of Princes nor in British Indian legislatures.

(3) They will be useful for purposes of co-ordination with provincial Governments. In spite of the fact that most of the subjects common to British India and the Native States will be in the hands of the central Government, there are bound to be certain other questions on which legislation by provincial Governments will affect a certain group of States only; such for instance as extradition, education, epidemics, sanitation, trades and tariffs, roads, railways, law and crimes, patents and copyrights, etc.

(4) They will give opportunities where they do not exist for a friendly interchange of ideas between territorial groups of Princes and many difficulties will be smoothed by a happy give-and-take among them.

(5) These Councils can meet much oftener and at less expense and inconvenience than the Central Council.

(ii) My second proposal is for the establishment of a House of Representatives as an adjunct to the Council of Princes.

It will discuss and prepare all the material for and facilitate the deliberations of the Council of Princes, with whom the final decision would rest.

In short it will do all the spade work. Besides this, this House of Representatives will form the panel from which representatives for the committees for joint deliberations with British Indian legislatures can be selected as provided for in paragraph 311 of the Joint Report.

In this connection I am of opinion that we should leave this deliberation with British Indians in the hands of our representatives, because besides its being derogatory to our dignity to sit with commoners in deliberation, we will

open ourselves to hostile and often unpleasant criticism. We have not the time to study these questions thoroughly which our ministers can devote to them.

*Item (4).*—I am in favour of this proposal with the proviso that each territorial group of Princes should be represented on it. Sometimes the conditions prevailing in different provinces are different.

I am in general agreement with item 1 (5). The only observation I should like to make on the subject is that petty disputes between two States can be better and more economically decided by the Political Officer attached to that particular group of States. Where, however, the States themselves or any one of the two parties to the dispute desire a Commission of Enquiry in preference to a decision by the Political Officer, His Excellency the Viceroy can be requested to grant a Commission.

*Item 1 (6).*—I am in entire agreement with this proposal. I however think that the personage whose conduct is the subject of enquiry should have a right to challenge the nomination of any of the Commissioners.

*Item 1 (7).*—I am in entire agreement with the proposal. Either of the two alternatives proposed by the authors of the Joint Report to effect this will, in my opinion, be suitable but I believe the majority of the Princes will prefer the latter alternative, because usually the Political Agent or Resident is more in touch with local conditions.

*Item 1 (8).*—I agree with the proposal as a tentative measure for the beginning of the transitional period. We must, however, keep in view the ultimate goal of British policy in regard to India which is full responsible Government; when that comes and bureaucratic control gives place to democratic control we cannot but claim legislative co-ordination in common and Imperial matters, we cannot be satisfied with "deliberative and advisory" functions only. Why not make a beginning now or in the near future when conditions are more favourable for the granting of our just claims. We must guard against making our claim too late.

*Item II of the Agenda.*—This question is admittedly difficult and delicate. In my opinion social precedence cannot be separated from official precedence. The Government are not prepared to take up this latter question. So in my opinion the question should be entirely dropped. Besides this, in my opinion, it is not probable that the Princes themselves can ever decide this question or arrive at a happy solution. There will be claims and counter-claims which would unavoidably give rise to avoidable friction.

The Government as the representative of the Suzerain Power are the best judges of this ticklish question and they should, in my opinion, be left to decide this question of precedence *inter se* when and how they judge best.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

#### *Preliminary Remarks.*

I should like to be permitted at the outset to tender to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India my grateful

tribute and respectful congratulations on the production of such an epoch-making document and on the courage, generous sympathy and broad-minded statesmanship and the clear perception of the ideal, which have guided the framing of the Scheme generally.

2. I am confident that the Ruling Princes will derive particular gratification from the courteous consideration extended to their treaty rights and dignity and from the acceptance of the justice of their claims and the principles of every one of the proposals which the Princes' Committee placed before His Excellency and Mr. Montagu last February.

3. This sympathetic response and recognition will arouse very genuine feelings of gratitude amongst the Princes of India and there can be no question that, when the heat and strife of political controversy abates and the question is at some future date judged from an impartial standpoint untainted by political differences and racial feelings, the names of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu will go down to posterity as two of the best friends and benefactors of India including the Indian States who inspired by the noblest ideals of British statesmanship rose to the occasion and rendered, at a time of crisis, such signal service not only to India but to the whole of the British Empire.

4. The welcome change in the policy of the Government of India in regard to their relations with the Ruling Princes and the Indian States dates from the commencement of the present century.

5. It was in the time of that brilliant Viceroy, Lord Curzon, that the Princes came out of comparative seclusion and into closer intimacy with the British Government and with each other. During Lord Minto's Viceroyalty, a really liberal and sympathetic policy was consistently pursued and a great deal was done to improve the relations between the Paramount Power and the Ruling Princes, culminating in November 1908 in the public declaration at Udaipur of the policy of non-interference.

6. Lord Hardinge equally, clearly and consistently demonstrated his friendship and sympathy for the Princes and his interest in and solicitude for their well-being and prosperity by not only following but also further considerably developing and strengthening his predecessors' policy, with the result that never within recent times had more cordial and happier personal relations with the Princes been cultivated and maintained, nor greater courtesy and consideration extended to them. It was in Lord Hardinge's time that the seeds were sown of an Assembly of Princes by the two Conferences held in 1913 and 1914.

7. This idea, it is gratefully realized, has been carried further with eminently satisfactory results by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, and the Princes can never forget how assiduously His Excellency the present Viceroy has followed in the footsteps of his distinguished predecessor as well as the advance made in this direction during his Viceroyalty, of which glorious edifice the Reforms now under consideration, which are of such importance to the Princes and States will, it is hoped, be the coping stone. And it is further to be hoped that, before the day comes for His Excellency to relinquish charge of his high office, these Reforms will have been actually brought into force, and Lord Chelmsford will have left behind him a monument, more durable than words, testifying both to his great Imperial work for the Princes and the States as well as to the gratitude and esteem which the Princes entertain for His Excellency.

8. I regret that owing to these notes having been dictated under exceptional circumstances during my voyage to Europe, they are not, as

comprehensive as the importance of the question demands. But I hope that they will suffice to express in fairly clear terms the views, such as they are, which I hold in regard to the various proposals enumerated in Chapter X of the Joint Report.

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*Treaty Rights, Privileges and Prerogatives of Ruling Princes.*

9. Before dealing with the items on the Agenda for the forthcoming Princes' Conference, I should also like to add how very much the Princes will welcome the generous and courteous regard for their Sovereign status, internal autonomy and local sentiments and the assurances contained specially in paras. 157 and 305 of the Joint Report as regards the due observation of treaty obligations, and non-interference, as also the proposal that the Princes should be assured in the fullest and freest manner that no constitutional changes which may take place in British India will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads* and engagements or by established practice.

10. While the Princes have no doubt whatever that the assurances will be duly given effect to, it will afford still further gratification to them to have a further formal assurance that, apart from the question of the forthcoming constitutional changes, the maintenance of their treaty and other rights, prerogatives and privileges generally is unequivocally guaranteed to them for the future by a gracious declaration from the Imperial Throne.

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*Item I (1)—that, with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.*

11. There is no doubt whatever that there is a very real and urgent necessity for drawing a line, or, it will be better perhaps to state, for making the necessary differentiation between the bigger and more important Rulers and the smaller Chiefs and Rulers, about 700 in number all told. For, the bigger States and Princes have undoubtedly been severely handicapped and their sovereign status and *izzat* and prerogatives and privileges prejudicially affected by the official tendency manifest, till comparatively recent times, of thinking of and dealing with all Rulers as if they all came under one category.

12. At the same time, I would venture, firstly, to give expression to my confident hope that His Excellency the Viceroy, the Government of India, and the Political Department will deal with this very delicate and important point in a generous spirit, that the restrictions on the exercise of full powers will be broadly interpreted and that minor differences as regards the degree of sovereign or unrestricted powers will not ordinarily be taken into consideration when such a differentiation or division is made.

13. I would even submit that, where there are slight differences in powers enjoyed by some of the Princes, the remedy is to give them enhanced powers and not to class them in the other division, nor to exclude them from the membership of the Assembly or Council of Princes or from enjoying the benefits of the other Reforms enumerated in Chapter X of the Joint Report.

14. It is not possible in this Note to go into the case and merits of each of the States concerned, but I would further urge that except in isolated cases here and there—where very special circumstances, not known to me, may exist—all Rulers at present enjoying salutes up to and including 11 guns

irrespective altogether of the question of sovereign powers, as well as all other Rulers not coming under this category but who enjoy full or practically full Sovereign powers should be declared eligible for the membership of the Assembly of Princes and for participation in the general Scheme of the other Reforms.

15. If the differentiation is, however, based on a too literal interpretation of the term 'full Sovereign powers' or 'full powers of internal administration', then even the Rulers of some of the bigger States, which, so far as can be seen, cannot according to their treaty provisions really be classed as enjoying such powers, will also have to be excluded and classed in the other group. In such a case, the Chamber of Princes would, I should think, speaking off-hand, hardly number even fifty and would thus in no sense be really representative of the Indian States, which embrace a third of the whole area of India and a fifth of its entire population.

16. It was for these reasons that, irrespective altogether of the question of sovereign powers, the Princes' Committee recommended that the Assembly of Princes should be composed of :—

- (a) The Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, i.e., unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws.
- (b) All other Princes enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over.

17. So far as I am aware, during the first two Conferences convened in connection with the Higher Chiefs' Colleges, invitations were extended to all Princes who enjoyed salutes. Even according to the present practice all Princes enjoying 11-gun salutes, irrespective of the question of powers, have been eligible for the membership of and have been invited to the Conference during the last three years. Thus the claims of such Princes to eligibility for the membership of the Assembly or Council of Princes and to the benefit of the other proposed Reforms have, to my mind, been rendered all the stronger, and as such will, it is confidently hoped, be readily admitted by His Excellency the Viceroy.

18. It is a matter of special gratification to see that a certain number of representatives of the Princes enjoying sovereign powers and salutes of 9 guns have this year been invited to the Conference by His Excellency the Viceroy and their claims to membership of the Council of Princes and to the benefit of the other Reforms are also very strong and perfectly valid.

19. The second point that I would like to put forward for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy and my brother Princes is in regard to the Rulers coming under the second category.

20. Though their powers and status are not on a par with those of the bigger Rulers, the fact cannot be overlooked that their territories lie all the same within that one-third of India which at present is known as the Indian States. These Rulers are not British subjects and their territories undeniably do not comprise British India proper. Such Rulers and their subjects are clearly on a different footing from the magnates and the people of British India respectively. They cannot benefit by any of the Reforms now under contemplation or that may in future be introduced in British India. When it has been found necessary to revise and overhaul the machinery regulating the relations between the British Government and the bigger Princes and States which has been in operation now on more or less identical lines for over a hundred years, a similar necessity must, I submit, also be admitted in regard

to these lesser Rulers and their territories. If they are excluded altogether, under the proposed division, from any benefits whatsoever in which their more important and more fortunate brethren are hoping to participate, they will soon be felt to be the weak links in an otherwise perfectly strong chain and moreover find themselves in a position of stagnation. I fully realize the difference between the two classes of Rulers but what I would venture to urge with due respect and all the emphasis at my command, is that some method should be devised by which they too may be brought within the scope of these Reforms and they may feel that the interests of themselves and their States are not being ignored both by the Paramount Power as well as by their more distinguished brethren.

21. It was for these reasons that in their original proposal, framed at the Bikaner Session, the Princes' Committee proposed proportional representation of such Chiefs and Rulers. This point was not pressed in the final Scheme of the Princes' Committee because it was understood that such a proposal would, for the present at any rate, not be regarded as feasible by the Government of India. Power was nevertheless reserved, according to the Committee's recommendations, to add to the number of the Chamber of Princes so as not definitely to debar any one.

22. It is, therefore, I submit, a matter deserving of our immediate and serious consideration as to what can be done so that such Rulers and their people may not be left in the lurch. I am not sure that such a problem can be solved at one sitting and it will therefore perhaps be desirable to consider this question further on a suitable occasion later on, after the Princes present in the forthcoming Session have given general expression to their views on this point. Whilst not putting it forward as a definite suggestion for immediate consideration, I would further venture to add that I for one do not even now see any objection, but would on the contrary welcome a reasonable and proportional representation of such smaller Rulers, provided they did not obtain an undue predominance in the Council of Princes and provided also that the legitimate interests of the bigger Rulers and States were not in any way unfairly and prejudicially affected by such an act.

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*Item I (2)—that, with the consent of the Rulers of States, their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardize and codify existing practice for the future.*

23. The question is one of the most vital importance to the Princes and their States and subjects, and as such I would beg to suggest that, with the permission of His Excellency the Viceroy, the Political Department should issue a comprehensive note, making the matter more clear and dealing with the present policy as well as the existing relations and the practice referred to above, and that they should further make it clear in what possible direction there might, with advantage to both the parties, be a change of policy and how, in the opinion of the Political Department, the existing practice might probably be simplified, standardized and codified.

24. I would venture most strongly to urge that adequate time should be given to the Princes to consider the whole question in the light of such a memorandum. It is too important a subject to be discussed off-hand at the forthcoming Conference with the meagre information at our disposal and sufficient

time is undoubtedly required for the careful consideration of the whole question in all its aspects before it would be possible for the Princes to give a mature and carefully considered opinion. I would, therefore, further suggest that the consideration of the question should be put off till the Conference of Autumn 1919 and that in the meanwhile the explanatory memorandum be kindly placed in our hands at the earliest date possible.

25. The proposal embraces the question of British policy as regards the Princes and States and indeed the entire relations between the British Government and the Princes and States. It also covers the question of intervention by the British Government and interference in the internal administration of the States, including the Sovereign States, through the agency of the British Representative accredited to the Indian Courts; as also the questions of the interpretation of our treaties, *sanads* and engagements, and of what are now apt to be looked upon as 'usage,' 'practice,' 'precedent,' 'case-law,' 'text-books,' and 'authoritative works.'

26. As regards intervention and interference by the British Government and its Representatives it would perhaps be not out of place once again to invite attention here to page 4, paragraph 15 of the Introductory Note in the "Outlines of the Scheme concerning the Ruling Princes and the Indian States" which forms a part of the final proposals and recommendations of the Princes' Committee. For the sake of convenience and ready reference, I quote the paragraph *in extenso* below :—

"As regards the internal independence and autonomy of the States the Marquess of Hastings writing on February 1st, 1814, 104 years ago, mentions the 'formidable mischief' which 'has arisen from our not having defined to ourselves or made intelligible to the Native Princes, the quality of the relations which we have established with them'; and proceeds to make the following observations :—

In our treaties with them we recognize them as independent sovereigns. Then we send a Resident to their Courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he assumes the functions of a dictator; interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest, which, under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council; and the Government identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct'."

27. This question is significant and speaks for itself and it seems unnecessary to labour the points at the present stage—until the Princes are in a position to discuss the subject after having been placed in the possession of the necessary further details.

28. The question of the interpretation of treaties, and the position taken up by the British Government in this respect in the past, has been dealt with in considerable detail in the above mentioned Introductory Notes to which a reference is again invited. Thus all that appears necessary at this stage is to invite attention to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's most statesmanlike and highly gratifying assurance on the subject, in his inaugural speech at the Princes' Conference on the 30th October 1916, when, uttering the following words,

His Excellency also voiced the feelings and wishes of the Ruling Princes themselves :—

“These treaties are sacred, and I can assure you that it will be my earnest desire to maintain them not only in the letter, but in the spirit in which they were framed.”

29. In paragraph 304 of the Joint Report are correctly expressed the Princes' fears that “usage and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty right of individual States.”

30. On page 13, in clause I, paragraph 8 of the Explanatory Note of the Committee's final proposals, it has already been pointed out that “the present relations of the Indian States with the Government of India are regulated not only by the treaties and engagements, but by what has now come to be urged as ‘usage’ and ‘precedent’” which, it has been explained, have grown with time and are in most cases the outcome of peculiar circumstances over which the States had no control and it has therein been urged that the main principles which should underlie the relations are those defined in the treaties and engagements.

31. It seems necessary here to emphasise a point of great importance to the Princes and States. The fact should not be lost sight of that the Princes and States have not only ordinarily had no control but also no voice as regards the inception, development and establishment of not only ‘usage’ and ‘precedent’ but also as regards ‘practice’, ‘case-law’, ‘text-books’ and ‘authoritative work.’ Therefore, before they can be accepted by the Princes, not only is their detailed examination and discussion necessary but in their framing and final establishment the Princes, as one of the two parties, should necessarily have a clear and proportionate voice.

32. For all these reasons I would again repeat that a further elucidation of the point as well as time for its consideration are necessary and that the whole question should be postponed for discussion until the Conference of Autumn 1919.

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*Item I (3)—that a permanent Council of Princes should be established.*

33. As one who ventured to urge the establishment of such an institution even in pre-war days, I have hardly anything further to do beyond giving my whole-hearted support to the proposal in paragraph 306 of the Joint Report for the establishment of a Council or Assembly of Princes.

34. I am confident that the great majority of the Princes will be found to be in favour of the proposal and further that when the nature and the full advantages of the proposal are thoroughly realised, even those Princes who are lukewarm, and who at the present moment are inclined to stand aloof from the proposal, will equally warmly support the institution.

35. It will be gratifying to the Princes to learn from no less distinguished personages than His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that even the present day Conferences have been of great value in assisting the British Government in the formulation of their policy on several important matters. A great deal could be written on the obvious and undisputed advantages which may be hoped to accrue from the institution of a Council of Princes ; but it will suffice to say that, if for no other reason, the very fact of the vast changes that the British Empire has undergone in recent years has rendered it necessary that the existing machinery, which for over a century has regulated the relations between the British Government and the Princes



and States, should be not merely revised and overhauled but also augmented, if the Princes are to take their proper place in the British Empire.

36. Ever-increasing and more and more important questions of Imperial or common concern are sure to arise in the future in which, considering the interests involved of the Princes and their States, no one can deny that they should have a voice. A policy of exclusiveness can never be a substitute for one of collective action as was pointed out in the Committee's Explanatory Note from Patiala. It was never contemplated, nor is it proposed that the Princes should entrust their individual cases to their Brother Princes in the Council for discussion in public and as has further been pointed out by the Committee, one of the essential principles regulating the functions of this Body would be that no discussion in regard to any particular Prince or State or the internal affairs of any individual State or the action of any individual Prince would be allowed in the Chamber. In short it was considered most desirable to ensure that all personal matters be scrupulously kept outside the purview of the Council of Princes.

37. Thus by the institution of a Council of Princes no Prince would lose his individual right to direct negotiation and correspondence with the British Government: neither would his Sovereign status and other prerogatives and powers be infringed in any way, nor would he thereby lose the right of direct access to His Excellency the Viceroy which Princes greatly cherish.

38. I am one of the staunchest believers in the doctrine that the Princes should not interfere in British Indian domestic affairs and an equally staunch advocate of the policy that there should correspondingly be no interference by British India in the internal affairs of the Princes and their States. On this understanding I beg to record my vote in favour of the institution of an Assembly of Princes.

39. As regards an appropriate name I would like to add that, on further consideration I also am now not in favour of its being called a 'Council of Princes' and I like the term 'Chamber of Princes' still less. 'Assemblage' is obviously unsuitable and on the whole, unless a better word can be found, I am inclined to think that 'Assembly of Princes' would be the most appropriate term. I discussed this subject with His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, who has given the subject a great deal of thought during last spring and I understood from His Highness that he also was in favour of the term 'Assembly of Princes.'

40. A suggestion was recently made that the Body should still be called a Conference. I would desire to enter a most emphatic protest against any such idea. The main object of the Princes is, as has been pointed out in the Report, to have a permanent Body, holding regular meetings at least once a year. They desire further that this institution should find a regular place in the constitution governing the relations between the Government of British India and the Indian States. This a Conference could never answer.

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*Item I (4)—Standing Committee.*

41. In supporting this proposal, I have only two things to mention specifically :—

Firstly, that it is important that matters other than custom and usage should also be referred to this Committee and that, I take it from the wording

of the Joint Report, is also the intention of its distinguished authors ; and secondly, that the Committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally, either of their own accord or at the direction of the Chamber of Ruling Princes, for the consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy. To my mind this would be of mutual benefit both to the British Government and to the Princes and States and would, of course, be subject to the proviso that no Prince or Minister should deal with anything in which he or his State is concerned ; and also, as suggested in paragraph 307, that no question affecting any individual State or Ruler would be initiated by the Committee without the concurrence of the Ruler concerned.

42. I have heard it suggested that the consideration of the question of a Standing Committee should be postponed for the present, but as is pointed out in the Joint Report at the conclusion of paragraph 307, the machinery proposed is based on the principle of consultation which in so many matters underlies the recommendations in regard to British India. And being a very beneficial and important proposal, there appears no reason whatever why the Princes and States should not also benefit by such a principle.

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*Item I (5)—Judicial Tribunal or Judicial Enquiry.*

43. I am in agreement as regards holding exhaustive judicial enquiries in regard to—

- (a) the settlement of disputes between the Government and a State, or between one State and another, and
- (b) the decision of cases where a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or of any of their local Representatives.

To differentiate, however, from the proposal in Item I (6) of the Agenda, I would suggest that this should be called a 'Judicial Tribunal' or, at least in the word used in paragraph 308, a 'Judicial Enquiry', and the other a Commission of Enquiry.

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*Item I (6)—Commissions of Enquiry.*

44. The proposal in paragraph 309 of the Joint Report that a Commission of Enquiry should always be held whenever a question arises of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities, honour, powers and privileges or of debarring from succession a member of the reigning family will, I am certain, fill an imperative need and be appreciated by the Princes as a considerable improvement on the present practice.

45. In the Committee's proposals such a Commission was proposed when the question involved was of even temporarily depriving a Prince of his rights, dignities and powers. Although this is not clear from paragraph 309 it is presumed, and also strongly urged, that such a Commission should invariably be appointed even in the case of such a temporary contingency also.

46. In the recommendations of the Princes' Committee the right to challenge the nomination of any of the members to the Commission was specially provided for under certain safeguards. The proposals in the concluding portion of paragraph 309 refer, presumably, also to this right of challenge, but the point is one worthy of being made absolutely clear.

*Item I (7)—Direct Political Relations with the Government of India.*

47. Both in the Imperial interests as well as for the happiness and well-being of the Princes and States the placing of the Princes and at least the bigger Chiefs also in direct relations with the Government of India and of thus reducing the number of intermediaries is one of the most urgent and crying needs of the day. Not only, as has been pointed out in the Report, is the present system of communicating through these intermediaries an obstruction to good understanding and a great obstacle to business but it makes it also practically impossible to ensure uniformity of policy and of dealings.

48. Indeed, until the existing system is changed, the risk of undue interference in the internal affairs of the States will never be satisfactorily safeguarded against. Although the Local Governments and officials will naturally not like the idea, the step has to be taken sooner or later, because if for no other reason yet, as is pointed out in the Report, the growth of responsibility in Provincial Governments will render it undesirable that the relations with the Indian States should be matters of provincial concern and I would, therefore, venture earnestly to urge that the question should be tackled and solved now—and solved in a broad and statesmanlike manner without any undue regard to sentiment or past precedent. I would in this connection ask for permission to quote the following remarks which General Smuts made in his speech at a luncheon given by the Empire Parliamentary Association in the spring of 1917, while speaking about the future constitution of the Empire:—

“Do not try to think of existing political institutions which have been evolved in the case of European developments. The British Empire is a much larger and more diverse problem than anything we have seen hitherto, and the sort of Constitution we read about in books, the sort of political alphabet which has been elaborated in years gone by, does not apply and would not solve the problems of the future. We should not follow precedents but make them.....I am sure if we disabuse our minds of precedents and pre-conceived ideals we shall evolve, in the course of years, the institutions and machinery that will meet our difficulties.”

49. I would further beg to urge that at least all Princes, great and small, exercising sovereign powers and those with salutes up to 9 guns should be placed in direct political relation with the Government of India. There appears to be no reason to anticipate why any difficulty be experienced in extending the benefits of this proposal not only to the Bombay but also to the Madras, Bengal, Punjab and United Provinces Princes. The States in Madras are so advanced that the absence of a knowledge in the Government of India Political Officers of the local vernaculars would be hardly worth taking into account.

50. This leaves the States which, though supposed to be in direct relations with the Government of India, have yet to communicate through both their local Political Officers as well as Agents to the Governor-General. I cannot speak for Baluchistan, where circumstances may be different, but in regard to the important and numerous States in Rajputana and Central India it can clearly be said that they are still at the same disadvantage as those in Provinces with Governors and Lieutenant-Governors at the head of their respective Local Governments. Thus it is no less essential that the Princes in Centra

India and Rajputana too should have only one step through which they should correspond with the Government of India.

51. The next question is whether the Agent to the Governor-General should be retained and the Resident now accredited to the States abolished or whether the post of the Agent to the Governor-General abolished and the Residents retained. I would submit that only one of these two alternatives should be considered for the Rajputana and Central India States. His Excellency the Viceroy also clearly had only these two alternatives under contemplation when, during the Informal Meeting in February 1918, the Princes present were asked by His Excellency for their individual views on one of these two alternatives.

52. I would respectfully submit that to my mind the third alternative proposed in paragraph 310 of the Report as to retaining, in other cases, both the Agent to Governor-General and the Resident but of authorising the Residents of particular States to communicate direct with the Government of India while sending a copy of such communications to the Agent to the Governor-General for his information, would in practice not be found really to work satisfactorily and is bound to end in a reversion to the present system and inevitably to lead to interference by the Agent to the Governor-General. It would make the position of the Princes as well as of the Political Officers accredited to their Courts an extremely difficult one and would also detract both from the position as well as the discretionary powers of the Political Officers.

53. Moreover, what is desirable is a permanent arrangement in the interests of the Princes and the States as a whole and not a temporary arrangement made to suit the personal convenience, or for the life-time, of a particular Ruler.

54. Reverting, however, to the first two alternatives, I originally held that the post of the Agent to the Governor-General should be abolished, and my idea was that Rajputana, for instance, should have four Residents, with higher rank and status and enhanced emoluments than is the case at present, who should be the intermediaries between certain groups of States and the Government of India.

55. Thus, whilst the Political Department would lose one prize appointment, there would be four bigger appointments instead in Rajputana. If necessary, such Residents would have one or more Assistants under them. The States of Rajputana, and similarly of Central India, would thus be placed in the same advantageous position as those of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir.

56. Such Residents should, moreover, not have their headquarters in any of the States to which they are accredited but in independent British territory.

57. It may perhaps be urged against the above proposal that a central authority is required to co-ordinate the policy and to carry out the views of the Government of India. In reply it seems sufficient to say that if no such difficulties are experienced in regard to Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir, there is no reason to anticipate any unusual difficulties if there are four such officers instead of one, say, in Rajputana.

58. At the Informal Meeting in February last at Delhi I, however, thought that the other alternative might perhaps be the easier of solution and I, therefore, on that occasion decided ultimately to vote for abolishing the Political Officers and retaining the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana.

59. After reconsidering the question during the past 10 months, I would venture to record my more mature and emphatic opinion, for what it is worth, that it will be far better to retain the Political Officers on the lines which I have attempted to sketch above and to abolish the post of the Agent to the Governor-General. I am convinced that in the long run this will not only be the best, but the only satisfactory arrangement and one least likely to create friction and difficulties.

60. Moreover, one of the many drawbacks of retaining the Agent to the Governor-General would be that with the correspondence coming from so many States he would be unable to give matters the necessary personal attention. This, I fear, will, in the long run at any rate, end in his various Assistants being assigned work and assuming duties which will, at least approximately, even though not exactly, correspond with those of the present-day Political Officers, with merely this difference that they will be located at the headquarters of the Agent to the Governor-General— instead of their present headquarters.

61. That this is not an imaginary drawback will appear to be supported by what Sir John Wood also outlined at the February Meeting as pointed in the last paragraph on page 10 of the Digest of the Proceedings of that Meeting. The result eventually would be that the Princes and States would still have two intermediaries to negotiate with. Also with so many States to deal with, it would hardly be possible for the Agent to the Governor-General to visit all the States each year, and whenever necessary oftener in the year. It will also inevitably lead to the Agent to the Governor-General deputing his Assistants—sometimes only junior officers—to visit Princes and States either at his desire or at the wish of the latter.

62. With Political Officers accredited to groups of smaller number of States there will be more intimate knowledge, friendship and association and more senior Political Officers to deal with, and thus, in the long run, more harmonious relations and more satisfactory and prompt work and results.

63. As regards the apprehension expressed by Sir John Wood that, if Political Officers accredited to groups of States dealt direct with the Government of India, they would not be in such a commanding position to advocate the interests of the States, I would state that in the first place no such difficulty is apparently experienced in the case of the Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir States and secondly that with my suggestion that the rank and status of such Residents should be enhanced the difficulty will further entirely be got over.

64. As is stated in the Joint-Report with reference to there being no insurmountable obstacles in overcoming the difficulties in cases where the territories of Indian States and British Provinces intersect, so I feel positive that with the sympathetic support of His Excellency the Viceroy and the goodwill of the Political Department no insurmountable difficulties would really be experienced also in the way of abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor-General and retaining groups of Political Officers on the lines sketched above.

65. In Rajputana specially there would appear to be no such difficulty and in regard to Central India perhaps any difficulties could fairly easily be overcome by perhaps appointing one Senior Officer with one or more Assistants to deal with the cases of the mediatised Chiefships and guaranteed Thakurs.

66. Some arrangements will in either alternative have to be made presumably to relieve the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana of the

heavy judicial work which he has at present to carry on ; whilst the Commissioner in Ajmer under the direction of the Political Department could without difficulty deal with the business relating to the Mayo College.

67. Before concluding my remarks on the subject, I would also venture to submit that the duties and functions of the Political Officers accredited to individual States or groups of States should be clearly defined and so regulated as to conform to the original intention, *viz.*, those resembling the position of an Ambassador so far as the Sovereign States are concerned while in respect of the smaller States the Political Officer's position should be revised and defined in view of the altered present-day conditions as has been urged in the Outlines of the Scheme and recommendations of the Princes' Committee. His Exalted Highness the Nizam also refers to this in his note, dated the 1st December 1917. This is further supported by what has been written by the Marquess of Hastings in his private Journal as long ago as 1814 which has already been quoted in paragraph 26 of this Note.

68. Whilst on this subject I would finally beg to propose that His Excellency the Viceroy may be pleased to direct that such terms, in common with other loose official terminology, which has now come into vogue, as are frequently used in communications to Political Officers and even conveyed in that sense to the States themselves, as "under the jurisdiction of", "under your political control," "under your political charge," "under the Rajputana Agency," etc., etc., should no longer be used as they do not correctly represent either the duties of the Political Officers or their relations with the Princes as the accredited Agents of the British Government to their Courts. Similarly it would appear the term "Rajputana Agency" or calling a Residency after the name of the State is also incorrect. The geographical nomenclature of such States might more correctly be referred to by Province rather than by Agencies, such as the Province of Rajputana or of Central India ; or in the case of Residency or Political Agency by the name of the States such as the Western Rajputana States or the Haraoti States instead of the Western Rajputana Agency or the Haraoti Agency.

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*Item I (8)—Joint deliberations on matters of common interest.*

69. I am in general agreement with the proposals enumerated in paragraph 311 for the purpose, and it is my personal opinion that anything further at the present moment would not be in the best interests of either the Princes or their States.

70. This of course is subject to reconsideration when the Reforms in British India are finally brought into force and their definite nature known.

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*Item II.—Ruling Princes' precedence inter se at Social Functions.*

71. The discussion during the Conference in 1917 showed that, in spite of the difficulties with which we are faced in regard to this most delicate question, some Princes, at any rate, were of the opinion that it would be a great pity to drop the question altogether until the Princes had satisfied themselves that there was no other alternative open to them. It was also clear from the discussion that in the opinion of some Princes the question is based on issues wider than merely that of salutes.

72. Since the Conference of last year the salutes and titles of some of the Princes have been revised, but it will be apparent that further steps have yet to be taken before a satisfactory basis can be formed for settling this knotty problem.

73. Whilst, therefore, strongly urging that the question should not be definitely dropped, I venture to think that it will be better to defer consideration of the question till the further revision of salutes, titles and other relative points has, as is confidently hoped, been undertaken.

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CONFERENCE OF RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS

*Held at Delhi on the 3rd November 1919 and the following days.*





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**The Conference was opened and its proceedings conducted by His Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council Chamber.**

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The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

**Kashmir.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

**Madras.**

His Highness the Raja of Cochin.

**Bombay.**

The Raja of Bariya.

His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhore.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal.

The Chief of Jamkhandi.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi.

The Chief of Mudhol.

His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.

The Thakur Sahib of Rajkot.

His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla.

His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner.

**Bengal.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

**United Provinces.**

His Highness the Raja of Tehri.

**Punjab.**

The Nawab of Loharu.

His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla.

His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

**Central India.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas  
(S. B.)

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Raja of Rajgarh.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

**Rajputana.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.

His Highness the Maharaja Regent of Jodhpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kishengarh.

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

**Sikkim.**

His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim.

The following were also present :—

**Bombay.**

The Heir-apparent of Jamkhandi.		Nawabzada Yavar Hussain Khan represent-
The Maharaj Kumar of Kolhapur.		ing His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur.
The Heir-apparent of Limbdi.		His Highness the minor Maharaja of Por-
The Heir-apparent of Mudhol.		

**United Provinces.**

The Maharaj Kumar of Benares representing His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

**Punjab.**

The Tika Sahib of Kapurthala representing His Highness the Maharaja of Kapur- thala.		Nawabzada Aziz-ud-Din Ahmed Khan of Loharu.

**Central India.**

The Raja Bahadur of Ajaigarh represent- ing His Highness the Maharaja of Ajai- garh.		Nawabzada Hamid-ullah Khan represent- ing Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal;

**Rajputana.**

The Maharaj Kumar of Bikaner.		The Maharaj Kumar of Udaipur.
The Maharaj Kumar of Jhalawar.		

## WORK-CARD.

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### Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

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**November 1919.**

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**November 3rd.**

1. His Excellency the Viceroy will greet the members of the Conference, who will be presented individually by the Political Secretary.
2. His Excellency will then deliver an address.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner will move, and His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar will second, a resolution regarding the victorious conclusion of peace.
4. His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar will move a vote of thanks and congratulations to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner for the services rendered by him at the Peace Conference.
5. Agenda Nos. III and IV will be discussed.

**November 4th.**

Free day.

**November 5th.**

Agendum No. I will be discussed.

**November 6th.**

Free day.

**November 7th.**

Agenda Nos. II and V will be discussed.

**November 8th.**

The reply of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs to His Excellency's address will be delivered.

His Excellency the Viceroy will conclude the proceedings.

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**AGENDA.**

I. To discuss further the Resolution passed by the Conference in January 1919 on agendum I, item (i), on the subject of the "line of demarcation" and the composition of the proposed Chamber.

II. To receive and consider the report of the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification, and standardisation of existing political practice.

III. To consider the best means of securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics.

IV. To consider the desirability of co-operation in public health matters.

V. To consider the question of amending section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908 (V of 1908), in order to enable Civil and Revenue Courts in British India to send their decrees for execution to Courts of Indian States.

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**Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. III.**

*Question of the desirability of taking measures for securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics.*

The Government of India desire to draw the attention of Ruling Princes and Chiefs to the desirability of taking measures for securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics.

The necessity for collecting facts relating to the life history of communities and nations is beyond question. In British India information is collected regarding—

- (a) population (by census) ;
- (b) number of infants born in a given period ;
- (c) number of deaths in the same period ;
- (d) number of deaths from the principal diseases in the same period.

It is possible to subdivide each group into sub-groups. Thus the census subdivides the population into male and female, age and caste groups, etc. As regards infants born there are the dividing categories of sex, born dead and born alive ; for deaths there are the distinguishing categories of sex and age at death, and the cause of death. No comparisons can be made between different communities unless the arrangement of groups is on an uniform plan, and the number of births and deaths is calculated for the same period of time.

The Government of India therefore suggest that the forms\* which are now in use in British India should as far as feasible be adopted by the Indian States, and that the calendar year should also be adopted as the period of time during which the number of births and deaths are counted. If Darbars will co-operate in this manner it will be possible to secure uniformity throughout the Indian Empire and the deductions made from the statistics collected will be immensely more valuable for India as a whole than they are at present.

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\*Copies attached to this Memorandum.





















Annual Form No. X.

Deaths registered from Dysentery and Diarrhoea in the districts of the Province of during each month of the year

1	2	3		4		5												6			7			8																
		Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number in each district.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.																					
Districts.		Circles of registration.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Number from which deaths from dysentery and diarrhoea were reported.	Villages.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Ratio of deaths per 1,000 of population.	Mean ratio per 1,000 during previous five years														
Total for the Province.																																								







### Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. IV.

#### *Question of the desirability of co-operation in public health matters.*

Public health in India is chiefly concerned at present in an attack on infectious and epidemic disease. The task is one of great magnitude and success can only be expected from unity of action or co-operation.

Action can only be taken with efficiency if the responsible officials know with certainty the location of the disease and its probable line of advance. Knowledge of the location of disease can only be obtained if the executive officers of a district in which the disease has appeared will promptly notify its existence to the executive officers of neighbouring districts. Arrangements on these lines are at present in force in some parts of India, but it is very desirable that they should be universal.

For the more general distribution of knowledge regarding the location and spread of infectious diseases it is desirable that there should be a free interchange of information between Sanitary Commissioners. It is suggested that the Sanitary Commissioner in each State (or the officer who holds a corresponding position) should at once report the outbreak of infectious disease to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India and subsequently forward weekly statements regarding the progress of the disease. The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India will then circulate these reports to all concerned. This proposal is in conformity with the practice elsewhere in the world. For instance, the Local Government Board of England and Wales and the Public Health Service of the United States of America collect and publish weekly figures relating to the distribution of epidemic diseases throughout the world.

The second step in co-operation is an annual report showing the history of the chief diseases during the year, the measures taken to cope with them and the general progress made in public health during the year. All these reports to be summarised in one report for India as a whole.

Finally, an undoubted stimulus to unity of action is provided by the regular meeting in informal conferences of the officers who are the responsible advisers to Governments in public health matters. The Sanitary Commissioners of the provinces in British India have now held two informal conferences, and it is hoped that a similar conference will be held every year. It is felt that much mutual advantage would result if officers holding similar positions under Darbars could join these informal conferences.

### Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. V.

#### *Question of amending Section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908 (V of 1908), in order to enable Civil and Revenue Courts in British India to send their decrees for execution to Courts of Indian States.*

Under section 44 of the Code, State Courts notified in that behalf may send their decrees for execution to British Indian Courts, and in practice there is reciprocity in the matter, for the Darbars of the States whose Courts have been so notified have directed that their Courts shall execute decrees of British Indian Courts. Cases have, however, occurred in which the absence of legal sanction to the despatch of decrees of British Indian Courts for execution by State Courts has caused difficulty and inconvenience.

The most recent case to which the attention of the Government of India has been called is that of *Pierce Leslie v. Perumal*, reported in I. L. R. 40 Madras 1069. The question for consideration is whether the existing practice should now be legalized by an amendment of section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908, and, if so, what should be the powers to be exercised in such cases by State Courts.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.

*3rd November 1919.*

## HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

YOUR HIGHNESSES,—

This is the fourth occasion upon which I have had the honour to preside at your Conference. I find that I look forward each year with increased pleasure to our annual meetings, and I trust that Your Highnesses do the same. Apart from the really valuable work which we get through in our formal debates, these are opportunities which I greatly value for the renewal of old friendships and for the formation of fresh ones. Further, it is of particular advantage to a Viceroy to be able, from time to time, to exchange ideas with Princes who share with him and with the provincial Governors the burden of rule in India. I am very glad to see so many of Your Highnesses present here to-day and I offer you a warm welcome on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government of India. I congratulate you heartily on the excellent rains that have fallen in your States, and I trust that a good agricultural year may be before you and that this and the Peace may be a prelude to an era of great prosperity. I deeply regret that several of our most distinguished members, including Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, have been prevented by ill health from joining us on this occasion. We shall greatly miss their advice and co-operation.

At our meeting in January last I referred to the losses which your Order had sustained. We had then to deplore the death of no less than six members of the Conference. This year we have to mourn the loss of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Ajaigarh and the Rajas of Sailana, Chamba and Suket. I have no doubt that Your Highnesses will all desire that the Conference should express its sympathy with the Ruling families.

In another matter, in which regret has no place, the Conference will be equally unanimous—I mean in according welcome to the Maharaja of Bikaner. We are all sincerely glad to see him among us again, both on personal grounds and because of the valuable contributions he can be relied upon to make to our discussions. This is not the time or the place to dwell on His Highness' services to India and the Empire, at the Imperial Conference in London and at the Peace Conference at Versailles. They are well known to us all. I will only state, what I am sure is the general opinion of the Conference, that the Indian States were fortunate in their representative, and are proud that his signature should have been placed on the peace treaty.

Since we last met one event has occurred of outstanding importance to the world, to the Empire and to India—the signing of the treaty of peace with Germany. I will not attempt to enumerate in detail the services rendered by the Indian Rulers and their contributions in men, money and material to the prosecution of the war and to the attainment of those ends which find their realization in the treaty. But I do not wish to let this occasion pass without expressing once more the thanks of His Imperial Majesty and of the Government of India for the splendid part played by the Princes and Chiefs. I

must thank Your Highnesses warmly also for the unanimity with which you placed your services and your resources at the disposal of Government for the Afghan War, and I wish to acknowledge particularly the prompt and whole-hearted assistance rendered by the Princes of the Punjab in the suppression of the recent disorders in that Province. Your assistance and your offers of support have been of great value, both in themselves and as evidence of the solidarity of the Indian States with the Supreme Government.

The British Empire is now, by the mercy of the Almighty, at peace both in Europe and in the East, and tranquillity reigns in India, but that does not mean that there is no longer occasion for very special efforts on the part of Governments, Princes and people. The difficulties and dangers of peace are less patent than those of war, but they are on that account more difficult to cope with. The struggle lacks, too, the stimulus of open danger and the appeal of obvious patriotism. There is a new spirit abroad in the world, impatient of restraint, prone to look upon order as tyranny, prosperity as profiteering, and expensiveness of living as the result of maladministration. This spirit, embittered by high prices due partly to the failure of the last monsoon and partly to the diversion of the world's energies from production to destruction, excited by the downfall of great powers, and encouraged by secret and subtle propaganda to think that anarchy means happiness and prosperity for all—this spirit is the most subtle and the greatest danger that has ever come upon mankind. The Indian States, perhaps also India as a whole, are less likely than Europe to be primarily assailed, but sooner or later we may all be forced to repel the attack, whether it come from without or within the body politic. The strongest weapon in the panoply of our defence is good government, which, while inspired with sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the people, is resolute at all times in the maintenance of public order. By this means only can peace after war, safety after danger be secured. I most earnestly enjoin upon Your Highnesses to see to it that your armoury is well furnished in so far as concerns the portion of the Empire for which you are responsible. The Government of India have their own problems to deal with, in which it is not your principal part to give direct aid, although even outside your States you have much influence upon popular opinion, which, I am confident, you will exercise in the right direction. Your Highnesses can, however, lend invaluable assistance by ensuring that your States are places in which the lawless and malicious spirit is not tolerated, where lying stories find no favour, where the motives of the British Government are not misrepresented and where British rule is not held up to obloquy.

You will have difficulties to contend with in your own States. You cannot expect that the demands of the new after-war spirit for liberty and freedom from restraint will be confined to British India. Such demands, becoming more and more insistent, will make themselves heard in the Indian States. I know that several of Your Highnesses have been thinking very deeply about these questions, and most of you must no doubt have felt that your States also must move with the times.

As to the lines on which progress is to take place, Your Highnesses must decide for yourselves with due regard to local circumstances and sentiment. You are Rulers in your States. But if you will allow me to offer you some words of advice, I would counsel you in the first place to determine that whatever measures of reform may be introduced shall be substantial. If you decide to extend your administrative structure, remember that what is needed is not a facade, however beautiful, but buildings in which men can live and work.

In the second place I would advise you in planning additions, to maintain the fabric of your society, and preserve its substructure and its solid walls, pillars and towers. The rocks in which they are imbedded are the work of nature; the foundations were well and truly laid by your ancestors; time has proved the strength of the edifice. I urge you, therefore, to repair these, to develop their design, to add to them the convenience and freedom of our age, but not to demolish them. Do not believe that a brand-new modern building can compare as a place of safety, as a work of art or as a true expression of your life and the life of your people, with one which rests on nature's foundations, which has stood the test of centuries and which has grown with your race and embodies its spirit and its traditions. I should like to quote here a thoughtful remark which I read recently in a Darbar speech of a Central India Ruler. "We have to remember the extent of our conservatism and try to remove it without wounding the feelings of those who adhere to it and who have adhered to it through so many ages past." There is no reason why your nobles and *jagirdars* should not be in the future, as they were when you first entered into possession of your State, the bulwarks of your rule, if you place your reliance upon them and educate them to work with you in your important task, and if they on their part recognise that it is their duty to serve you with loyalty.

I have dwelt at some length on subjects which are not directly connected with the business before the Conference, but I have done so because opportunities of meeting a representative body of the Princes and Chiefs are not very frequent, and because I feel that we stand now at the meeting of the ways, where we need all our foresight, all our wisdom, to guide us in taking the right path. I should be failing you if I did not indicate what I thought might be useful to you in coming to a decision as to the path to choose and as to the arrangements for the journey.

I wish also to take this opportunity of impressing on Your Highnesses that the Government of India and my Political Officers will be ready at all times to advise you in the solution of the difficult problems before you, and to assure you that you may continue to rely on our friendly support in the introduction of measures for the benefit of your subjects and for the moral and material development of you States.

Turning to the questions with which we are more immediately and directly concerned, I should explain to Your Highnesses that early last May the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State regarding the resolutions passed by your Conference held in January of this year. We forwarded copies of the resolutions and of the proceedings and of the recorded opinions of the Princes. We made our recommendations and asked for the views of His Majesty's Government. I will proceed to communicate to Your Highnesses the decisions arrived at by the Government of India with the approval of His Majesty's Government on matters which have reached the stage of decision, the reasons on which the decisions are based and various considerations which may help in the solution of the questions which are still before the Conference.

I am glad to be able to announce to Your Highnesses the intention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to call into being a permanent Chamber of Princes, although I must ask you to regard this announcement as merely a preliminary statement of intention. The formal establishment and recognition of the Chamber must be reserved for a later date, when the details of its constitution and functions have been worked out,

As regards that very important question, the position of the "demarcation line," Your Highnesses will remember that in my speech at the last Conference I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder. It appeared to us that, if such a distinction were to be made, it must be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. We therefore recommended in our Report that the line should be so drawn as to separate Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. I said in my speech that, in my opinion, the essential question for classification purposes would appear to be whether a Ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of his subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials.

I learned, however, from the debates of the last Conference, and from the written memoranda forwarded by Rulers who were not present, that a marked divergence of opinion existed on the subject of the principle to be employed for effecting the division.

I do not propose to discuss critically the Resolution which Your Highnesses passed on Item I (1) of the Agenda of the last Conference, because, if the solution which I am about to suggest commends itself to Your Highnesses, I think it would be a waste of time to do so. I will only say that, owing to the extreme difficulty of defining with precision the phrase "full powers of internal administration" and the embarrassment which must be caused by applying the test when formulated in individual cases, I am convinced that it would really be wisest, after all, to base the distinction primarily upon the salute list. The scheme which, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, I desire to propound for Your Highnesses' consideration, is as follows :—

*First*—that all States the Rulers of which enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of 11 guns or over should be entitled as of right to membership of the Chamber ;

*Second*—that States whose Rulers enjoy a dynastic salute of 9 guns but have at present such full or practically full internal powers as to qualify them in other respects for admission to the Chamber should be so admitted ;

*Third*—that as regards those States whose Rulers possess a dynastic salute of 9 guns but are not at present in possession of full or practically full internal powers, the Government of India should investigate each case and decide whether to grant the internal powers required in order to make the State qualified for admission to the Chamber.

I may add that in my opinion the necessary enhancement of powers should be granted in every case where no sufficient reason exists to the contrary, since it is of the highest importance that the question of admission to the Chamber should be dealt with on broad and generous lines, the deciding factor being the status of the particular State and not the personal qualifications of the Ruler for the time being.

I know that on the occasion of the last Conference some of Your Highnesses, who claim feudatory rights over other Rulers, were apprehensive lest those rights might ultimately be affected by the inclusion of lesser States within the group formed by the dividing line. You added, on this account, a proviso to your Resolution to the effect that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member should

not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State which can legitimately claim suzerainty over such State. I am entirely in accord with Your Highnesses as to the importance of maintaining the *status quo* in the matter of feudatory relations, and I think I may safely say that your proviso will be accepted by the Government of India. On the other hand, I am of opinion, and in this I think you will agree with me, that at the present stage and pending the final adjudication of particular claims to feudatory rights no state whose qualifications for membership of the Chamber has to be scrutinised should be prejudiced as regards eligibility by the mere existence of an unestablished claim to feudatory rights which might, if admitted, limit the exercise by the Ruler of full or practically full internal powers and so disqualify him for membership.

In this connection I must also reiterate what I said in my last speech, namely, that it would not, of course, be appropriate to regard mere payments originally of a tributary nature, made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations.

Next, I must allude to another point which has a very important bearing on the question of the dividing line. Your Highnesses will remember that, in my last speech, I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation, in view of the anomalies which appeared to exist. If the principle which I now advocate is to be adopted as the basis of classification, it will be additionally desirable that this investigation should be undertaken at an early date, in order that anomalies, whether already existing or likely to ensue from the institution of the dividing line, should be corrected wherever possible. My Government are ready to give their earnest consideration to this matter and will make the necessary recommendations to the Secretary of State for submission to His Imperial Majesty in due course.

Assuming that the question of the dividing line is settled in the manner indicated above, the next problem for Your Highnesses' consideration relates to the representation in the Chamber of the interests of the lesser States whose Rulers have no salutes and do not possess full or practically full internal powers. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner very clearly explained the issue in paragraphs 19—22 of the Note which he sent in last year, though he did not suggest a plan for adoption. The Government of India are in complete accord with the view which seemed to be generally held in the Conference last year, namely, that some scheme ought to be devised whereby a reasonable and proportional representation of the lesser States may be secured in the Chamber, so as to enable them to have a voice in matters affecting their interests.

The question as to the best means for securing this result is one which needs to be fully weighed and discussed by Your Highnesses, and I will not attempt to prejudice your conclusions by offering suggestions at the present stage, although I shall be glad to help you in any way that I can to work out an effective scheme. If the scheme which I have briefly outlined above is acceptable to Your Highnesses, it would seem desirable that the Rulers of all States which are qualified for admission to the Chamber should be described as "Ruling Princes," the Rulers of the lesser States, whose interests will be represented in the Chamber, being described as "Ruling Chiefs," and I propose to adopt this nomenclature.

I may add that it is the full intention of the Government of India that changes which may be introduced in the relations between the Government of India and the Princes, as, for instance, in regard to Commissions of Enquiry, Courts of Arbitration, etc., shall be applicable, where this may seem appropriate and possible, to the lesser Rulers also.



As regards the functions of the Chamber and the Rules of Business which should regulate its procedure I would remind Your Highnesses that, although there is a strong and influential body of opinion in favour of the Chamber, yet at the time of the last Conference the Princes and Chiefs were not unanimous in their desire for the institution of a more formal assemblage than our annual meetings. The Chamber will have to justify its existence and win its spurs. I have expressed the view on more than one occasion that the Chamber must evolve gradually on lines which experience may show to be best suited to its healthy growth and that it is important to avoid unnecessary restrictions or complications at the outset.

The points which it is important to bear in mind are as follows :—

*First*, attendance and voting in the Chamber will be voluntary. Every Prince must decide for himself whether he will attend and take a share in the business, and although we may sincerely hope that abstentions will be few, and that Your Highnesses will realise, in an increasing degree, the advantages of taking part in the deliberations, yet no pressure of any sort can be exercised.

*Second*, the Chamber will be a consultative and not an executive body, Resolutions passed by the Chamber must inevitably exercise influence on the relations of Government with Darbars not participating in the deliberations of the Chamber, since such resolutions will be weighty contributions affecting the settlement of matters of common concern to the States, in which the final decision must rest with the Government of India. It will, however, be the particular concern of Government to safeguard the interest of the absent Rulers by ensuring that their views are elicited and duly weighed, and in this manner opportunity will always be afforded for Darbars concerned to place before the Government of India their recorded views on questions of importance that may come before the Chamber. It has hitherto been the practice to lay copies of such recorded views before the Conference (of course with the consent of the Darbars which have given utterance to them) and special provision should certainly be made for the continuance of this practice when the Chamber is constituted. Rulers who do not attend the meetings will thus be assured that their views receive full consideration from their brother Princes as well as from the Government of India.

*Third*, the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State will not be prejudiced by the institution of the Chamber, since each individual State, whether represented in the Chamber or not, will maintain its right of direct communication with Government as heretofore. It will be necessary in this connection to provide specifically that the Chamber shall not discuss the internal affairs of any particular State or the actions of any individual Ruler.

With these observations I invite Your Highnesses to undertake the task of formulating your proposals for the institution of the Chamber.

In clause (b) of the Resolution passed by Your Highnesses on Agendum I (3) of the last Conference, the recommendation was made that the term "Narendra Mandal" (Chamber of Princes) should be adopted as the designation of the proposed body. It is possible that Your Highnesses may wish

to make some alteration in this designation, if it is eventually decided that Chiefs as well as Princes are to be included in the Chamber. If, however, Your Highnesses adhere to the recommendation, and if I find that it meets with the concurrence of the Musulman Princes, the Government of India will readily agree to it.

The next question on the Agenda is the codification of political practice. Your Highnesses will remember that at the informal discussion held in February 1918 some of the Rulers complained, without specifying particular instances, that the Government of India had on occasions infringed Treaties and Engagements. As you are aware, the Darbars were invited to bring to notice any cases in which they considered that there had been a failure on the part of the British Government to fulfil Treaties and Engagements. In response 18 States, including several of the more important, intimated that they had no complaint to make. Of the complaints which have been made a number are appeals against the decisions of Government in cases affecting the interests of particular States. Where there appears to be a justification for re-opening such disputes, recourse might suitably be had to the Commissions of Enquiry proposed in paragraph 308 of the Report on the Reforms Scheme. Many Darbars, however, contended that the political practice and usage of the past had encroached on the dignity and rights of Darbars, and was in conflict with the spirit of treaty relations. Copies of a list of 23 matters, regarding which this allegation has been made will be distributed for Your Highnesses' information. The examination of some of the points summarised in the list was taken in hand last September by the Committee which Your Highnesses appointed. The conclusions which were then arrived at will be reported to you by the Committee.

There is no doubt that with the growth of new conditions and the unification of India under the British Power political doctrine has constantly developed. In the case of extra-territorial jurisdiction, railway and telegraph construction, limitation of armaments, coinage currency and opium policy, and the administration of cantonments—to give some of the more salient instances—the relations between many States and the Imperial Government have been changed. The change, however, has come about in the interests of India as a whole, and I need hardly say that there has been no deliberate wish to curtail the powers of Princes and Chiefs. We cannot deny, however, that the treaty position has been affected, and that a body of usage, in some cases arbitrary, but always benevolent, has insensibly come into being. Some of Your Highnesses have therefore asked that the Darbars should for the future have a voice in the formulation of political practice. The Government of India entirely concur in the justice of this claim, and with the approval of His Majesty's Government have decided to accede to your request, in regard to that portion of our political doctrine which can be expressed in the form of general principles, in so far as it is based on considerations other than treaty rights. From the point of view of Government also it cannot but be of the greatest advantage that decisions as to political practice which may have a bearing on the States' prerogatives should be taken after formal and collective discussion with Rulers. We have come to this conclusion with the reservation that the Paramount Power retains the right of ultimate decision with regard to the principles to be adopted and with regard to the extent of their application. We cannot anticipate that we shall always be in absolute agreement, but we believe that, generally speaking, opposition has been in many cases directed rather at the form in which doctrines are set forth than at their substance, and we feel that you will in future view them in a new light when

the reasons on which they are based and the economic inter-dependence of British India and the States are frankly explained to you. The Committee which sat in September has had the advice and assistance of the Hon. Sir George Lowndes and various officers from the Secretariat and Administrative Departments of the Government of India to explain questions concerning telegraphs, telephones, currency and mining concessions which had afforded occasion for the development of new principles.

Lastly, with regard to the procedure to be followed in examining the question of codification of political practice, I understand that there has been a difference of opinion, some members of the Committee inclining to the deductive, others to the inductive, method—that is to say, the question is whether we should scrutinise and test our practice and procedure in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of the Treaties and Engagements, in the hope of thus defining the true position of the States *vis-à-vis* the Government of India, or whether we should endeavour to derive principles from the body of case law which has grown up. The latter method was provisionally adopted by the Committee which met in September, but it was adopted on the understanding that it should not prejudice resort to the deductive method at a later stage, if this seemed to be required.

It is a pleasure to me to be able to inform Your Highnesses of the intention of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government to adopt your proposals for the appointment of a Standing Committee. In this matter, as in the case of the Permanent Chamber, a more formal pronouncement will be made at a later date. In clause (b) of the Resolution passed on the subject by the last Conference Your Highnesses made proposals in regard to the constitution of the Standing Committee. These proposals may perhaps be the subject of further discussion during the present meeting, so that I will say nothing in regard to them at present. In clause (c) of the Resolution Your Highnesses recommended that the Committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally or of common interest to India as a whole, either of their own accord or at the direction of the Chamber of Princes, for the consideration of the Viceroy. You also recommended in clause (d) that the Agenda for the Chamber should be decided in consultation with the Committee.

The Government of India accept these recommendations, but I desire to make it clearly understood that the Committee's initiative is restricted absolutely to matters of common concern to the States in general. We should, I think, bear in mind that the real function of the Standing Committee is to continue the work of the Permanent Committee engaged on the codification of political practice. Provision for the interests of individual States and Rulers is made for them in the Commissions of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration to which I will allude at a later stage. In this connection I would, however, add that these remarks are not applicable to the suggestions made by some of the Central India Darbars for the constitution of local committees for the settlement of local disputes. The matter is not now before the Conference for consideration, but I take this opportunity of informing the Darbars concerned that the suggestion has not been lost sight of.

In the matter of Commissions of Enquiry I will remind Your Highnesses that the original draft proposal framed at the informal discussion at Delhi in 1918 provided for the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry in regard to two descriptions of cases. The first related to the settlement of disputes between the Government of India, or any local Government, and a State, or between one State and another, or to the decision of cases in which a State is

dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or their local representative. The second contemplated the tender of advice to the Government of India when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of an important State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring a member of his family from succession. The Government of India, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, have decided to differentiate the appellations of the Commissions convened for these two purposes in accordance with the Resolution passed on the subject at the last Conference. The term "Court of Arbitration" will be given to Commissions of the first kind and the term "Commission of Enquiry" to those of the second kind.

The Government of India are unable to accept the recommendation made in the first part of the Resolution passed by the last Conference on the subject of the Court of Arbitration, namely, that His Excellency the Viceroy before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry, should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point, and that, when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained. The Government of India regard it as of the greatest importance that, as proposed in paragraph 307 of the Reforms Report, the Standing Committee should refrain from considering or offering advice in regard to questions affecting any individual State or Ruler unless on the invitation of the Viceroy, who would only refer to the Committee with the concurrence of the Darbar concerned and if he considered that such a reference would be helpful. Similarly, the Government of India are unable to agree to the stipulation that when the request for a Court of Arbitration comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained by the Viceroy, since although it would be in the highest degree unlikely that His Excellency would reject such a request, it is nevertheless desirable that he should retain discretion to do so.

The Government of India accept both the suggestions made in the Resolution passed by the last Conference on Agendum I (6), namely:—

- (a) that it should be made clear that the party concerned, on the names of the proposed Commissioners being intimated to him, will have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners, this right to be exercised only once; and
- (b) that the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the Ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a Commission of Enquiry.

When circumstances arise in an important State such as would be dealt with by a Commission of Enquiry, a Commission of Enquiry will invariably be appointed, unless the Ruler of the State concerned prefers that the Government of India should come to a decision without the appointment of a Commission. It must be understood, of course, that the right of challenge will apply to each original nominee but not to the person substituted for each nominee challenged.

The question of the establishment of more direct relations between the States and the Government of India has not been lost sight of. I described, in my address to Your Highnesses in January, the general views of the Government of India on the question, the advantages and disadvantages of introducing changes of the kind proposed and the difficulties in the path. These points were communicated at length to the Secretary of State, who has signified the general concurrence of His Majesty's Government in our views, and His Majesty's Government, equally with the Government of India, are anxious that early progress should be made with the scheme. Very great difficulties and

complexities are, however, involved in its introduction, and I cannot do more than ask Your Highnesses to accept my assurance that time is not being lost in inaction. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab proposes to discuss the subject with the Punjab Rulers concerned during the ensuing cold weather, and I have arranged with the Bombay Government that a special investigation shall be commenced at an early date in that Presidency as a preliminary to further consideration of the scheme as affecting the Bombay States.

The question of straightening the channel of communication with States which are in direct political relations with the Central Government, such as those in Rajputana and Central India, is also being carefully considered.

As regards the question of vital statistics, which has been placed on the Agenda, I propose to say a few words to Your Highnesses later on.

As regards item (iv) of the Agenda, the question of the desirability of co-operation in matters of public health, I feel that no useful purpose would be served by adding anything to the memorandum which has been placed before Your Highnesses.

It is unnecessary for me to make any remarks regarding item (v) of the Agenda.

It is satisfactory that Your Highnesses are considering the question of the future organisation of the Imperial Service Troops. The Government of India regard the matter as being of the highest importance, and I am sure that Your Highnesses will concur in this. I trust that your deliberations with the military authorities will be productive of good results.

I commend to Your Highnesses' earnest consideration the desirability of adopting measures for the encouragement of horse-breeding in your States. The matter is one of Imperial concern, and I hope that the Government of India may rely upon the co-operation of those Darbars whose territories are suitable for the breeding of horses. You may count on the expert advice of General Templer, the Director-General of the Army Remount Department, who has the matter much at heart.

Connected with this subject is the adoption of preventive measures against the spread of *surra* in Indian States. I hope that your deliberations with Colonel Farmer will be productive of a joint system to combat the disease.

I trust that your discussions with Dr. Hayden, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, may have convinced Your Highnesses that it is equally in the interests of your States and of India as a whole that grants of mineral concessions in your States should not be made without careful scrutiny. The question was discussed at length by the Committee appointed by Your Highnesses, which sat last September at Simla, and you will no doubt give your careful attention to the recommendations made by them.

Your Highnesses will remember that in the Session of 1917 certain resolutions were adopted regarding statistics, especially in regard to the production and distribution of food and raw materials. Events have taught us the great importance of accurate statistics in assisting administration and in the solution of those economic problems which now confront the world. The result of the resolutions to which I have just referred has been very satisfactory, and the co-operation of the States has brought the agricultural statistics of India into a new plane. Last year a class of instruction was for the first time held in Calcutta and was attended by representatives from Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore and other States. It proved so successful that it will be held agai

this year, and I understand that officials from 21 States including Hyderabad. Baroda, Mysore, Gwalior and Bundi have been nominated to attend the instructional class to be held this month. Since the Conference His Exalted Highness the Nizam has appointed a Director of Statistics for Hyderabad.

I fear I have detained Your Highnesses for a long time, and you may think I have gone into unnecessary detail. But I have spoken at length deliberately, thinking it desirable that you should have before you a comprehensive survey of the situation as it now stands.

Looking back on the progress made since the inception of the Conference scheme, I think we may congratulate ourselves on what has been achieved. We must not be impatient if at times our progress may seem slow. Remember the old saying that "that to which time has not been a party, time will not ratify." Progress is not to be judged only by the quantity of the resolutions passed and the decisions taken, or even by their quality. We must look deeper and higher than this. We are engaged in the designing and erection of an edifice intended to endure for many years. The success of a building, whether the test be its durability, its convenience or its beauty, depends not only on the solidity of its foundation, the quality of the material used and the skill of the workmen employed, but on the spirit which inspires the architects who make the plans. In our building enterprise are we, the architects, inspired by a spirit which will guide us to success? The answer, in my opinion, is emphatically "yes." It is "yes," because we have begun in the spirit of candour, loyalty, liberality and good-will. I am sure that if this spirit guides us till our task is done, when we reach the end we shall be able to say "we have done well."

It only remains for me to convey to you, at the express desire of His Majesty's Secretary of State, his cordial wishes for the success of the Conference.

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## SPEECH BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

I rise to offer thanks, on behalf of my brother Princes and myself, for the sincere warmth of Your Excellency's welcome to us, as also for the announcements contained in your address to which we have just listened.

With these matters and possibly others we shall take the opportunity to deal later; for the present we merely wish to say how greatly we appreciate the progress which is being made, under Your Excellency's able guidance, towards the end that is in view.

Periods of change have been always marked by diffidence on the part of the interests concerned. The conservatism which is bred of long-existing institutions naturally occasions doubts and misgivings, but we may feel sure that as long as change is inspired by fairness and justice as well as by the recognition of a common purpose, as is the case between the British Government and the States of India, none other than the most happy results may be expected to follow upon the breaking away from accustomed moorings.

Change is essential to progress, and progress towards our ideal, which is the solidarity of the British Empire, is our professed and credited aim. None of us, therefore, need fight shy of the mere idea of change from crystallised practice

to a more elastic system—a system especially which is intended to be in consonance with the principles that result from solemnly guaranteed rights.

In conclusion I would merely say that if the mutual trust and sympathy which have characterised our recent proceedings, with which have been happily associated some of the most distinguished and courteous officers of the Government of India, continue to be the pervading atmosphere of our future intercourse—social and official—as we all confidently believe that they will—the united interest, represented by the British Government on the one hand and the Indian States as a body on the other, has nothing to fear from the uncertainties of the future or the natural vicissitudes of time.

God willing, these two forces shall march, hand in hand, on the road to that moral purpose which is the ambition of our magnificent empire to achieve, and in the realisation of which ambition it is the proud privilege of India to participate.

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### RESOLUTION MOVED BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR ON THE VICTORIOUS CONCLUSION OF PEACE.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

It is my privilege to move, on behalf of my brother Princes present here to-day, the following resolution :—

*“ That the Ruling Princes of India, assembled in this Conference, request His Excellency the Viceroy to be so kind as to convey to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor their loyal and heartfelt congratulations on the conclusion of a victorious peace and assurances of their abiding devotion and deep attachment to His August Person and Throne no less than of their unflinching determination to render His Imperial Majesty and his Empire hearty service whenever occasion demand it.”*

Your Excellency,—Last January on the conclusion of the armistice, my friend, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, moved a somewhat similar resolution, which was unanimously carried by this Conference, in the course of which, amongst other sentiments expressed, a well-merited tribute was also paid to the naval, military and air forces of His Imperial Majesty, our King-Emperor, and his Allies. The fears of the world as regards the possible revival of hostilities were not finally set at rest, however, until the treaty of Versailles, some five months later.

This treaty, as all the world knows, marked the conclusion of the victorious peace with Germany and the final overthrow of that Power and her Allies, thus defeating their nefarious designs for the subjugation of the world—designs for which the godless materialism and the inordinate ambitions of Prussian militarism were entirely responsible.

I venture to hope that the present will not be considered an unsuitable occasion on which, while re-affirming the terms of the resolution adopted nine months ago, to record, by special words of appreciation, our gratefulness to the magnificent Indian Army for the great part that we are all proud to feel it played in every theatre of the war during the recent Titanic struggle, and nowhere with more distinction than in Palestine. I think it is admitted on all hands that the Indian Army's achievements in that region very considerably hastened the collapse of our recent enemies and brought about the end of a struggle of which the world had grown thoroughly sick.

I also trust that it will not be out of place for us, on this occasion, to join in a tribute of admiration to Your Excellency's illustrious predecessor, Lord Hardinge, for his sagacity in despatching to France, at a time when their help was of the greatest value, a force which performed India's part in upholding the cause of liberty. I may even say that the participation of this force in the death-struggle that was going on enabled India to discharge her debt to civilisation and her obligations to public faith and honour, and was thus largely responsible for securing to her her proper place in the Empire.

May I also, on behalf of my brother Princes, take this opportunity of expressing to Your Excellency and to the Government of India our admiration and gratitude for your share—and no small one—in the vigorous prosecution of the war. It seems hardly necessary to look back to the situation of April 1918, but the recollection of the wisdom and promptitude with which a grave crisis was dealt with must remain an abiding memory with us in India. In view specially of the share which the troops of the various Princes and States had the honour of taking in fighting the battles of the Empire, we should also like to take this opportunity of expressing our indebtedness to His Excellency Sir Charles Munro, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and to the military authorities, including those under whom our troops served in the field. Our thanks are likewise due to the Political Department of the Government of India and His Imperial Majesty's Public Services, specially the Medical, Railway, Posts and Telegraph Departments, no less than to the Inspector General of the Imperial Service Troops and the various Special Service officers who served with our contingents.

Throughout the long period of anxiety inevitably associated with a world-wide war the Princes of India found the highest inspiration from the example set by Their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, in the matter of devotion to duty and love of their peoples. It was undeniably the effect of their ennobling example that their subjects of all creeds and nationalities were filled with the highest aspirations and animated by the noblest ideals throughout the war, and, I may say, all over the world.

I trust that it will not be considered inappropriate, if I dwell for a moment on the Imperial aspect of the Indian States' problem and on the future relations between the British Government and these States.

When we come to analyse the causes which led the Princes to rally round the British flag and which influenced them to give a good account of themselves, it becomes obvious that the principal cause was the existence of a supreme head in His Imperial Majesty, our King-Emperor, to whom we are attached by the tie of close personal loyalty. I maintain that the presence of the King-Emperor is the greatest binding force in the British Empire. Inasmuch as the Empire is the King's Empire, we Princes for our part recognise that there is complete identity of interests between ourselves and His Imperial Majesty's Government. We have also no doubt that there is a similar appreciation of that vital fact on the part of His Imperial Majesty's high officers. From this mutual recognition, therefore, we confidently hope will follow results of the highest moment not only to ourselves, but also to the Empire at large. It remains only to hope that these results, which in the long view will appear to be essentially for the good of the human race, will also be accompanied by relations of the utmost cordiality, esteem and appreciation as between the States and His Imperial Majesty's high officers.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Your Excellency,—I beg to second the resolution moved by my old and valued friend, the Maharaja Scindia.



of Gwalior. I heartily associate myself with what His Highness has said, and am happy to join him in the tribute which he has paid to our splendid Indian Army, to Lord Hardinge, to Your Excellency and the Government of India, to His Excellency General Sir Charles Munro and the other Commanders-in-Chief in the various theatres of war : also, in view of the part which our own troops have been privileged to take in the war, to the officers, services and departments of the Imperial Government, not forgetting our friends of the Political Department and the British Officers associated with our troops.

At the victorious termination of the world-war, which so completely absorbed our attention and energies during the five dreary years of its duration it is but natural that our thoughts should turn to the future, to the period of regeneration that has already begun and of reconstruction that lies before us. It is true we have the problems of our individual States and of our own peoples to attend to. Important though they are, the ordeal of the great war from which we have emerged, and the comradeship which it occasioned, have necessarily left their mark upon our perspective. Consequently the things which a few years ago loomed large on our horizon have now, as a matter of course, to suffer diminution in stature—we cannot but regard them now as somewhat parochial affairs.

The close association in danger, the participation in adversity, as also the sharing of the ultimate triumph have united us—the Imperial Government and the Indian States—more closely than ever, and have led to a better realization of our respective difficulties and anxieties, our hopes and aspirations, our standpoints and ideals. They have brought home to us, better than anything else ever could, the very real identity of interests which exists between the British Government and the Indian Princes—a fact which, I venture to assert, can never be over-emphasized. Unless I am greatly mistaken, it is considerations such as these that have led His Highness the Maharaja Scindia to touch upon the Imperial aspect of our relations. Doubtless to them are also attributable some of the remarks which have to-day fallen from Your Excellency's lips, as also the welcome and highly gratifying announcements which you, Sir, have just made of the decision of His Imperial Majesty's Government in regard to matters of the highest import to us. Some old-time arrangements, having served their purpose well for many years, naturally stood in need of adjustment and reform, and therefore the decisions announced must be productive of the highest good.

The end of the war leaves with the Princes the gratifying feeling of a solemn duty loyally and conscientiously performed—and performed also to the utmost of their capability and resources : with the Imperial Government it leaves the will and determination to allow nothing to remain undone which is calculated further to strengthen the bonds that already unite us.

And so we are, surely, entitled to look at the future with high hopes and to assume it to be full of bright augury. As for the relative position of the British Government and the Princes, the paramountcy of the former is beyond dispute and the relation of the latter as Allies and Friends is as freely admitted as it is clearly defined. Guided as we are, in Your Excellency's eloquent words by candour, loyalty, liberality and goodwill, there is no need between us for that evil thing—secret diplomacy. We have stood together in the past and weathered many a storm. We devoutly hope that an era of peace and prosperity lies in front of us for many a year to come. But should fortune be fickle ; should we have to face once again external aggression or internal trouble ; should we have to fight the Bolshevik menace or to repel the invasion of a foolish or arrogant foe ; the British Government and the Ruling Princes will assuredly

continue to stand together, shoulder to shoulder, united in their loyalty and devotion to their Gracious King-Emperor. Whatever betide and come what may, the union shall abide and stand every strain.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala** :—Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Princes and Chiefs of the Punjab I heartily support the resolution.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think it is hardly necessary to put this resolution to the vote and I therefore propose to take it as carried.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I propose that we testify to this by standing up.

*(The resolution was adopted, the Assembly standing.)*

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### Vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

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**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar** :—Your Excellency,—I have much pleasure in moving the following resolution :—

*"That this Conference records a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and tenders him warm congratulations on the eminent services rendered by His Highness at the Peace Conference."*

Not many words are needed to commend this proposition to the cordial acceptance of this Conference, and it is with a light heart that I am discharging the pleasant duty, which we Princes assembled here owe to our distinguished brother, who combines in himself brilliant accomplishments of a varied kind, any single one of which would raise its fortunate possessor to an eminence far beyond the average line. In greeting the Maharaja of Bikaner, we are gratefully recognising his strenuous work, always readily and willingly undertaken for the welfare and advancement of our Order, his sagacious statesmanship, which is invariably enlisted on the side of the progressive advance of India and the Indian States, his burning patriotism and his loyalty and devotion to the Crown. If nature is prodigal in endowing him with the best of her gifts she has enriched and raised the prestige of our "Order" and has enabled one of us to play a prominent part in the great events that have just closed a unique chapter in the world's history, and for this we are justly proud.

Your Excellency,—You related to us two years ago what Sir Robert Borden said in the Canadian House of Commons regarding His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. He was referred to as a man of splendid loyalty and devotion, who governed his country along progressive lines and who had contributed in every possible way to the winning of the war.

Your Highnesses,—This was said in 1917, and it admirably epitomizes the character and the rôle of His Highness, and was almost a prophetic utterance, when we remember that not two years had elapsed before His Highness joined Sir Robert Borden in signing the Peace which won the war and closed the reign of military terror which Germany had established over Europe since Bismark inflicted dishonourable terms on prostrate France at Versailles.

Your Excellency,—If your viceroyalty has synchronised with dark years of national danger and difficulties, it has also witnessed an acme of noble effort unparalleled in history, in which India bore an honourable part, crowned at last with a glorious victory. Further, it has ushered in for India, not only a magnificent future, but a present recognition of her position in the Cabinet

of the Empire, the doors of which were barred until 1917. It was Your Lordship who selected His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, as a representative Indian Prince, to attend the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, along with two representatives from British India. It was not only an honour, much appreciated by us, but a recognition of our "partnership" in the Empire, which, until then, was an academic phrase valued in theory but passed over in practice. The mantle that His Highness then wore with characteristic success and dignity fell, at Your Excellency's choice, on worthy shoulders in 1918, and my esteemed friend His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala nobly carried on the traditions established by his distinguished predecessor of the previous year. We are again grateful to Your Excellency for selecting His Highness of Bikaner to represent us at a table where sat the great statesmen of the world charged with a mission, the extent and magnitude of which included the disposal of nations and the safeguarding of humanity and its civilization for the future. It was no small honour to us that His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint His Highness as a Plenipotentiary, Commissioner and Procurator in respect of the Indian Empire, along with Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha, under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, authorising His Highness to negotiate and conclude any treaties, conventions or agreements which might ensue as a result of the deliberations and discussions of the Peace Conference.

Regarding His Highness' work, it would be a presumption on my part to review the great services His Highness has rendered to India and the Empire. It was with a thrill of pride that we learnt that His Highness alone conducted important negotiations regarding India's inclusion in the League of Nations at Paris, during the unavoidable absence in England of Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha. This single instance is sufficient to show the implicit confidence that His Highness inspired in the minds of his colleagues as also of the other members of the British Empire Delegation, by reason of his commanding abilities and far-sighted and reliable statesmanship.

Devotion to the Empire has for His Highness an interpretation, which is all absorbing and embracing and knows no distinction of caste, country or religion. Loyal alike to the cause of his Order, and to that of British India, he advocated progressive reforms for India. Fearless of criticism, His Highness further interpreted the Muhammadan sentiment strenuously and ably at the Paris Conference, for which he was gratefully thanked by the Muhammadan community of Bombay on his return. As rumour has it—and my information is that it is a reliable rumour—His Highness' presentation of the Muhammadan case at the Peace Conference was far abler and exhibited greater sagacity and acumen than that submitted by the very representatives of the Turkish Government itself. The Prime Minister's valedictory letter to His Highness contains a generous appreciation, a part of which I will here quote, with Your Excellency's permission :—

" You have devoted yourself to the interests of the Indian Empire and return with the satisfactory knowledge that you have played a part much appreciated by your colleagues ".

Mr. Montagu has similarly eulogized His Highness' " great public services ". Your Excellency has also shown your great appreciation of His Highness' work in a letter which is recent, and, although we all may possibly remember it well, I would like to quote a short extract from it :—

" I feel, however, that I should like to write you a line to congratulate you very heartily on the great part which you have played since

you accepted the Prime Minister's invitation last year to assist in the peace deliberations as the representative of the Princes and Chiefs of India. I know with what remarkable ability and political sagacity Your Highness has performed your task, and India owes to you and to your colleagues a debt of gratitude for having so worthily represented her in the greatest gathering of statesmen that the world has ever seen."

I should like to take this public opportunity of congratulating Your Excellency, if I may respectfully do so, on Your Excellency's selection of India's delegates to the War Conference and the Peace Conference, which in every case is more than justified by the exceptional merits and splendid work of each of the delegates selected. India has no more valuable servant and friend than the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, and Lord Sinha's elevation to the peerage is a testimony of the exceptionally high regard in which he is held by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and the British Cabinet.

Your Highness (*addressing the Maharaja of Bikaner*).—It must be a matter of deep gratification to you, that you have upheld, immeasurably advanced and signalled the noble traditions of your glorious House and of the most distinguished of your ancestors who were trusted counsellors of the Mughal Emperors by an equal display of splendid devotion, gallant services in the field, and sagacious and valuable advice in the Council Chamber of the Empire.

Your Excellency,—Without trespassing further upon your valuable time, I submit the resolution for the hearty acceptance of this Conference.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**Your Excellency,—I warmly second the resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Jam Sahib. It is but fitting that this Conference should record its grateful approval of the patriotic services of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, especially because it owes a debt of gratitude to the enthusiasm and industry of His Highness which cannot be sufficiently acknowledged. The continued usefulness and success of this Assembly are due in a marked measure to the wonderful devotion which His Highness brings to the service of his Order : as our General Secretary, his unsparing labours and political sagacity are always at the disposal of his brother Princes. Human nature is so constituted and framed that one's own particular interests obtain unconscious predominance over joint and common affairs, but in His Highness' case, his State work is subordinated to a desire to do the best, first for his Order, with an unselfish earnestness highly honourable to His Highness the Maharaja.

Your Excellency,—We are on the threshold of vast changes ; the wheels of the chariot of progress are covering ground at a rapid pace : and India's acknowledged position in the sisterhood of nations, grouped within the British Empire, has introduced an element of closer homogeneity among its constituent parts, so that the Indian States and the British Empire are being drawn together in a bond of sympathy aided by better mutual understanding, co-operation and respect. The annual session of these Conferences, so happily inaugurated by Your Excellency's distinguished predecessor Lord Hardinge, and continued during Your Excellency's sympathetic regime, constitute a landmark in our relations with the Crown ; and Your Excellency has further strengthened those relations by sending a representative Prince to Imperial Cabinets and Conferences both of War and of Peace, which is not only a graceful compliment to our position, but a recognition of our identity and partnership with the other members of the great British Empire.

Our grateful acknowledgments are therefore first due to Your Excellency for deputing His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to represent our Order at the Peace Conference. Our congratulations and thanks are next due to His Highness for fulfilling the high mission to the satisfaction of his colleagues, Your Excellency and the Prime Minister. As His Highness the Jam Sahib has observed, it would be an idle labour to describe His Highness' splendid work in Europe. We all know very well how patriotically His Highness served India and upheld the prestige of our Order at the Council table of the world, and our admiration goes out to him in an unbounded measure for his noble achievements and his great success, in which we all feel a personal interest and for which we have every reason to be justly proud.

Your Excellency,—I beg to commend the resolution to the cordial acceptance of this Conference.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—In this case, again, I do not propose to put this resolution to vote and shall assume that it is passed *nemine contradicente*.

Your Highness (*addressing the Maharaja of Bikaner*).—I have much pleasure in informing you that this Conference records a hearty vote of thanks to you and tenders you its warm congratulations for the eminent services rendered by you at the Peace Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—Your Excellency,—May I be permitted to tender in a few words my most grateful thanks for the most kind and generous terms in which Your Excellency has been pleased to refer to me and for the equally kind and generous manner in which His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Navanagar and His Highness the Maharao Sahib of Cutch have moved and seconded this resolution. For all this, as well as for the kind and friendly reception which the other Princes present here have been pleased to give to the resolution, I can only repeat that I am deeply grateful, and I need hardly add that I feel highly honoured.

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### Agendum III.

*"To consider the best means of securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics". . .*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—We come now to item No. III on the agenda.

It may assist Your Highnesses just to say one or two words about this very important subject. The question of vital statistics has been placed on the agenda because the Government of India have for some time felt that a serious defect in their published vital statistics has been occasioned by ignoring the health conditions prevailing in the Indian States, which comprise one-third of the whole area of India and contain one-fifth of its population. The health of the Indian States is of more than local concern. If the health organisation of British India develops as it is expected to, a knowledge of the causes of sickness and mortality in the Indian States will become of ever increasing importance. For this knowledge statistics of births and deaths in a readily accessible form are required. Without them we have no standard by which we can gauge the effect of such health measures as are likely to be introduced in the near future. Exact knowledge of the incidence of any communicable disease is an essential preliminary to the framing of measures designed to diminish it. Again, if the Government of India are unable to publish statistics relating to the Indian States, it is inevitable that colour should be given to the

possible assumption that they are backward in matters of vital concern. I am confident that Your Highnesses will realise the importance of this matter, and will give it your earnest consideration. Should you accede to the wishes of the Government of India, you will, it is hoped, also be willing to permit the statements which your Darbars supply to be published as they stand, or summarised in the annual report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India. In case any of your Highnesses may desire further information as to the need of accurate and complete statistics, I have arranged for the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India to attend personally to meet any representatives whom Your Highnesses may desire to appoint.

I now commend this item on the agenda to Your Highnesses' earnest attention.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**Your Excellency,—The question of the desirability of taking measures for securing uniformity in recording vital statistics to which the Government of India desire to draw the attention of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs is in my opinion worthy of being accepted, but it is worth noting that every State has its particular conditions and organization which are not identical in many cases with the British Indian system. Consequently it may be difficult, owing to the complexity of conditions, to find a simple method of attaining our object, but as for my State I can say that every effort will be made to supply the statistics as circumstances permit.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor\* :—**It is desirable that there should be uniformity in recording vital statistics and the measures proposed if approved of by the majority of States might, in my opinion, be followed to meet the wishes of the Government.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Your Excellency,—Speaking for myself, even without the serious defects to which Your Excellency has just prominently invited our attention, I can assure you, so far as my State is concerned, of our fullest co-operation in this matter. At present the difficulties in some of the progressive States are rather peculiar, and in most of them the system requires to be organised. We have in Bikaner vital statistics with regard only to towns which are at present the headquarters of our districts. In British India there is, I understand, a *chowkidar* or watchman in each village whose duty it is to report births and deaths to the nearest police thana, and his pay is met out of a local cess called the *chowkidari* tax. But in several of our States it will be difficult to arrange this because the distances from village to village and from a village to the nearest police thana are very great. But I am confident that all the States will sooner or later come into line, and I beg to commend to the consideration of my brother Princes that as far as possible every State should do its best to co-operate in this matter.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Your Excellency,—I do not think there can be any question as regards the importance of compiling vital statistics, or for that matter as regards compiling them on an uniform plan for the whole of India. Speaking particularly for Gwalior, I may say that the greatest insistence has been laid, during the last several years, not only upon the collection of these statistics but also upon securing correctness in recording them.

The rules relating to their collection which govern the municipalities are witness to this fact, as also the provisions of the Police Manual and the observations contained in the annual reviews of the State's administration. But

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\* Read out by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

taking a practical view of the question in a general form, there are two points which occur to me. One is what agencies exist or can exist (viewing the matter in its financial aspect) in the States for purposes of their record, and the other is to what extent these agencies are calculated to ensure correctness. I am therefore of the opinion that a Committee should be appointed to go into these aspects of the question.

I venture to think that last year the examination of the question relating to the compilation of agricultural statistics and crop forecasts brought the fact to light that these statistics where compiled were often most inaccurate owing to inherent defects in the system of their compilation. I venture to affirm that no statistics are of any value unless they be reasonably accurate. The forms recommended are apparently very elaborate. The question of their introduction throughout the States should, therefore, be examined from the point of view of how far there exist any adequate and efficient agencies for their compilation and to what extent these agencies ensure correct entries. In respect of these questions the one important consideration is that the responsibility of recording births and deaths should not be laid upon already hard-worked functionaries, whose legitimate duties are too engrossing and too important to admit of any advantage being gained by the distraction of their attention.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**My Lord,—Uniformity in the recording of statistics is, as in some other matters, in a way a desirable thing. It is quite easy, however, more so perhaps than is generally realized, to have too much of it.

Internal conditions of no two States or communities are the same or even similar. Statistics comparatively speaking important to one may not be equally so to another. For instance, the hilly States by reason of their climate and by reason of their being sparsely populated would seem to have not so much use for the statistics under discussion as the unfortunate homes of malaria and other too thickly populated localities. It is clearly for each State or Administration to consider with reference to its own peculiar circumstances and decide upon which class of statistics attention is to be concentrated and in what way and to what extent they are to be collected.

To suggest therefore that different States with diverse circumstances peculiar to them and with various stages of development should all be made to concentrate their attention on collecting statistics *in one particular way* is to propose to pay too high a price even for the sake of uniformity.

But this is by no means the worst. My own personal experience has shown that not unoften out of this simple routine work political obligations inconvenient and irritating in character arise, and the supplying of merely statistical figures is robbed with the dignity and seriousness of an Imperial duty the discharge of which is insisted upon with more persistence than courtesy by the agents of the British Indian Administration, which was originally intended merely to be the tabulator and custodian of the said figures.

If, however, the uniformity in the recording of the statistics of not only British India but Indian India, be considered indispensable to the well-being of the country as a whole, then let it be attained by degrees and not all at once, by making it purely voluntary, and not compulsory, if not in words, at least in effect. Let the various Administrations be convinced by ocular proof of the benefits to be gained by uniformity and before long they would be anxious to conform to it. Let them see its usefulness or otherwise for themselves, and

they must be made to feel that they are perfectly free to supply or refrain from supplying the statistical figures or returns. Moreover, too much information should not be asked for, nor too often.

A beginning should be made by the British Indian Statistical Department getting into touch with similar Indian States officers without the intervention or medium of the political authorities of either Administration. The next step would be the training of a statistical staff, and it is satisfactory to note that it has been taken in connection with the agricultural statistics, as is evident from a memorandum recently issued by the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India.

From that memorandum it appears that steps were taken to translate the various agricultural statistical forms into almost every Indian dialect except Punjabi, the language of the Province to which I have the honour to belong, in spite of the fact that it is one of the most agricultural provinces of India, if not the most. This commission was probably due to an oversight and will, I hope, soon be rectified, and will not be allowed to occur in the statistical forms now under discussion.

The Government of India last year arranged for deputation of officers from various Indian States for training in the Department of Statistics. But it is doubtful if information in this connection was sent to *all* the States. As it is now proposed to hold a class again this month in Calcutta, I would suggest that the Government may let all the States know of it and afford a chance of profiting thereby and of promoting incidentally the object now under discussion.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau** :—Your Excellency,—I suppose item No. 1 on the Agenda has been sufficiently discussed, but in view of the trend of opinions expressed, I propose the following resolution :—

“That this Conference is in sympathy with the principle of securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics in the Indian States but, in view of the varying conditions existing in the States, is of the opinion that the whole question is one which might more suitably be referred to each State for consideration in conformity with local conditions and circumstances.”

And, further, I propose that if it is desirable a Committee may be appointed to consider this question with the Sanitary Commissioner.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I beg to second the proposition.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The last portion has already been proposed by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner** :—I second it.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I think the course which Their Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and the Raja of Sitamau suggest, namely, that this matter should be referred to a Committee to thresh this question out with the Sanitary Commissioner is the most convenient method of dealing with this rather difficult subject. I quite sympathise with His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha's position, when he says that there is a great dissimilarity of conditions among the States and that it is idle to think that uniformity can be secured under such very dissimilar conditions. But I would point out that the item on the agenda which Your Highnesses are considering is not such that a uniform procedure should be imposed on the States, but merely to consider the best means for securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics, and I feel perfectly confident that when Your Highnesses have appointed a Committee and that Committee has discussed the matter with the Sanitary



Commissioner, that Committee will bring out very forcibly the difference between the various States, the difference in their conditions and the difference in the necessity of such procedure, and the Sanitary Commissioner will be in a position to make suggestions as to how those differences and difficulties may be got over. I think that Your Highnesses may now perhaps pass on to vote on the resolution which has been moved by His Highnesses the Maharaja of Gwalior and His Highnesses the Raja of Sitamau.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—The motion is—

*“ That a Committee be appointed to investigate along with the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India the best means of securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics ”.*

*(The motion was then put to the vote and declared to be carried.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—(Addressing the Maharaja of Gwalior) :—Now perhaps Your Highness will name the Committee.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior** :—I propose, with Your Excellency's permission, that the Committee should consist of the following :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I presume that those of Your Highnesses whose names have been suggested by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior are willing to serve.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—Your Excellency,—I hope I may be excused.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Your Excellency,—I hope I may also be excused.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I trust that Your Highness will decide to help us.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—Your Excellency,—I am not sure how long I shall be here and therefore I cannot say if I can render any service.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—I will not let myself be disappointed until I have heard that Your Highness has actually left Delhi. The motion is—

*“ that His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior, His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha, His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Jhalawar, and His Highness the Maharaj of Dewas (Senior Branch), should form a sub-committee along with the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.”*

*(The motion was put to the vote and carried.)*

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#### Agendum No. IV.

*To consider the desirability of co-operation in public health matters.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—We now will take up item No. IV on the agenda.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**Your Excellency, —The question of the desirability of co-operation in public health matters is indeed of great importance for the welfare of the subjects of the States as well as for British subjects and the proposal suggested by the Imperial Government for the consideration of the Conference is worthy of acceptance, but it should be given effect to as far as may be practicable on the principle of reciprocity.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Your Excellency, —Co-operation in this matter is essential, and to do any good it must be effective. The question merely is what form it should take. The Government of India's note on this subject contains four practical suggestions and I will deal with them in the order of their merit :—

- (1) As regards the interchange of information between the executive officers of neighbouring districts, this should, I think, be brought about by the States directing that there shall be printed post-cards kept ready which shall issue immediately upon the appearance of an epidemic.
- (2) As regards No. 2, reports regarding the outbreak of infectious diseases should be inserted in the gazettes published by the States, and copies of these gazettes should be supplied to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India for the duration of such a disease. In the case of States who do not publish their own gazettes, the report of an outbreak and the subsequent weekly statements should be separately forwarded.
- (3) As for No. 3, it should be laid down that the annual report of the departments of the States shall contain information on the lines indicated. As these reports are published along with the reports of other departments in one complete annual report for the whole State, copies of these annual reports should be sent to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India. The States that do not publish annual administration reports should arrange otherwise to supply the information required to the Sanitary Commissioner.

As regards the last suggestion there cannot be any objection to the Sanitary Commissioners, if there be any, or the Chief Medical Officers of States joining the annual informal conferences which are attended by the Provincial Sanitary Commissioners in British India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency, —This is essentially a proposal with which, I am sure, all the States would have full sympathy, and will be prepared to join. The details, however, could be best discussed if the question were referred to the individual States to see what measures could be devised for carrying out the intentions of the scheme. I am sure, in general, I can express my full sympathy with the proposal.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor\* :—**Your Excellency, —Co-operation in the matter of public health is a question of vital importance. It will greatly help to throw light on the causes of diseases and in the adoption of effective measures to check them. The decision of the majority of the states should be followed.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Your Excellency, —I am very keen on this question myself. We do not get information of outbreaks of

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\* Read out by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

epidemics even if they are next door to us. We are ready to give any such information direct to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, and I am quite prepared to send my Principal Medical Officer to the annual conferences in regard to matters of public health.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir** \*:—Your Excellency,—The Kashmir State Administration submits information of the outbreak of cholera and plague to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, and subsequent weekly reports are sent to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of the Punjab and monthly to the Government of India through the Residency. If this is not considered sufficient, I should be glad to be informed, in order that my Government may take the necessary measures.

As regards submission of annual reports, we cannot claim to have reached the same stage of development in public health matters as prevails in some of the important places in British India. But if any material of much value is likely to be obtained in these reports, I shall be prepared to furnish them. I am, however, of opinion that we should submit a report of important events bearing on epidemics, etc., to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

As regards the attendance of the Head of the State Sanitary Service at the conference of the Sanitary Commissioners of India, I am of opinion that an officer of the Darbar should certainly be asked to attend.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha** :—My Lord,—As to the desirability of co-operation in public health matters, there can be no two opinions. It is a welcome sign that the officials responsible for public health in British as well as Indian States administrations are to be brought into direct touch with each other, for a free interchange of information between them. I would suggest in this connection that, as full reciprocity is not only desirable but absolutely indispensable in all co-operation, provision should be clearly made for immediate reports being sent to the State Public Health Departments of the outbreak of infectious diseases in a neighbouring British Indian district by the officers of the latter.

The holding of informal Conferences between the responsible advisers to Government in public health matters and the officers holding similar positions in the States is a very good suggestion and may well be expected to result in better co-operation and much mutual good.

Another feature that impresses me favourably is that both sides under the proposal would be just as free and unfettered to assent or decline to "co-operate" with one another in accordance with the dictates of their local conditions and circumstances—as the officials of England and America are in their relations to one another.

It is rather an unfortunate fact—one which bodes no good to the ultimate success of the cause—that the masses in the country as a whole have rightly or wrongly not much faith in the methods hitherto adopted for combating the dread epidemics that have made a home of this ill-fated land. Very little, if indeed any, co-operation is to be expected from the people, and there is always the risk of the apathy flaming up into antagonism by a single false step. This led to disastrous results in the Punjab and other places during the early days of the plague scare.

Prejudices are proverbially hard to die and in this case they seem to have received an interminable lease of life by bitter experiences of irritating incon-

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\* Read out by the Political Secretary.

veniences and even insults to which the people were sometimes subjected. Indeed, the prevailing mood in the minds of the uneducated masses would seem to be that rather than be harrassed by the said inconveniences they would much prefer to be left alone and to die—silent victims of plague or influenza but not of indignities. My Lord, to sum up—we have to proceed very cautiously, and the first step would, therefore, appear to be the education of the people in these matters and the inculcation of proper respect in the official mind for their feelings and prejudices.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :**—Your Excellency,—As I took the liberty of drafting a resolution for submission to this Conference, and as that resolution embodies my views on the subject, perhaps Your Excellency will permit me to read it.

“Resolved—that this Conference recognises the desirability of co-operation in public health matters and recommends—

- (a) that in order to be useful, there should, in the matter of interchange of information, be full reciprocity ; and
- (b) that, as the suggestion for the submission of an annual report is not likely to be viewed with favour by the States generally, it may be dropped.”

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—I should like to make a suggestion to Your Highnesses. I think that with the scanty information at our disposal we should be chary about dealing with any details.

But what personally I should like to get from Your Highnesses is a resolution in favour of the desirability of co-operation on this matter. Therefore, I would suggest that we should not attempt to pass any resolution which would embody any detailed recommendations of the measures to be taken, but a general expression of approval of the desirability of co-operation, and the Government of India would then be in a position to go forward and communicate with each individual Darbar and ascertain their views with regard to how this co-operation could best be obtained. Perhaps that would meet Your Highness ? *(addressing the Maharao of Cutch).*

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :**—Certainly, Sir, we might say that this Conference recognises the desirability of co-operation.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—And then the Government of India, emboldened by that resolution, which I hope would be passed unanimously, could go ahead.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :**—I certainly agree with Your Excellency's suggestion.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—I will put the motion in that form. The motion is—

*“That this Conference recognises the desirability of co-operation in public health matters.”*

*(The resolution was carried unanimously.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—That completes the agenda which is down for to-day for this Conference. We shall now adjourn the Conference and Your Highnesses will have a half holiday to-day and a whole holiday to-morrow and on November the 5th we shall discuss item 1 of the agenda, that is the resolution passed by the Conference in January 1919 on the subject of the “line of demarcation” and the composition of the proposed Chamber. I see it is suggested that we should have a free afternoon, but I can imagine that we may take the whole day discussing that.

The Conference will adjourn till 11 o'clock on November the 5th.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

*5th November 1919.*

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Agendum I.

*To discuss further the resolution passed by the Conference in January 1919 on Agendum I, item (i), on the subject of the "line of demarcation" and the composition of the proposed Chamber.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**We will now discuss Item No. 1, on the agenda, which Your Highnesses have before you.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**Your Excellency,—The question of the line of demarcation and the composition of the proposed Chamber, which was discussed last year and on which a resolution was passed, has come again on the agenda this year for further discussion in the Conference.

Though the resolution was passed on the subject last year, owing to the thorny nature of the question its solution in a manner satisfying to all parties seemed to be very difficult, but the far-sighted and statesmanlike sagacity of Your Excellency has propounded the scheme with the approval of His Majesty's Government for the consideration of the Conference. With this I am in complete accord, as by adopting this course the question of the constitution of the proposed Chamber is nearly solved. Furthermore, I can say that by the institution of this Chamber there can be no apprehension of any encroachment upon the rights and interests of any individual Sovereign State, however great or small it may be, for it is proposed to be constituted only for the purpose of advising the Imperial Government on matters which concern them in general, as well as the Empire, and an assurance has been given that no discussion in regard to any particular Prince or State or the internal affairs of an individual State or the action of any individual Prince would be allowed in the Chamber, and thus the individual right of a Prince or a State of directly negotiating and having correspondence with the Imperial Government remain intact, and his sovereign status and other prerogatives and powers will never be infringed in any way. Such being the case, some important States who have held themselves aloof up to this time from the Conference will, I think, have no reason to remain so in future, but I am sure will join the Chamber and give us the benefit of their valuable advice.

As the proposed Chamber should represent the interests of the whole of the so-called Indian States, the lesser Chiefs should be represented by groups on the basis of population, or as the Government, in consultation with the Princes, may think proper, through a Sovereign Prince in their province or through one of them representing their own interests, or in such other manner as may be decided, and thus the proposed Chamber will be a thoroughly representative body of all the Indian States.

**The Thakur Sahib of Rajkot :—**Your Excellency,—I am very thankful for having been given this opportunity of expressing my views on some of the questions before the Princes' Conference this year, and I would like to confine my remarks to-day to two points on the demarcation question ;

(1) The position of the nine-gun Princes in Kathiawar and the desirability of raising their dynastic salutes to bring them into line with States of equal importance in other parts of India.

(2) Their future admission to the Chamber of Princes in their own right as announced by Your Excellency the day before yesterday.

Gratifying as is the announcement of the intention of calling into being a permanent Chamber of Princes, I am delighted to learn that the question of admission to the Chamber is going to be dealt with on broad and generous lines, so as to meet all shades of opinion as far as practical. Your Excellency's views on the removing of the disabilities of those of the nine-gun Princes who are not at present in the enjoyment of full internal powers, so as to qualify them for admission to the Chamber, and on the question of proportional representation of the lesser States, have evoked general satisfaction among the Princes, and I am very grateful to Your Excellency in my capacity of a nine-gun Prince, coming from a distant corner of Kathiawar. I would only urge that, if the consideration of these questions requires time, the formation of the Chamber of Princes should not be delayed on that account.

I would take the liberty of pointing out that the dynastic honours assigned to the Kathiawar States have suffered from a disadvantage due to their distance from the Central Government and to the inadequate representation which they have received at the hands of the Local Government and of the Political Officers dealing with them and their States. Again, treaties have been the outcome of particular circumstances in which a State found itself when the occasion for concluding a treaty arose. Therefore no uniform policy can be discerned or expected in the various treaties made with different States and no basis for dynastic honours can be sought for in the treaties and engagements. I believe the province of Kathiawar, which was till some years ago an outlying part of India unconnected by railways, has not received that consideration from the Paramount Power which it merited by its unswerving loyalty and attachment to the Crown. It is therefore the case that we are placed in a position of inferiority, although—may I say—we compare favourably with Princes enjoying higher honours, in point of revenue, area, population, etc. This is an anomaly which I earnestly request Your Excellency to remove, when the whole question of salutes comes up for careful investigation as announced in Your Excellency's address. My Lord, I may further mention that our powers are practically the same as those of the first-class States on our side and are possibly not less than those of the important States of Rajputana and Central India. Though otherwise in every way qualified for admission to the Conference of Princes, the mere accident of being a nine-gun Prince has brought about my attendance at the Conference only by selection, as a representative of the nine-gun Princes, whereas it has altogether debarred several others of my class from participating in the Conference.

It was therefore very welcome news to me that all the Princes having internal autonomy would be classed as Princes entitled to a seat in the Chamber, and that as such a Prince I shall on future occasions be privileged to be admitted to this Conference as a Ruler of a full-power State.

I must not, however, forget to tender my best thanks to Your Excellency for having given me an opportunity to appear at this Conference by selection : my hearty thanks are also due to my brother Princes who have so generously advocated the cause of the nine-gun Princes of India.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar :—**Your Excellency,—After Your Excellency's clear statement on the point of demarcation and the composition of the Chamber of Princes, contained in the very interesting and welcome speech which Your Excellency delivered the day before yesterday, the controversy is well-nigh set at rest. I may remind the Conference that the Princes desired the inclusion of all interests—big and small—in the permanent Chamber, and Your Excellency's admirable scheme, embracing the salute-Princes, as well as those enjoying no salute and having restricted powers of internal autonomy, will meet with general concurrence and satisfaction, as making for a solidarity of interests, which is essential not only for the welfare of the States, but of the Empire as well.

I am very grateful to Your Excellency for coming to our aid on this matter with a generous declaration of policy which has allayed suspicions and cleared the atmosphere considerably.

The question of demarcation was beset with many difficulties, but these are all most thoroughly obviated by the inclusion of smaller interests on the basis of proportional representation, which is a matter of arrangement which, I have no doubt, will be satisfactorily settled.

There is one matter regarding which a clearer enunciation of Government policy is, to my mind, necessary. Although Your Excellency's historic announcement on the composition of the permanent Chamber has met with great and general satisfaction, I may say that all minds are not quite happy over a detail, which, though rendered clear in the address, needs a more emphatic declaration. The informal discussions we had at our private meetings leads me to the belief that the air is not sufficiently clear on the proviso accepted by Your Excellency's Government, to the effect that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member should not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such State. There is still some lingering apprehension that the vested rights of suzerainty of some States will be curtailed by the admission of feudatories. I therefore beg to suggest that an authoritative declaration may be issued by Your Excellency, or by the Political Secretary under your orders, declaring that the admission of a Ruler or Chief to the permanent Chamber will not affect or diminish legitimate rights over the member regarding suzerainty claimed by any other State, and also that the fact may be emphasized that the admission of a Ruler will not derogate in any way from the prerogatives, powers, or *izzat* of any other State. I have no such misgivings, in my own mind, Your Excellency, but some Princes have such misgivings, which it is beyond my power to explain. With such an assurance, publicly given, the path will be perfectly cleared of difficulties and our progress on the lines suggested by Your Excellency will be smooth and even. I may at the same time unhesitatingly admit that Your Excellency's lucid pronouncement on the subject in the opening address leaves very little to be desired ; but the matter is a very delicate one and some further action on the part of Government to disabuse the minds of some of us and to render clear the position that the presence of a member in the chamber need not affect other rights at all is, I think, however superfluous it may seem, necessary.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Your Excellency,—As a matter essentially involving the service of common interests, Imperial as well as those of the States collectively, I give my hearty support to the formation of the Chamber, as a consultative and advisory body, on the lines proposed by Your Excellency.

I would add that if there be apprehensions in any quarter that the basis announced for the membership of the Chamber will, by the contemplated enhancement of salutes or internal powers, prejudicially affect the relative status of individual States in a particular province—the status that has been maintained and recognised in the past—I trust that this matter will receive due consideration at the hands of the Government.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**Your Excellency,—I feel grateful to Your Excellency for the announcement so graciously made that it is the full intention of the Government of India that changes which may be introduced in relations between the Government of India and the Princes, as, for instance, in regard to Commissions of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration, shall be applicable to the lesser Rulers also. The statement in the Report that these changes were to relate only to the bigger States had created great misapprehensions in the smaller States. This pronouncement will remove the misunderstanding in this connection and the smaller States would feel that, after all, the Government of India is their saviour. I am highly pleased for this expression of the views of the Government. I have been advocating this from the beginning, especially as most of the Southern Mahratta Country Chiefs and those in Satara, Sholapur, Savantvadi and Dharwar which are geographically isolated, could not under the terms of the Report be included among the members of the Chamber; whereas they can now all be included in the Chamber of Princes.

As regards the composition of the Chamber of Princes, I have prepared a draft constitution\* and I have sent copies of the same to all my brother Princes and to the Government of India for their consideration. I have tried to outline the scheme in detail and given my reasons for the same. The scheme has been based on three important principles, namely—

- (1) of classifying the States on the test of sovereignty as laid down last year;
- (2) of respecting the importance of States commensurate with their population;
- (3) of giving representation to all Indian States, great or small.

I have taken the definition of sovereign States adopted last year as States enjoying unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws. It is difficult to know exactly the number of sovereign States. I have requested Government to publish a list of States who, in their opinion, can be styled as full sovereign States. This information is absolutely necessary to fix the number of members of Chamber of Princes. Without any exact idea about sovereign States, it is not possible to formulate any specific proposal. I therefore request that as Government was pleased last year to issue a list of doubtful States, they should similarly issue a statement giving the number of States which, in their opinion, enjoy full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States. Such a statement will ensure the accuracy of the calculation made regarding the number of, and the votes to be allotted to, such States.

I have taken population as a differentiating test to classify larger States from the rest. This test was adopted in the Bikaner scheme so far as non-salute States and smaller States were concerned. Without some such test, I do not think we can meet the sound objections which have been raised by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and other bigger States. Unless we respect



their great importance, we cannot persuade them to co-operate with us in the Chamber of Princes. Without the presence of these august Princes amongst us this Chamber would not inspire full respect for it in the estimation of Government and the people at large. It is no use shutting our eyes to this important consideration. I have therefore tried to give cumulative votes to such States in proportion to their population. This is the only device which has been adopted in other countries to provide adequately for the difference in the relative importance of various States.

One of the most important objections taken against the Chamber of Princes is that it will have the effect of swamping the voice of smaller States by a coalition of the biggest States like Hyderabad and Mysore. But from the figures given in the schedules, which I have enclosed with my scheme, it will be apparent that of the 73 members constituting the Chamber of Princes 51 are single-vote members, and there are 20 who possess multiple votes. Hyderabad and Mysore between themselves are assigned 20 votes. But these votes would not be so overwhelming as to set at naught the remaining 100 votes. It is not, therefore, possible that the biggest States would defeat the representatives of the smaller States. There is also no reason to apprehend that the voice of Princes of the first rank would be drowned in the consensus of opinion of a number of Chiefs who may in no way compare with them in prestige and importance. Sovereignty and population are the only two accepted tests to determine the political importance of a State. And when adequate representation has been given to every State in proportion to its importance, there is absolutely no room left for such a fear. The scheme tries to distribute votes to States commensurate with their magnitude and prestige on an equitable basis. I therefore trust that it will commend itself to my brother Princes.

Some of Their Highnesses want to distinguish States on the basis of historical position, on the nature of the relation existing with the paramount power, on the extent of territory, income and salutes. But I have not been able to find any of these tests accepted in any federal constitution. Besides it is not possible to measure these various factors in a concrete form. The only standards by which you can gauge the relative importance of States are population and the possession of full power, which means full sovereignty. Although I am extremely anxious to respect the other insignia of our Order, I did not find any measure in constitutional history by which they can be systematically graduated. I had therefore no option but to choose full sovereignty and population as the only two criteria by which to separate the important States from the rest.

I have been advocating from the beginning that representation should be given to all Indian States. I have tried to group the smaller States together and give to them the representation which is equal to that provided in the Bikaner scheme. This method alone will entitle us, as observed by me last year, to speak for one-third of the area and one-fourth of the population of this country. This alone will remove the ban of political unassociates from the smaller States which undoubtedly deserve to be represented on the Chamber of Princes.

My scheme is only tentative. My object is that it should serve as a framework, the details of which may be settled after discussion and mutual consultation. In the concluding portion of the memorandum which I have added to this scheme, I have proposed to make it as elastic as possible consistently with the principles upon which the whole scheme is based. Where I am not able to include Princes in the Chamber on the lines laid down, I have suggested that they should be admitted as exceptions.

Your Highnesses will thus note that I have taken special care to respect vested rights to secure the approval of almost all who have taken interest in this subject and to give some shape to the ideas which have been disturbing our minds till now. I most sincerely wish that the organisation of the Chamber of Princes may come into existence as early as possible and that it may be representative of all the Indian States in the real sense of the word. I am conscious of the short-comings of my scheme. I do not pretend to be an expert in these matters, nor do I claim any great erudition. My solicitude for the immediate organisation of our Order on some constitutional basis is my only excuse in submitting this scheme to Your Highnesses' consideration. I therefore do not wish to take up Your Highnesses' time unnecessarily in repeating my views and desire that the draft constitution may be taken as read.

**His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla :—**Your Excellency,—I have great pleasure in supporting the proposals for the constitution of the Chamber on the lines so clearly laid down by Your Excellency. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Chamber is to be a permanent body, and I hope it will come into existence next year.

**The Chief of Jamkhandi :—**Your Excellency,—Kindly allow me to offer my most cordial and grateful thanks to Your Excellency for having given me this splendid opportunity to attend this Conference as one of the representatives of the 9-gun and non-salute States of the Bombay Presidency.

I have already circulated my Note\* on agendum I and have expressed my desire that it should be taken as read and recorded. However, I think that some of my views require reiteration and slight modifications in the light of the new scheme of classification and constitution approved of by His Majesty's Government.

I am glad to accept the well-considered announcement as regards the application of all the proposals in Chapter X of the Report, wherever possible, to the lesser Rulers also.

Last year the distinction between the greater and lesser States was intended to be based upon constitutional considerations, notwithstanding any resulting embarrassment ; while this year the distinction is proposed to be based primarily on the salute test, and secondarily on the inherent powers of the non-salute States. Thus both the tests will now come into operation. In my humble opinion the intended distinction could not have been more aptly effected than on constitutional considerations. The grant of dynastic salutes is absolutely dependent on the discretion of His Imperial Majesty. Necessary enhancement of powers is to follow in every case of those States with a dynastic salute of 9 guns and over. This broad and generous policy ought to be followed in granting dynastic salutes suitable to the originally autonomous but now the doubtful and non-salute States. The status of all the doubtful States is equally sacred and ought to be maintained and their dignity and *izzat* raised by the Imperial Government. The enhancement of powers and a grant of dynastic salutes are now equally important, instead of one of them, to all the doubtful and non-salute States. The position of such States has become doubly insecure. The historical back-ground, the present status and the constitutional bond between the States and the Crown entitle them to have a dynastic salute on the ground of similarity with the salute States. I confidently hope that the same reason and policy may raise the status of such States in due course of time.

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\* Pages 699—704 *infra*.

I intend to show how the salute test affects the status of the Indian States. The status and eligibility of about 65 States is unquestionable under either of the two lines of demarcation. The test of autonomy placed about 59 States in the domain of doubt and uncertainty. The three principles now laid down, if finally adopted, will level up some 20 States with dynastic salutes of 11 guns and over and also some 28 States with dynastic salutes of 9 guns. Only 11 States out of the doubtful list are automatically excluded. Rulers with personal salutes appear to be excluded. The salute test will give a hard blow to the States of the Southern Mahratta Country, the Deccan, and the Thana District of the Bombay Presidency and also those of Madras. The status of these States as evinced by their treaty rights is unquestionably superior to that of some of the States with a dynastic salute of 11 guns and over. The existing anomalies in the matter of salutes are intended to be carefully investigated at an early date, and hence I am confident that the rightful claims of all such States will be favourably considered by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. I, on my part, fully rely upon Your Excellency's assurance as to the reconsideration of the whole question of salutes.

The statistics relating to the Indian States, just circulated and marked provisional, appear to me to follow the principles laid down by Your Excellency. The line of demarcation adopted therein has separated 187 States from 424 estates. I am sorry to see that Jawhar has been placed among the Estates though mentioned in the doubtful list. I submit that it is entitled to a place in the list of States according to the terms of its treaty. As far as my personal knowledge and information go, the States now mentioned in the list under the heading, "Bombay, Southern Maratha Country" are entitled to be included among those States that are legitimately eligible to the membership of the Chamber. I earnestly request Your Excellency to consider the status of these States in the most liberal and generous way.

I have already proposed in paragraph 23 of my Note that the lesser States, or "Estates", as they are to be called, ought to have at least 25 representatives in the Chamber. For this purpose they may be regrouped on territorial basis with the free consent of their respective Chiefs. The number of representatives should depend on population and revenue. All the recommendations in the Report are equally applicable to them, and thus they are entitled to have a voice in all matters equally affecting their interests. Thus they cannot be legitimately excluded, and I hope this Conference will finally come to the same conclusion.

As regards the voting I have made concrete proposals in paragraph 23 of my Note. The Council of Princes and Chiefs will certainly be at a disadvantage and will not command due respect and influence, if the Princes of the first rank abstain from participating in the deliberations of the Chamber. In order to ensure due weight to their influential voice, it is essential that a right of multiple vote ought to be accorded to them in due proportion to the population or revenue, or even both of them.

In conclusion, I heartily accept and willingly support the principles laid down by Your Excellency with the approval of His Majesty's Government, and earnestly hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to apply them in a broad and liberal way to all the doubtful and non-salute States.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—Your Excellency,—I only wish to say that I fully endorse the views which have been expressed this morning by His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.

**The Raja of Bariya :**—Your Excellency,—I feel much pleasure in associating myself with His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar in his eloquent support of the proposals made by Your Excellency in your opening speech.

From the day of their inception the annual Conferences have rightly been looked upon by the Princes and Chiefs with special interest. They have sagaciously taken a correct perspective of their importance, and they have not failed to appreciate and respond to the invitations by attending in large numbers. As a natural corollary to this, those who were and are not accorded invitations have keen feelings regarding their exclusion. *A fortiori* when the Conferences are, with the generous approval of His Majesty's Government and under Your Excellency's able and sympathetic guidance, to evolve into a permanent Chamber of Princes with well-defined functions, the question of its composition cannot be a matter of small concern to them.

Not only those who were and are invited to the Conferences, but also those who are being invited but do not possess the qualifications for admission into the Chamber, as prescribed in the last year's resolution, feel naturally anxious about its solution. To solve it we need, to use your Excellency's eloquent words, "all our foresight, all our wisdom". Luckily Your Excellency has been able with the approval of His Majesty's Government to offer a solution. It will be generally acknowledged that under the present circumstances it can not be bettered. Like all other mortal solutions it may have its imperfections, but I do not think that they stand in the way of its acceptance. In case we err, we do so on the side of regard and consideration for the smaller ones. The composition proposed will serve to sink differences and not accentuate them. In my humble opinion it will remove the obstacles at the outset and along the path, and inspire our onward march on an untried road with liberality, good will and toleration towards one another.

Before concluding my remarks, I cannot overcome the temptation of expressing our deep thankfulness to His Majesty's Government and to Your Excellency for such a happy solution. Speaking particularly as a member of that section of the Bombay Princes to which I have the honour to belong, I believe I am voicing their wishes when I take this public occasion of offering Your Excellency their warmest and respectful thanks for the earnest interest and sincere sympathy with which you have invited their representatives to take part in the deliberations of the Conferences, carefully considered their representations, and ultimately allayed their anxieties by a solution which should satisfy them.

With these words, I beg warmly to commend the solution to Your Highnesses' favourable consideration, and I confidently hope that Your Highnesses will cordially set upon it the seal of your unanimous acceptance.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :**—Your Excellency,—The question under discussion to-day is a knotty problem which has been exercising our minds ever since the idea of the formation of a permanent Chamber of Princes was taken up, and although a great deal of thought has been devoted to it, no ideal solution has so far been available. However, the scheme propounded by Your Excellency in your opening speech regarding the basis for the membership of the Chamber seems to be the only practical one under the existing circumstances in so far as matters of Imperial importance or those affecting the joint interests of the States are concerned. I have therefore very great pleasure in giving my heartiest support to Your Excellency's scheme. I would, however, like to point out that, since conditions differ considerably in different areas, it may be apprehended that under the scheme suggested the

relative status of individual States may be detrimentally affected. But I feel sure that it will be possible for Your Excellency to devise a happy solution of all such difficulties.

**His Highness the Raja of Sitamau :—**Your Excellency,—I consider it a duty not to let this occasion pass without expressing my profound gratitude for the scheme which Your Excellency has propounded with the approval of His Majesty's Government as regards the admission of all States the Rulers of which enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of 11 guns and over, and as many 9-gun Rulers as possible, and also as regards the representation of the lesser States in the Chamber. The difficulties in this respect were very serious, and there can be no better solution of them than what is offered by the scheme. It is conceived on such a broad basis as to be entitled to the abiding gratitude of the entire body of the Indian States. The sympathy which Your Excellency has brought to bear on the momentous issues involved is further apparent from the opinion which Your Excellency was pleased to express about the necessary enhancement of powers in every case where no sufficient reason exists to the contrary, and I beg to assure Your Excellency that all the States concerned are bound to feel exceedingly grateful to Your Excellency for this generous measure of kindness shown to them. I feel sure, Your Excellency, that the scheme will prove a source of contentment to the States and of strength to the Indian Empire. It now only remains for me to express a hope that the Chamber of Princes will be brought into existence at an early date.

**His Highness the Raja of Rajgarh :—**Your Excellency,—After giving the matter my best consideration I am strongly of opinion that the solution of the difficulty as to the composition of the Chamber of Princes proposed by Your Excellency is the best that can be thought of, and in my humble opinion, the Conference cannot do better than thankfully adopt it.

The question of the line of demarcation, I think, is a matter of considerable importance to the States, and it should not in my humble opinion be hurried through in this Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) :—**Your Excellency,—I am in entire accord with the proposition as made by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia regarding the formation of a Chamber of Princes and Chiefs, a body which is to be purely an advisory and consultative one for matters of Imperial nature and of collective interest to the Indian States generally, and I know that we can fully rely on Your Excellency and the Imperial Government to maintain the *status quo* of States, and not to allow in any manner and in any quarter the formation of the proposed Chamber to become a pretext or to be made an argument for any enhancement of internal powers and dynastic salutes, or for any other similar action affecting the permanent status of a State. I may, however, most emphatically remark that should this proposed Chamber later on take any more advanced form, and not be purely advisory or consultative as now proposed, the questions of membership, composition and constitution would essentially need reconsideration and readjustment to meet all the local circumstances in the various areas of Indian States and the divergent and keenly felt sentiments of the various Princes and Chiefs. With these remarks, I again express my full agreement with the proposition as made by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Your Excellency,—As one who has been one of the earliest advocates of a Chamber of Princes, I feel it is not necessary for me to assure Your Excellency of my whole-hearted support of the proposal. With Your Excellency's permission, I should first like to urge that the question of the composition of the Chamber of Princes be treated

separately from that of the line of demarcation. The question immediately before us is that of composition and there does not appear to be any great urgency for the line of demarcation, in view of the gratifying announcement made by Your Excellency the other day that the benefits of the measures, such as Commissions of Inquiry and Courts of Arbitration, would also be applicable to the lesser Rulers. I feel that it would simplify matters if we were to deal with the composition first, as there is a danger of the two questions being mixed up and confused in the debate, and also of some difficulty and even feeling being created, which it would be wiser to avoid. I would therefore propose that the question of composition be dealt with and that the question of demarcation be held over for the next Conference, should a solution still be found necessary then.

The Princes present have shown in an unmistakable manner how welcome has been the eagerly-awaited announcement by Your Excellency to call the Chamber of Princes into being. The necessity for it was keenly felt by us for such a long time. The only remaining details for settlement now are its functions and composition, for the Chamber to be established as a permanent constitutional institution dealing with the relations between the Imperial Government and the Princes. Little need be said about its functions, for it may be safely assumed that we are all agreed that at its inception it can only be an advisory and consultative body, as the overwhelming majority of us have all along proposed it should be. I feel sure we all gratefully welcome Your Excellency's valuable advice that it is important to avoid unnecessary restrictions or complications at the outset and that its evolution should proceed on healthy lines in the light of the experience gained. With reference to its composition the entire body of the Princes and Chiefs of India will be equally grateful to Your Excellency and to His Majesty's Government for the solution suggested. It is one which, with all respect, I would say commends itself *in toto* to at least a majority of the Princes, and I would indeed go so far as to say that it is the one and only solution possible of this important and delicate question. I need not go into the details already mentioned by Your Excellency, but it will also be a matter of profound satisfaction that the necessary enhancement of powers will be granted in every case where no special reason exists to the contrary and also that the question of admission to the Chamber will be dealt with on broad and generous lines. His Majesty's Government and Your Excellency having thus dealt with the scheme on liberal and statesmanlike lines, I would venture to beg Your Highnesses also to deal with the question on equally broad and sagacious lines, irrespective of personal considerations.

There is no need to dwell on the obvious benefits of such a Chamber. I would further ask Your Highnesses to remember that the proposal is one not only in the highest interests of the Princes and Chiefs themselves but also one of very considerable importance and advantage from the Imperial standpoint. Membership of the Chamber does not involve any diminution of the rights and prerogatives, the *izzat* and dignity, or the sovereign powers and status of any Ruler. It is to be independent of such considerations. There is no levelling down involved. But surely it should be a matter for gratification rather than otherwise if we are the means, with the sympathy and support of the Paramount Power, of uplifting some of our brother Princes. That does not lower the status of the senior Princes, and I submit that there does not appear to be any danger that the inclusion of some relatively junior Princes will involve any future risk to those more senior, who, as far as can be seen, will still be in the majority in this Chamber. Moreover, we welcome the generous announcement of the Imperial Government to revise the powers enjoyed by the relatively junior Princes, which undoubtedly is a matter for profound

gratitude and pleasure, and so long as the Princes possess full sovereign powers or practically full sovereign powers, it is clear that the interests of all concerned will be identical. Similarly, as stated in some of the speeches made to-day, the intention announced, subject to his Imperial Majesty's gracious approval, of rectifying the undoubted anomalies now clearly existing in regard to the question of salutes, need cause no apprehension, since the anomalies are not confined to the case of only the relatively junior Princes but exist equally in the case of some of those most senior, all of which we desire to see removed. All that tends to the enhancement of the *izzat* and dignity of our status as a whole must surely be a matter for common congratulation. At the same time, keeping in view the stipulation made at the last Conference, to which reference has been made, it has been provided, with due regard to the *status quo*, that the legitimate claims to suzerainty of any State will not be prejudiced. With reference to the representation in the Chamber of the interests of the lesser Rulers, I do not propose to take the time of the Conference by detailing the considerations which I ventured to urge in my note last year, which Your Excellency has done me the honour of alluding to in your speech of the 3rd November. Nor, as there is going to be, I understand, a resolution moved shortly on this particular point, do I wish to encroach on the preserves of the mover. But may I say that I have always strongly and consistently favoured such a course, and would beg to emphasise for Your Highnesses' consideration that we owe it as a duty to the Imperial Government, to all the Indian Rulers and States, no less than to ourselves, that we should make our Chamber thoroughly representative, both in name and in fact. I can see many dangers ahead, chiefly to ourselves but also to the British Government, from the omission to include all interests. But I cannot see any in providing for them. It is true, however, that we must safeguard ourselves against the undesirable contingency either immediately after the establishment of the Chamber or at some future date of the highest classes of Rulers being swamped or outnumbered, or outvoted by the petty Chiefs; but that is a matter which I submit should not be difficult of solution. I might mention that, at a meeting of the Ruling Princes in December 1917 held at Bikaner to formulate a scheme, a proposal on these lines was originally submitted which provided roughly for the lesser Rulers—I need not give the details—with revenues of a lakh and over with a certain representation, and for those below another class of representation; and, although the details will no doubt have to be revised, I personally think that probably the solution will be based on some such lines as those proposed by the Princes at that meeting.

It now remains for me once more to venture with all the emphasis at my command to urge Your Highnesses to deal with these questions in a liberal and statesmanlike manner, with due regard to the interests of all concerned who belong to our Order, whether in a relatively junior or senior position to us. The interests of all classes of Rulers appear to be adequately safeguarded by the scheme propounded by Your Excellency. The British Government have once again shown themselves to be the real friends and champions of us all. Shall it be said that the Rulers of Indian States failed to do their duty by any of their Order? The Imperial Government without reservation have announced their intention of instituting a Chamber of Princes. Let us, the Princes present here to-day, equally unequivocally, if possible unanimously, and at least by an overwhelming majority, accept the scheme. Some of the points connected with the admission of the 9-gun salute Princes and with the scheme for the probable representation of the lesser Rulers may take some time; but if we can accept the details outlined by Your Excellency, we shall, I hope, by the assistance and support of Your Excellency and, by the grace of God, meet next year in a

regularly constituted Chamber which will be to the mutual interests of ourselves and the Imperial Government.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—**Your Excellency,—We are assembled to-day in a second Conference within the same year, which is incidentally unique, but which, let us hope, is also the last Conference before our Chamber is established. In my ears I hear to-day the words ringing which I uttered last year on the opening debate and which will stand repetition with equal force on the present occasion, “that to-day appears to be the fateful day when the issue that most of us have cherished in our hearts for several years past, namely, the establishment on a permanent footing of our Conference, is coming up for final decision. I am sure Your Highnesses realise the deep responsibility that lies before you.” Important events have led up to this great day when it is now finally in your hands to decide whether you shall or not fulfil the hopes that have been entertained so long. During the remainder of the debates last year, Your Highnesses were able to pilot the ship amid storms and gales through some of its final stages, and you were able to pass a resolution regarding the “lines of demarcation” and to express your unanimous wish for the establishment of a Chamber of Princes ; but the ship foundered eventually within reach of the shore at a tragic moment, when not so much through opposition but through a misunderstanding of the issue at stake regarding the composition of the Chamber the resolution was put to the vote and lost. I merely mention this fact to remind Your Highnesses how even a small mistake at times may lead to large consequences. Since then, however, the world has moved fast, great events have occurred, the war has ended, the peace has been signed and our resolutions have travelled many thousand miles across the seas. It was a happy moment when Your Excellency announced at the opening of the present Conference the acceptance by His Majesty’s Government and the Government of India of several proposals that we were able to pass in our last Conference. We thank the Imperial Government for their sympathy and for the acceptance, in the main, of our proposals. We are now as Your Excellency has expressed from your own lips, though regarding another subject, at the meeting of the ways. The immediate question and perhaps the most vital one before us at this Conference is regarding the composition of our future Chamber. This question has engaged our attention and elicited the most careful examination of the different aspects of the case for a long time past, and ever since the time when Their Highnesses of a former Conference appointed a sub-committee, which met first at Bikaner, we have attempted to give the matter our most earnest consideration, to find, if possible, a practical solution. We had many propositions before us of different kinds ; but we were anxious to find a basis where a solid principle could be established on which the future structure of the Chamber could be built, and accordingly in our original proposals before the last Conference it was suggested that (1) the Chamber of Princes should consist exclusively of Sovereign Princes, and (2) as only a temporary expedient, that the remaining State or States should be represented by Princes with sovereign power. As there was some disagreement on the latter point and the resolution did not meet with unanimous support, it still remained for 1919, namely, the same year, although for a different month, to bring before us another solution which Your Excellency has now suggested in your opening speech. If I may say so, it is a proposition to which we had given our earnest consideration during the various stages through which the subject had passed, and the very point now before us did not escape our attention. It was only because we wanted to establish the constitution on a principle, instead of on the salute list, which was admitted both by the Government of India and ourselves to be an



unsatisfactory basis for our proposals, that we devised the final proposition. If, however, the present proposal which Your Excellency has suggested should be more palatable, as we hope it may be, and as it appears to be to all the Princes, let us hope that it may meet with general acceptance. May we now compare these proposals? When we examine the different resolutions passed at the last Conference, we find it was suggested (a) that the Chamber should consist of Princes enjoying sovereign internal powers, (b) that those who did not come under this category should have their powers enhanced and (c) that the salute list should be revised in order that it may be the true external criterion of the main principle underlying the constitution. Under the present scheme, working through a different course, we shall arrive at practically the same results. It suggests that (a) Princes with salutes of 11 guns and over, which means those who enjoy full or practically full powers and the 9-gun Princes who have full or practically full powers will, after examination, be admitted into the Chamber, (b) the Imperial Government will give sympathetic consideration to the remaining 9-gun salute Princes whose powers may be nominally limited but whose status might be such as will otherwise admit of their inclusion in the Chamber, and (c) Your Excellency has been good enough to give the assurance that the salute list will be revised. The main differences between the old and the new proposals is that the latter leave out of consideration the enhancement of powers to the full extent of a very few number of Princes above the 11-gun salute list, and I for one would like to give expression to the earnest hope that their cases will also be favourably considered by the Imperial Government. If the powers of the 9-gun salute Princes are to be revised, the claims of those enjoying higher salutes would appear to be only reasonable. If the new proposals also leave out of consideration any States with full powers but below the 9-gun salute limit, the question can no doubt be solved later. In our suggestions last year we made the important reservation that any States who claim feudatory rights over other Chiefs should not have their cases prejudiced by the fact that certain Princes might be admitted into our future Chamber. Your Excellency has been good enough to give an assurance that you are entirely in accord with the views expressed as to the question of maintaining the *status quo* in the matter of feudatory relations and that this proviso is likely to be accepted by the Government of India. From the above comparison it can be seen that, while the original proposals laid down a principle to be worked up to, the new proposals describe the method and procedure which will be followed to attain that principle and I have ventured to make this comparison in order to show that in accepting the new proposals we shall not be inconsistent with our main principle for when the powers and salutes of various States are raised, the sum total of the new suggestions will be that the Chamber will eventually consist of Princes who enjoy full sovereign internal powers. Even under the present proposals I must confess that I do see difficulties ahead to which, however, I need not give expression here. Let us hope that they may be overcome and that the general spirit of co-operation and mutual good-will will overcome any possible future obstacles. I must frankly admit that I personally have an inherent feeling of preference for the original scheme for the composition of the Chamber which, I still think, was the best solution; but I am quite prepared to support the present proposition, more particularly as in its results it will be consistent with the main principle. According to the new arrangement there will now be 53 Princes included in the Chamber with a salute of 13 guns and over; 30 Princes who at present enjoy the distinction of a permanent 11-gun salute will come in of their own right, and according to the generous principle enunciated by Your Excellency, about 30 more 9-gun Princes will be admitted into the Chamber. The exact

number can only be decided after careful investigation of each case on its merits, as Your Excellency has suggested ; but this will, roughly speaking, mean that the Chamber will consist of about 100 Princes who will come into it in their own individual right. In giving my support to the scheme I would like to invite Your Excellency's particular attention to the point of the revision of the salutes, especially as I hope and as I understand it will in future form the outward expression of the true position of the Princes and of the rights they do or will enjoy. In this connection I would like to quote a passage from "The Position of the Indian States" which I wrote some time ago and which I had the pleasure and the honour of presenting both to Your Excellency and to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India. I said that if the salute list is to form, as it should do, the exact criterion for defining the position of the sovereign Princes in India, that is of the Princes who enjoy full internal sovereign rights, the further question arose whether these States should be divided amongst themselves as at present by the graduation of salutes ranging from 21 guns down to 9. It will be difficult to support by argument this classification. No criterion either of area, square miles, population, revenue or ancient tradition or lineage by itself can answer the need for perpetuating these anomalies ; not even a combination of these will give convincing results when applied to the salute list. I hope, therefore, that the Imperial Government will be good enough to give this matter generous consideration ; and in revising the salute list will be able to reduce the numbers of grades that exist at present, so that the minimum number of salutes that may be given in the list should at least be in keeping with the position of the Princes who now enjoy or who will enjoy through the generosity of the Imperial Government full sovereign powers in their internal administrations. Your Excellency has already made mention of the fact that the whole question of salutes needed most careful examination and investigation, and that if the principle now described is to be adopted as the basis for classification, it will be additionally desirable that this investigation should be undertaken at an early date in order that such anomalies, where already existing or likely to ensue from the institution of the dividing line, may be corrected wherever possible. Your Excellency was good enough to say further that Your Government was ready to give their earnest consideration to this matter and will make the necessary recommendations to the Secretary of State for submission to His Imperial Majesty in due course. As this is a matter involving the prerogative of the Crown, I have nothing more to say, except to express the hope, and that a very earnest one, that the matter will be dealt with in a liberal spirit and that an extent of imagination will be exercised in dealing with this question that will not only appeal to the sentiments of the Princes concerned but will encourage them to hold their positions as real pillars of the great Empire.

Your Highnesses, I have nothing more to say except that it now rests for Your Highnesses to deal with this important question of the composition of the Chamber in a manner that may lead to eventual success. I earnestly hope that our deliberations, in spite of disturbing factors that may be working to the contrary, will be guided by a spirit of mutual good-will and in a manner that will help to the solution to the problem and the acceptance generally of the principle laid down by His Excellency the Viceroy. That we may greet each other next year in our "Narendra Mandal" is, in conclusion, my earnest hope, and that we may lay its foundations on solid ground so that it may continue to grow for the good of our Order as well as for the good of the Empire may, let us hope, be our joint and combined endeavour.

**His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla :—**Your Excellency,—The scheme outlined by Your Excellency in the opening address of this Conference regarding the composition of the Chamber will, I am sure, be welcomed by us all as the best solution of a most difficult and complicated problem. The announcement of the intention of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government to call into being a permanent Chamber of Princes, coupled with the wise, liberal and comprehensive scheme propounded by Your Excellency, is indeed most gratifying and will be highly appreciated by all concerned. It was necessary that the benefits of the reforms proposed in Chapter X of that memorable report with which Your Excellency's name is associated should have a wide scope, and Your Excellency's scheme fully answers that purpose, as the scheme provides—

- (1) that all States the Rulers of which enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of 11 guns or upwards should be entitled as of right to membership of the Chamber ;
- (2) that States whose Rulers enjoy a dynastic salute of 9 guns, but have at present such full or practically full internal powers as to qualify them in other respects for admission to the Chamber, should be so admitted ;
- (3) that as regards those States whose Rulers possess a dynastic salute of 9 guns, but are not at present in possession of full or practically full internal powers, the Government of India should investigate each case and decide whether to grant the internal powers required in order to make the State qualified for admission to this Chamber.

Considering that the Chamber is essentially a consultative body, the proposed composition is rightly and appropriately inclusive rather than exclusive. Although under the scheme the Rulers enjoying a hereditary salute of 11 guns are as of right entitled to the membership of the Chamber, yet I would suggest for Your Excellency's consideration that in the case of those 11-gun Princes also whose power to pass capital sentence is restricted merely in practice or in other minor ways the Government may kindly remove such nominal restrictions as well.

The scheme proposed by Your Excellency has also the excellent merit of allowing to smaller Chiefs the right to be represented in the Chamber of Princes, and I think it would be well to appoint a committee consisting of Ruling Princes, assisted by officers of the Political Department, to work out the necessary details and satisfactorily settle this part of the scheme.

The formal establishment of the Chamber has, for one reason or another, already been long delayed, and I am sure it will give immense satisfaction to all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs if it becomes an accomplished fact without further delay.

As regards the apprehensions entertained by the Princes who claim feudatory rights over other Rulers, the express declaration of Your Excellency to maintain the *status quo* in the matter of feudatory relations, so that the membership of the Chamber may not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any State legitimately claiming suzerainty, removes all cause for anxiety or alarm on that account.

At the last Conference I expressed an earnest hope that this question would be settled in a way which may not diminish the strength of the Order by alienating the sympathies of smaller States from the more important ones or which may not weaken the splendid fabric which British statesmanship

itself has reared up with so much care and foresight during the last century. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that I beg to express my entire agreement with Your Excellency's scheme outlined in the opening address of this Conference, which possesses all the merits which could be desired and is best calculated to preserve and promote the strength and solidarity of our Order and make our Chamber a complete success.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**My Lord,—Agendum I item (i) before the Conference in January 1919 ran as follows :—

“ That, with a view to improve future relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.”

I confess it is not clear, at least to me, what the particular relations are for the improvement of which this innovation is necessary and which it is apparently anticipated would deteriorate without it. How, and in what way, the proposed “ line ” would bring about the improvement has not been indicated. To an uninitiated mind the said relations would appear to be based in each case upon the treaty, *sanad* or engagement of the particular State and to be capable of improvement without any classification whatsoever.

I think I can say without fear of being contradicted that all the proposals of the Reforms Report apply to and affect *all* the Indian States equally and alike. The suggested reforms have come not a moment too soon, and, if the smaller States are to be left out of their orbit, then it would amount to doing them a permanent injury, which none of us, I feel confident, intend to do. “ If one State more than another needs,” to quote one of my noble brethren, “ substantial protection in future politics, it is, I believe, the smaller States of India.” It is a curious anomaly that after the conclusion of a war fought for the right of small nations, and in the winning of which the smaller States of India helped to their utmost extent, they should have to plead and plead hard for a like protection and for a sharing of the reforms and benefits accruing therefrom with their bigger and stronger sisters.

Turning now to the composition of the proposed Chamber, the first important fact that ought to be borne in mind is that it is proposed to be a purely consultative body and that its function would be merely advisory. It is to be established for the purpose of expressing considered opinion on “ questions which affect the States generally and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole or to British India and the States in common.” These matters affect the big and small States alike. I have often wondered and I wonder still whether such of my noble brethren as are in favour of a Chamber consisting exclusively of Sovereign Princes and who advocate the exclusion of the smaller States therefrom, realize that their action is tantamount to giving a certificate to themselves. For, it would amount, in effect, to some such declaration by them :—“ We and we alone are worthy and competent enough to be consulted on matters which affect *all* the States—the others are no good. Keep them out.” I am sure none of them intends it, yet they can hardly complain that it would be an unfair or an illogical interpretation to be put on their attitude.

Then, again, it would be an injustice to exclude more than 500 States, out of a total of 611, from a body the weight of whose considered opinion in matters affecting *all* the States is likely to fall more heavily on the excluded small States than upon the big strong States who were mainly responsible

therefore. These latter can never realize fully the difficulties and the troubles of the former. 'He laughs at scars who never felt a wound.'

It might legitimately be argued that among the 500 and more heads of the excluded States, there may be many who, by reason of the qualities of head and heart or of their education and experience, would be fully qualified to give sound opinions, and it would be a pity if a consultative body were made to lose the benefit of their advice simply because they do not happen to be the Rulers of States big enough or because of the accident of their salutes not coming up to the requisite number of guns.

The objection on the score of the size of the proposed Chamber—if all the States are included—might be urged, but I trust not effectively in face of the eminent success of the Houses of Parliament whose members number no less than the heads of all the States, for whose inclusion I urge, and urge with all the earnestness which I can command.

To avoid a possible misunderstanding, I might mention that chance leaves me absolutely free to speak on the subject without the least reserve, for I happen to be one of those whose State does not number amongst the would-be excluded or the "doubtful" ones.

Apart from the point of view of its necessity or utility which, I submit have still to be established, the question of the line of demarcation is not free from manifest disadvantages and at least one serious difficulty.

My Lord, one has only to go through the proceedings of the last Conference to realize the amount of bitterness and heart-burning which the topic has engendered between the States themselves. It is a most regrettable thing and would be still more so if the same feelings come to tinge, as well they might, the relations between the States and the Crown, thus defeating the object sought to be attained, *viz.*, improvement of the relations.

In January 1919, Your Excellency said in your speech that the Right Hon. Mr. Montagu and Your Lordship had "felt that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder." In Your Excellency's opening speech of this Conference on Monday last you were pleased to observe that "it would be wisest, after all, so to base the distinction primarily upon the salute list." This proves, if any proof were needed, that, even if all the other considerations were not present, there exists the one well-nigh insurmountable difficulty of deciding upon the subject of the principle to be employed for effecting the division.

I therefore venture to submit that the salute list is neither a proper nor a right criterion for so momentous a decision. Salutes are more or less arbitrary and are, as the past experience shows, capable of being increased or decreased. To me it does not appear right to base the franchise of a State on so slender and transitory a ground or qualification.

The truest test to my mind would be the collective consideration of the status, the revenue, the area, the population, the traditions, the history, the internal powers and the services to the Empire of each particular State. It is an extremely difficult test, probably impossible, but no other, in my humble judgment, could be satisfactory enough.

To sum up, my Lord, I find that the necessity of this step is shrouded in obscurity, that its utility is doubtful, that some of its disadvantages are manifest and, finally, that it is faced by a formidable difficulty which would take quite a lot of solving if it can be solved at all. I cannot do better than

commend for the consideration of this Conference what Your Lordship said about the subject on the 24th of January last. Before inviting discussion on the Resolutions of the Committee appointed for reporting on the subject, Your Lordship observed :—

“ I gather that the recommendations of the Committee are by no means unanimous and that some uneasiness and friction is likely to be caused by the proposal to draw a dividing line between Princes with full powers of internal administration and the others. If this is the case, I can assure Your Highnesses that the Government of India would be very reluctant to recommend a proposal which would lead to this result, and if Your Highnesses, after careful consideration, feel that it would be better to drop for the present the idea of a dividing line and to constitute a Chamber of Princes and Chiefs which would be fully representative not only of the States with full powers of internal administration but also of the small Chiefships, the Government of India will, I have no doubt, be prepared to consider such a proposal favourably.”

If in spite of everything it is thought imperative to effect a division, then I would respectfully suggest that the consideration and decision of such a momentous question should be postponed for the present, and it might with advantage be referred to a joint Committee of such of the Princes as are not likely to be affected by the line of demarcation either way, and some law and political officers of the Government of India. The Committee should have full authority to thrash out the question completely after receiving representations, which it should invite, from the adherents of both the views as well as of the States concerned. This method, I venture to think, will do away with all avoidable friction and bitterness, and the principle thus evolved might be the least unsatisfactory, which is all that can be hoped for in a matter like this.

Just a word more and I am done. I am glad of the opportunity given to us by Your Excellency of reconsidering the designation of the proposed Chamber. I regret my inability to support the term “Narendra Mandal” or the “Chamber of Princes” and would very much prefer if it were termed simply the “Council of Princes.”

**His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar :—**Your Excellency,—I rise to accord the warmest support to the scheme propounded by Your Excellency on the composition of the Chamber of Princes. This affords a satisfactory solution of the intricate question, which has been discussed by some of my brother Princes in all its aspects. It is a happy combination of the considerations based on the salute list and on the criterion of full administrative powers made on generous lines.

As regards the representation of the lesser States, I would take the liberty of suggesting that the question may be left open for some time to come. The subject would require a full consideration of the following points :—

- (1) The desired maximum limit of the numerical strength of the Chamber.
- (2) The proportional formation of the electorates.
- (3) The difficulty of forming proportionate territorial groups where the States are few and far between.
- (4) Whether area and population should form the basis on which grouping is to be based.
- (5) Whether the difference in administrative powers should affect the classification.

These and such other questions should be carefully handled before the final arrangement could be arrived at.

In my opinion a permanent Sub-Committee should be appointed to go through the whole matter with the aid of the Political Department and then to place their recommendations before a future sitting of the Chamber.

I notice that the resolution passed last year on this very subject recommends nomination of the members by Government from among the lesser States, but I presume that the whole resolution is now open to reconsideration.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir\* :—**Your Excellency,—The Conference held at Delhi in January 1919 came to the decision :—

- (a) that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report ;
- (b) that the line of demarcation should be between,—
  - (i) Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and (ii) all other States ;
- (c) that the Chamber of Princes should consist of—
  - (i) Sovereign Princes, and (ii) such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes ;
- (d) that the Conference would commend to the favourable consideration of the Government of India the relaxations of restrictions now imposed on the powers of a Ruler in case where such restrictions are imposed by practice or usage or in pursuance of any treaty or engagement, etc., etc.

A considerable amount of uneasiness was then evinced and the views offered by some of the members may be said to be full of contention. The problem, therefore, with which this Conference is now confronted is indeed of a delicate nature. And now that the Chamber of Princes has come into existence the question of representation is to be finally settled. In view of the purport of paragraph 306 of the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms which provides that the Council of Princes when called into existence will perform the functions of a permanent consultative body, it should, I consider, represent the whole of the Political India which includes all the States whether great or small, exclusive of course of the feudatories or Jagirdars of the States.

Keeping this principle in view the Chamber should, in my opinion, be constituted on as broad a franchise as possible, of course without making it unwieldy. It should consist of Sovereign States, possessing full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, having the right of individual representation. As for the other States, one of the possible solutions of the intricate question of their participation may be by group system, details of which may safely be left in the hands of the Government of India.

**The Chief of Mudhol :—**Your Excellency,—I beg leave to offer to Your Excellency my humble tribute of gratitude and admiration for the keen solicitude which Your Excellency has always evinced for the welfare and advancement of Feudatory India—particularly for Your Excellency's kindly feeling for the smaller States which really, in my humble opinion, stand in need of greater attention and sympathy. It must be frankly acknowledged that the

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\* Read out by Political Secretary.

vexed problem of the line of demarcation has been treated by Your Excellency with the greatest care. We are deeply indebted to you, Sir, for the pronouncement that the question of admission to the Chamber of Princes should be dealt with on broad and generous lines. The desire to grant a reasonable and proportional representation to the lesser States will cause widespread satisfaction to those who were so long apprehensive lest they would be entirely left behind without any share in the benefits of the new reforms.

With these preliminary remarks, I will proceed to consider the scheme regarding the dividing line which Your Excellency outlined on Monday last. I heartily approve of the extension of the right to membership of the Chamber. It is peculiarly gratifying to note that Government are prepared to enhance the powers of States with a view to make them qualified for admission to the Chamber. Equally gratifying is the assurance regarding the correction of anomalies in the matter of salutes. When, therefore, the salute list is revised, when the necessary enhancement of powers is granted and when, further, the representatives of the lesser States are admitted, the Chamber of Princes will certainly be a widely representative body and will, I feel sure, exercise the greatest influence in shaping the destinies of Indian States.

I have, therefore, supreme pleasure in according a hearty reception to Your Excellency's scheme. At the same time, I feel I should frankly state my fears regarding one or two points. It is difficult to understand why the test of sovereignty should be applied only to those States, the Rulers of which enjoy a dynastic salute of 9 guns. If Rulers enjoying a permanent salute of 11 guns or over are to be admitted irrespective of the nature of their powers, why, I may humbly ask, should the 9-gun Chiefs be subjected to an additional test? If full or practically full powers of internal administration are to remain as the deciding factor, then the Rulers of some States will have to be admitted even if they do not enjoy the distinction of salute, or in the alternative that distinction must be granted to them, if they are to satisfy the combined test. I will make my position clear by giving a concrete illustration.

All the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country have been enjoying full or practically full powers of internal administration. In this connection, I may respectfully invite the attention of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses to a note\* prepared by me regarding the status of the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs, copies of which have already been submitted to Your Excellency and distributed among Your Highnesses for your kind perusal. I have therein attempted to demonstrate how the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country have for a long time been in the enjoyment of internal autonomy. It is a remarkable fact, however, that we have not been very fortunate in the matter of acquiring the distinction of salute. Only two of us enjoy a permanent salute of 9 guns, while my esteemed friends the Chief of Jamkhandi and His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhore have only a personal salute of 9 guns and 11 guns, respectively.

I hope I shall be excused for this pointed reference to the position of the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country. While pressing for a sympathetic consideration of the claims of my brother Chiefs I have not been oblivious of the very generous assurances given by Your Excellency regarding the correction of anomalies and the enhancement of powers. I have full confidence that Your Excellency with your usual unbounded sympathy and liberality will direct the solution of the problem in a satisfactory manner and earn the lasting gratitude of Indian States for having helped them to move along progressive lines.



**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor \*:**—Your Excellency,—I frankly admit it is not possible for Government to please each and every individual Prince, yet I think that it is not desirable to omit those that have been invited so long to the Conference. If these Princes were neglected, they would feel greatly humiliated and it is not advisable to put them to humiliation. I would, therefore, submissively urge that Government do not give them a ground to complain on this account.

I suggest that the non-admitted Princes should hold their independent conferences by Provinces and should meet at the presidency towns under the auspices of the Governor or the Lieutenant-Governors of their Provinces. If this proposal meets with the approval of Your Excellency and my brother Princes I am sure these conferences will be a sort of feeder to the Narendra Mandal.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—So far, Your Highnesses, we have been discussing in a general way Item No. I of the agenda of this Conference. But we must have something concrete as the result of this Conference and I hope that the Conference will now proceed to vote on a resolution which I have received from His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. Perhaps it would be more convenient if Your Highness (*addressing the Maharaja of Bikaner*) would read it to the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :**—Your Excellency,—I beg to propose the following resolution :—

*"That this Conference warmly accepts the scheme proposed by His Excellency the Viceroy for the composition of the Chamber of Princes and tenders grateful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India."*

*"This Conference further expresses the earnest hope that the Chamber may be brought into being during the ensuing year."*

**His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar :**—I second it.

*(The resolution was then put to the vote and carried.)*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :**—I now call upon His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to move his resolution, which will complete the discussion on the composing of the Chamber.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :**—Your Excellency and Your Highnesses,—I have already dealt with the question of the admission into the Chamber of Princes who are likely to come into it of their own right, and now it remains for me to deal with the question of the representation of the remainder of the States, etc., who are included in the one-third of India. This question, it will be admitted, is full of complexities and, if I may say so, also of perplexities. This subject has by no means been lost sight of during our former deliberations, whether in committee or in Conference, but in the absence of sufficient data forthcoming, it was impossible to solve it with one stroke of the pen or even by one or more sittings which have been available to us in the past. It is a question essentially on which the Government of India must necessarily be best informed and since, even in their case, I understand it will be necessary to obtain further information, it is they who can primarily go into the question in sufficient detail to be able to suggest a useful solution.

If we have not suggested the representation of these units in the past, it is, I am sure, due to the fact that the data available to us were so meagre and

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\* Read out by Political Secretary.

the basis on which we could work was so hazy that it was impossible to propose a workable scheme.

In dealing with this thorny and difficult problem, we are confronted with questions that are of no meagre importance. We have to consider how it is possible to arrange the representation of the so-called States whose area, for instance, amounts in one case to not more than .29 square miles ; another whose population does not extend to more than 4 souls, all told ; and a third, whose revenue does not exceed the gigantic figure of Rs. 48 a year. We are further confronted with the fact that, even in one single estate, there are as many as 66 share-holders. How this vital question is to be solved is not possible for a Conference such as the present to work out in detail in any one single meeting. In the absence of sufficient data being available in the past, our committees were unable to come to any definite conclusions, and the only suggestion put forward was at our Bikaner meeting which was formulated by our Ministers to form a basis for discussion and which at best could only be described as somewhat imaginary, arbitrary and by no means complete. All we can do at present is to give an assurance that we intend to give our earnest consideration to this subject, and I now propose to move a general resolution which, I hope, will meet with general acceptance.

The resolution that I wish to move is as follows :—

*"That, in the opinion of the Conference, the suggestion that a reasonable representation of the lesser States should be afforded in the Chamber of Princes, so as to enable them to have a voice in matters affecting their interests, ought to be most carefully examined.*

*That a committee be appointed to examine the possibility and the feasibility of devising a scheme from a practical point of view and report to the Conference.*

*That the Government of India be asked to investigate the whole question and to provide material for the committee to work on it, and that the personnel of the committee should, as a matter of convenience, be identical with that of the committee of the Chamber appointed to carry on the codification of political practice."*

**His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur :—**I beg to second the resolution.

*(The resolution was then put to the vote and carried.)*

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### Agendum III.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior :—**Your Excellency,—May I be permitted to read the report of the Committee appointed by the Conference to consider the matter of vital statistics.

#### *Report of the Committee on Agendum III.*

"The Committee appointed by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs to make recommendations on No. III of the agenda, i.e., to consider the best means of recording vital statistics, suggests that it would serve the purpose best from the technical side of the question if this matter were gone into by

the Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India and a few representatives from the States. The following, therefore, are the names of the members recommended :—

- (1) Lieutenant-Colonel F. H. G. Hutchinson, Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India.
- (2) Colonel Haksar, C.I.E., Gwalior (Central India).
- (3) Rai Bahadur Abinash Chandra Sen, Jaipur (Rajputana).
- (4) Rao Bahadur Sabnis, C.I.E., Kolhapur (Bombay).
- (5) Dewan Bahadur Daya Kishan Kaul, C.I.E., Patiala (Punjab)."

*(The report of the Committee was accepted by the Conference.)*

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### Agendum I.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Your Highnesses,—We have now disposed of the work which was placed on the agenda for to-day, and I should like most heartily to congratulate Your Highnesses on what has been accomplished. But before adjourning this meeting on the Conference perhaps Your Highnesses will bear with me if I make one or two remarks with regard to some matters which have been brought up in the speeches during the debate. His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha very fairly pointed out that the position which I took up in January last was different from the position which I was taking up to-day ; that the basis for the composition of the future Chamber of Princes which I then suggested was a different basis to that which I proposed to Your Highnesses two days ago. It was a fair criticism, but I would like, very briefly, to reply to His Highness' remarks. Let me take a concrete example of the difficulty with which I found myself confronted. If His Highness of Nabha wished to proceed to a certain point by some country path and if he found that on his way by that path, though it appeared to be the best path, he was met by a prickly hedge which would certainly do him some damage, both in respect of his clothes and his person, if he attempted to force his way through, then I feel sure that His Highness would wisely attempt to find another path. That is exactly the position in which I found myself after the last Conference. I propounded a basis for the composition of the future Chamber of Princes, and I found myself in the middle of a most thorny discussion, so that I think I might almost use the phrase *quot homines tot sententiae*. Nearly every member of the Conference present put forward a different opinion with regard to the solution proposed. Now I could not have emerged from that very thorny discussion without serious detriment to myself and to the purpose which I had in view. Therefore I looked out, as His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha, I am sure, would have looked out, if he had been taking his country walk, for a way round the obstacle and I think that I found, as Your Highnesses' speeches showed to-day, a way round which has commended itself to all of you. In those circumstances I think that I was perfectly justified in abandoning the position which I took up at the beginning of this year, and in adopting a new position in the speech which I made to Your Highnesses two days ago.

In the second place, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner pointed out that it would be expedient if we dealt to-day, not so much with the demarcation line, as with the composition of the Chamber and that has been the

course which we have pursued. Very often an atmosphere of prejudice is apt to arise over a particular phrase or word, and I cannot help thinking that in this sphere of reforms with regard to the Chamber of Princes, the phrase "demarcation line" has obtained for itself the same prejudicial aspect, which has, unfortunately from my point of view accompanied the blessed word "dyarchy" in the other sphere of reform. Your Highnesses have jibbed at the phrase "demarcation line" in exactly the same way as others have jibbed at the word "dyarchy" in the constitutional reform proposals which the Secretary of State and I put forward some two years ago. As a matter of fact, Your Highnesses, by the proposals which you have accepted to-day and by the basis which we have now adopted by common consent for the new Chamber of Princes, we have achieved exactly the same result as we formerly hoped to obtain. It is only a question of which way you go round the circle. Last year you could not face the prospect of going round the circle one way. This year we are, as a matter of fact, going round the circle the other way, but we are going to obtain exactly the same result as we formerly hoped for, and I am glad to say, with the consent of you all.

Thirdly, with regard to one or two other observations made by Your Highnesses, I desire to re-assert in the most emphatic way what I have always asserted from this chair in the course of our Conferences. I think it was the Maharaja of Dewas who pleaded that nothing should be done by the composition of this new Chamber to impair the *izzat* of the Princes of India. Now, may I give him again the assurance, which I have given frequently before, that nothing that we are doing under these proposals will bring about any diminution of the powers or the status of the Rulers in India, and that these powers and that status will remain absolutely unaffected by the composition of the Chamber. I hope that when His Highness goes back to Central India to his friends, whom I wish we could see with him here at this Conference he will assure them that that will be the practical result of the setting up of this Chamber on the lines we propose. I feel sure he will not leave them under any misapprehension as to what the results will be. I know his persuasive powers, and I am convinced that, if he will only bring those persuasive powers to bear upon his brother Princes in Central India, he will convince them, as, I believe, he has been convinced himself in the course of the arguments during this Conference, that really no diminution of powers or status is involved in the proposals which have we adopted to-day.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Navanagar at the outset of the debate referred to the question of feudatory relations. No one knows better than His Highness, I am sure, how difficult it is to define in exact terms so as to please everybody a question which is so difficult and complex as the one which he has referred to. But may I again bring to his notice what I said in my opening speech at this Conference. If it is possible to draft a form of words which would be more satisfactory to everybody, I promise him that we will endeavour to do so, but the principle is embodied in the words which I used in my speech of November the 3rd at the beginning of the Conference, and I can only assure him that, if it is possible to devise a formula which will be an improvement upon what I have said, this will be done. Let me repeat what I said :—

"I am entirely in accord with Your Highnesses as to the importance of maintaining the *status quo* in the matter of feudatory relations, and I think I may safely say that your proviso will be accepted by the Government of India. On the other hand I am of opinion, and in this I think you will agree with me, that at the present stage, and pending the final adjudication of

particular claims to feudatory rights, no State whose qualifications for membership of the Chamber has to be scrutinised should be prejudiced as regards eligibility by the mere existence of an unestablished claim to feudatory rights which might, if admitted, limit the exercise by the Ruler of full or practically full internal powers, and so disqualify him for membership."

I adhere to that statement, and I should certainly be only too pleased to see that in the ultimate draft the principle which is embodied in it is absolutely and unequivocally brought out.

There is only one more matter to which I wish very briefly to allude. During this Conference I have had the privilege of being able to converse with a good many of Your Highnesses, and I have heard the statement that what we are doing in setting up this Chamber is going to result in the lesser Rulers swamping the greater. I have also heard it stated, on the other hand, that the result of our setting up this Chamber of Princes is going to be that the greater Rulers are going to dominate the lesser. Now, if we can find both these statements made at the same time by members of this Conference I feel sure that we are not very far wrong in what we are doing, and that we are really directing our course along that middle line which avoids extremes and which is the only course of safety.

Now, Your Highnesses, may I conclude, as I began, by once more congratulating Your Highnesses on the piece of work which you have done to-day. I sincerely trust that the final words of the resolution which was moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, expressing the hope that the Chamber will come into existence in the course of the next year, may come true. I can assure Your Highnesses of this, that no efforts on my part will be untried to bring about such a result. It only for a personal reason, it would naturally be a gratification to myself that I should be able to bring the Chamber into being during the course of my Viceroyalty. I have now presided over you for four years. Next year will be the fifth and, I am afraid the last time, and it would be an immense pleasure and gratification to me if I could feel that on the fifth occasion on which I presided over Your Highnesses I was presiding over, not a Conference of Princes, but a Chamber of Princes (*applause*).

The Conference will now adjourn until 11 o'clock on November the 7th.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY.

7th November 1919.

## Agendum II.

*To receive and consider the report of the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification, and standardization of existing political practice.*

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Your Highnesses,—The first item on the agenda for discussion this afternoon is the reception and consideration of the report of the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification and standardization of existing political practice. The report is in Your Highnesses' hands and I presume somebody will present the Report.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Your Excellency,—I have the honour to present the report of the Committee. Shall I read it ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Perhaps it will be best to read the two pages.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**

*Report of the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification and standardization of political practice.*

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"In the draft scheme prepared by Their Highnesses last year the first sentence ran as follows :—

"The treaty rights, the position as Sovereign Princes and Allies, and the dignity, honour and privileges and prerogatives of the Ruling Princes, shall be maintained in tact and strictly safeguarded."

In paragraph 309 of the Joint Reforms Report, the following sentence occurred :—

'In the meanwhile, however, we suggest that the time has come when it would be well to review the situation, of course only by consent of parties, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardize, and codify existing practice for the future.'

With reference to this sentence the following agendum was proposed for the consideration of the Princes' Conference which met in January 1919 :

## Agendum I. Item (2).

"That, with the consent of the Rulers of States, their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify standardize and codify existing practice for the future.'

The Conference by their Resolution quoted in the margin appointed us as a Committee to consider this

RESOLUTION ON ACENDUM I (ii).

Resolved that a permanent Committee of Princes may be elected by the Conference for one year to have periodical sitting: with the officers of the Imperial Government from the Political and Legislative Departments, in order that the subject may be threshed out in all its bearings and finally submitted before the next year's Conference when it could again be generally discussed.

The following were elected to serve on the Committee :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.  
His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.  
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar together with  
The Hon. Sir George Lowndes and the Political Secretary.

subject, and we now present to the Conference our report on the discussions which have so far taken place. Twenty-three questions (see Appendix\* A) have already been indicated by the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, as a basis for our discussion and of these we have been able to deal with the following :—

- (1) Tours and visits abroad of Ruling Princes and Chiefs.
- (2) The procedure for the execution in Indian States of commissions in criminal cases issued by British Indian courts.
- (3) The construction and maintenance of telephone lines in Indian States.
- (4) The acquisition of immovable *residential* property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

In order to facilitate discussion of these questions summaries of the principles underlying existing practice were submitted to us (see first column of Appendices† B, C, D, and E). As a result of our discussions we have prepared a revision of the summary in each case (see second column of Appendices† B, C, D, and E and we present for the approval of the Conference.

With reference to the second column of Appendix‡ E, we may note that the question of the acquisition of *non-residential* immovable property remains to be dealt with later.

We have also had under consideration certain other questions included in Appendix\* A, but have been unable, for want of time, to come to any final conclusions upon them.

With regard to telegraphs the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs explained the position to us and we asked him for certain further information, which he has now placed at our disposal, but which it has not been possible to consider.

With regard to mints and coinage, we have appointed a Sub-Committee to advise as to the commercial and practical advantages and disadvantages to the States of adopting an universal currency.

As regards the question of the grant of mining concessions in Indian States, our discussions have been assisted by the Director of the Geological Survey, and he has kindly undertaken to prepare a note for us on certain aspects of the question which we have not been able as yet fully to consider.

\* Page 662 *infra*.

† Pages 664—674 *infra*.

‡ Pages 672—674 *infra*.

If our revised summaries meet with the approval of the Conference, we recommend that they may be transmitted to the Government of India for consideration after circulation, in due course, to the Darbars.

The Committee desire to place on record their conviction that the continuance of the work on the lines on which it has been begun will be of great advantage both to the Imperial Government and to the Indian States. .

If the Conference desires that the work should be continued, it will be for them to appoint a Committee to carry it on.

While dealing with these questions in detail we have not overlooked the desirability of formulating a summary of the main principles which emerge from the body of treaties and engagements and we think that this work should, so far as possible proceed concurrently with the other.

The Princes who were appointed by Your Highnesses as members of this Committee desire to append to the Committee's Report a Note\* on some of the more important principles which will be involved in this procedure.

In conclusion the Ruling Princes on the Committee particularly desire to express their gratitude to the Hon. Sir George Lowndes and the Hon. Colonel Holland for their great sympathy and courtesy and for very fair and frank manner in which they have throughout dealt with the questions which came before us, thus greatly facilitating our task."

**His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar :—**Your Excellency,—The general recommendations made by the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the question of the codification of the existing political practice are now before us, and I may observe that they are but fair and such as would not fail to commend themselves readily to the acceptance of my brother Princes.

It is evident from the report that the task set before the Committee is far from complete. Out of the 23 questions† (Appendix A to Report) provisionally laid before them only 4 have been dealt with, some of which involve points that still remain to be considered.

We must, however, remember that the work entrusted to the Committee was so vast and arduous that we could not reasonably expect more than what has been accomplished within the course of a year. In order to deduct general principles for the purpose of simplification and codification of the existing practice of the Imperial Government in relation to the States, the Committee must needs wade through the colossal amount of literature recording the treaties, engagements and obligations of the several States and then steer clear of points of conflicting interests. Hence it would be too much to expect that this uphill work could be completed within the short space of a year knowing as we do, that the distinguished members of the Committee are all burdened with other heavy responsibilities.

I should not, in fact, wonder if the work extended over years, and I think it is necessary that the same Committee as was appointed by the Conference last year should carry it on, not only because we could hardly appoint an abler body, but also because they have already made a study of the matters involved in the questions before them, which new members would have to start anew. I would, however, propose the addition to the Committee of His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Maler Kotla.

\* Pages 660—661 *infra*.

† Pages 662—663 *infra*.



With these few explanatory words, I propose the following Resolution :—

“That this Conference expresses its general agreement with the recommendations of the permanent Committee appointed by the last Conference subject to the note put on record by the Princes on the Committee as regards the bearing of their deliberations upon the treaty rights and sovereign status of the Ruling Princes of India. That a Committee composed of the same members as were appointed by the last Conference be re-appointed now as a permanent Committee for the same purpose, and that His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Maler Kotla be added to the Committee.”

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**My Lord, The letter of the Political Agent forwarding a copy of the agenda to be discussed at this Conference conveyed a promise that “the report of the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification and standardization of existing political practice will be furnished as soon as possible.” This was on the 1st of September 1919. Seven weeks later—on the 20th of October 1919—my Chief Secretary wrote to the Political Agent enquiring when the promised papers might be expected. The Political Agent replied the next day that the said papers had not, till then, been received by him and that he would speak to the Political Secretary that very day about them.

The promised report, my Lord, I found a few minutes ago on this table on coming here, and think that the same is the position of several other Princes present. Speaking for myself I cannot undertake, my Lord, to offer any remarks on the said agendum to-day. I would not, however, have ventured to move for the postponement of this item on this ground alone, but I think that several of my noble colleagues present here to-day are at the same disadvantage and would therefore suggest that this item may stand over till the members of the Conference have had sufficient time to consider every aspect of so very important a question.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**Your Excellency,—Last year it was resolved regarding agendum No. II (ii) that a permanent Committee of Princes should be elected by the Conference for one year to hold periodical sittings with the officers of the Imperial Government from the Political and Legislative Departments in order that the subject might be threshed out in all its bearings and finally submitted before the next year's Conference when it could again be generally discussed. Accordingly, Princes and officers on the Imperial Government were elected to serve on the Committee.

Now the report of the Committee has been placed before the Conference for general discussion, but having regard to the magnitude of the question, which is of great vital importance for the States, I should like to say that the time allotted for the discussion is not sufficient for arriving at a proper conclusion and so in my opinion it would be better to defer the matter till the next year's Conference, when the Princes will be in a better position to give their definite and well-considered opinions on the subject.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**As Honorary General Secretary to Their Highnesses, will Your Excellency permit me to point out that from the very beginning of the Conference this item has been shown for discussion on the work-card. It was due to take place, I think, three days ago and an informal discussion on it took place yesterday. All the Princes who attended the meeting had copies of the report handed over to them at the

time for their consideration, and those Princes who were not present had copies posted to them yesterday. The report of the Committee was, I might point out, only signed in the 1st of November. It then, together with all the appendices, had to be printed, and we had to make provision for these things for discussion of the same at our informal meeting. If Their Highnesses have been inconvenienced by the delay, it is greatly to be regretted, but I think, in the circumstances, it was unavoidable. Also those of Their Highnesses who were present yesterday had the further opportunity of discussing the points with the various members of the Committee.

I beg to second, if I may, the Resolution proposed by His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I think, Your Highness, before we get on to discuss this item, I would like the Conference to express its opinion as to whether it wishes to proceed with the discussion on this paper at present. I cannot help feeling myself that even if Your Highnesses had three or four days' notice it would be hardly sufficient to enable Your Highnesses to come to a conclusion on these very important matters. I do not know how far His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner thinks it necessary to proceed with discussion of this resolution ; it is only 4 out of 23 which are being dealt with, and of course later on you will have an opportunity of presenting your report upon the other portions. I throw out as a suggestion that this now be circulated amongst members and that no further steps be taken with regard to its adoption until later on when Your Highnesses meet again and are able to have the whole story before you. Would that be convenient, Your Highness (*addressing the Maharaja of Bikaner*) ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**This is what our proposal is and what our report says—the 5th paragraph contains the definite proposal

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**It is the 6th paragraph—

After the approval of the Conference, we recommend that they should be transmitted to the Government of India for consideration after circulation in due course to the Darbars.

The Princes would have an opportunity of considering it ; they are not asked to approve of the proposals now.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :—**Only the general lines on which we are working—we only ask the Conference to authorise the Committee to proceed with the work ; every one of the details is subject to the approval of the various States and to the sanction of the Government of India after consultation with the Princes concerned.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**And there is this further—

“ If the Conference desires the work to be continued it will be for them to appoint a Committee to carry it on.”

It will be necessary for the Conference to-day, if they wish this work to continue, to appoint a Committee to carry on the work—so that there are two things which Your Highnesses might well do to-day without in any way prejudicing your right to criticise at a later stage, namely, first that you should authorise the Committee to forward the report to the Government of India for transmission to the various Darbars throughout India for their consideration, and secondly, that you should either appoint a new Committee or reappoint the present Committee to continue the work which they have just begun. In that way no Darbar would be prejudiced in any sense, but all would have the

report formally sent to them by the Government of India and would be able to express their opinion upon the proposals so far as they have gone.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**My Lord,—We are not in a position to form an opinion unless we go through the papers with regard to the work which has been done by the Committee which has been sitting ; that is the point.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**You are not asked to now ; all you are asked is whether you would like to go on with the work of the Committee. You are at liberty to send this report of yours for transmission to the various Darbars for their opinion, and to say that this Committee had better be reappointed to go on and consider other questions. You are not expressing approval of what is being done ; you are merely asked to assent to this—that what has been done may now be shown to all the Darbars throughout India. I hope Your Highness quite understands.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**Yes, but perhaps I did not make my submission quite clear. Your Excellency said “Whether to continue the same Committee or to appoint another Committee.” With regard to the Committee which has been sitting, we do not know the work which they have been doing ; that was my submission. Perhaps I did not make myself clear ; I am sorry.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Does Your Highness mean that you are not quite sure whether you have confidence in the Committee which has been doing this work ?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha :—**We have not, some of us, read the papers. How can we say ?

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**Your Excellency,—May I make a suggestion ?

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I have just made a suggestion ; perhaps I may put it before you speak. It is that the resolution should be altered in this manner so that it may embody the recommendation in the Report :—

“That this Conference recommends that these summaries be transmitted to the Government of India for consideration after circulation in due course to the Darbars .”

That does not express the approval of the Conference ; it merely asks the Government of India to send them round to the various States. The second resolution is—

“That this Conference reappoints the Committee which has carried on the work so far, with the addition of His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Maler Kotla.”

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch :—**Your Excellency,—I have no objection to the resolution which Your Excellency has just read out ; but the suggestion I was going to venture to make was that, although some of Their Highnesses are apparently not prepared with their views on the Report, some of Their Highnesses have had time to go through it, and not only go through it, but to discuss it at our informal meeting ; and some of Their Highnesses, I think, are ready to suggest certain amendments ; therefore, before any resolutions are passed, perhaps Your Excellency may deem it right to allow a discussion to take place to ventilate the matter. Such discussion might prove useful to the next committee which might be appointed to carry on the work.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**I certainly should not rule any such discussion out of order. I was only anxious that this Conference should not pledge

itself to approve of all these recommendations without the members of the Conference having had a full opportunity of seeing and considering their effect.

**His Highness the Maharao of Cutch** :—I fully agree with Your Excellency there ; I only suggest that any members who wish to discuss the matter may be allowed to do so.

**His Excellency the Viceroy** :—Certainly.

**His Highness the Raj Sahib of Wankaner** :—Your Excellency,—I request to be allowed to propose an amendment in \*Appendix B, part I, concerning tours and visits abroad of Ruling Princes and Chiefs. The Committee has suggested in a †footnote that as a matter of courtesy exemption from payment of duty on dutiable articles should invariably be arranged for Rulers entitled to a salute of 11 guns or more on arriving in England, and that, so far as possible, similar exemption should be arranged for them when travelling on the Continent.

I am not aware of the reasons which weighed with the Committee in arriving at the limit of the 11-gun salute, but I have only to say that the happy solution so generously announced by Your Excellency on the 3rd November, now governs the situation. It is clear that all nine-gun Princes with full or practically full internal powers are entitled to admission to the Chamber in their own right, and Your Excellency has further proposed that all Rulers who are entitled to a seat in the Chamber in their individual capacity should be described as Ruling Princes.

Under the circumstances, I submit that the limit laid down by the Committee should be so worded as to include all Ruling Princes, and that the footnote may be amended accordingly. The amendment that I propose is that—

*Proposed amendment to the footnote of the Committee at page 7 of the Committee's Report.*

For the words " Rulers entitled to a salute of 11 guns or more," substitute the words " all Ruling Princes."

**The Thakur Sahib of Limbdi** :—Your Excellency,—I agree with the opinion of His Highness the Maharao Sahib of Cutch as expressed in the footnote at page\* 8 of the Committee's report, and I beg to suggest that the point may be duly considered by the Conference.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar** :—Your Excellency,—I agree with His Highness of Cutch regarding the proposition that such Princes as have been able to give the matter their consideration may be invited to express their views regarding the general question and the proposals of the Committee that have been laid before them. As regards such Princes as may not have had time to consider the proposals carefully, we have ourselves in the report of the Committee clearly laid down that after the Conference gives its general approval of the lines on which we have worked, the report should then be transmitted to the Government of India and be circulated to each individual State in order to elicit further opinions of those members who are present here to-day but who have not had time to study it, and of such Princes who are not present to go through the subject in the present Conference.

With regard to the second item, regarding the selection of the Committee, which question will, I understand, come up in a separate resolution, I have only

\* Pages 664-665 *infra*.

† Pages 666-667 *infra*.

one or two words to say. I would only appeal to Your Highnesses to view the matter from a broad standpoint. It does not matter who the members of the Committee are; that is for Your Highnesses to decide and to select. But merely with a view to facilitate business, I would earnestly urge that the members of the Committee should be limited to as small a number as possible, in order to make it a *working* Committee. With a large body of members it is sometimes difficult to transact business quite so quickly or expeditiously as it is with numbers that are of a workable nature.

One particular point that I would like, if Your Excellency has no objection, to bring to Your Excellency's notice is that mentioned on page 661 of the Committee's report\*. We have said that, while dealing in detail with questions regarding political practice, we have not overlooked the desirability of formulating a summary of the main principles which emerge from the body of treaties and engagements, and we think that this work should as far as possible proceed concurrently with the other. For any new Committee that is appointed, if it is to deal with the question of the codification of political practice, I would suggest that the Political Department may be good enough to collect data and to frame some kind of rough summary, so that our idea which is expressed in this part of the Report may also be carried out. The new Committee could then deal concurrently with the question of examining the main principles underlying our treaties.

**His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar :—**Your Excellency,—As some objections have been raised about the resolution which has been put forward, I want to lay the following before the Conference—

- (1) *that this Conference recommends that the summaries prepared by the Committee be transmitted to the Government of India for their consideration after circulation in due course to the Darbars ;*
- (2) *that the Committee composed of the same members as were appointed by the last Conference be reappointed now as a permanent Committee for the same purpose ; and*
- (3) *that His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Maler Kotla be added to the Committee.*

**His Highness the Maharao of Kotah :—**Your Excellency,—I agree with His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Jhalawar.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Unless any of Your Highnesses desire to continue the debate, it would be well if I put the resolutions now. I understand that Your Highnesses prefer the old-fashioned method of holding up your hands to show agreement with the resolution. I am afraid I have put before you lately the Legislative Council practice of calling on Your Highnesses to say "Aye" or "No;" but I will revert to the old practice.

*[Part (1) of the resolution in His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Jhalawar's speech was put and carried unanimously.]*

*Part (2) of the resolution was put and carried.]*

*Part (3) of the resolution was put and carried.]*

### Agendum V.

To consider the question of amending section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908 (V of 1908,) in order to enable Civil and Revenue Courts in British India to send their decrees for execution to Courts of Indian States.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**We now proceed, Your Highnesses, to the discussion of item V on the agenda, *viz.*, to consider the question of amending section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908, in order to enable Civil and Revenue Courts in British India to send their decrees for execution to Courts of Indian States.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur :—**Your Excellency,—As regards agendum No. V, I have replied to the question set out for consideration in a note\* which I have circulated to my brother Princes and to the Government of India. I do not, therefore, wish to take up the valuable time of this Conference by reading it in detail. What I have maintained is that the Court of an Indian State while executing a decree of a British Indian Court should be regarded as a foreign Court, and it should be entitled to exercise all the powers which under similar circumstances a British Indian Court exercises in executing the decree of the Court of an Indian State. The Indian State Courts and British Indian Courts should be on a footing of perfect equality under international law. If this position is made clear and perfectly understood, there will be no reason to entertain any apprehensions on this subject. As a matter of fact so far as the amendment of section 45 is concerned, the question "What should be the powers to be exercised in such cases by the State Courts" does not at all arise. The British Indian Legislature cannot define the powers of the State Courts. As a matter of fact the latter part of the question in the explanatory memorandum of agendum No. V ought not to have been put. However, as it exists in the memorandum it has become necessary exhaustively to state our views so as to leave no room for any misunderstanding in the future. The amendment no doubt will be applicable to those States only with whom arrangements of reciprocity have been concluded. Those States which have not entered into such reciprocal relations will not be at all affected by the amendment.

It is feared that perhaps pressure may be brought to bear upon the Indian States by the Political Department to execute decrees of British Indian Courts in cases where they refuse to execute such decrees on grounds similar to those contained in section 13 of the Civil Procedure Code. With a view therefore to leave no room for doubt, I request Government to make it quite clear that the decision of an Indian State refusing to execute the decree of a British Indian Court should not be open to revision by the Political Department. Such an assurance would remove all misapprehensions on this point and facilitate the working of the proposed amendment.

**His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi :—**Your Excellency,—Agendum No. V seems to be of a very complicated nature. It is a well-known fact that Sovereign States possess under their treaties and engagements with the Imperial Government, full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and accordingly many of the Indian State Courts have got Civil Procedure Codes of their own, based on their respective *Dharma Shastras*, ancient customs and traditions of their States, which differ on many points from the rules of the Civil Procedure Code in force in British India. It seems possible, therefore, that complications may arise out

\*Pages 736—742 *infra*.

of the proposed amendment if it is given effect to, and I think there is no necessity at present of disturbing the present arrangement which has been in force for the last hundred years and over, if the proposed amendment is meant to affect the States like mine which are not notified.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior:**—Your Excellency,—I suggest that this question be discussed by a Committee.

**His Excellency the Viceroy:**—Have you got any names?

**His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior:**—I think the same Committee as is already appointed to consider codification.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir\*:** Your Excellency,—As suggested by the Chief Justice of Madras an amendment of section 45 of the Indian Code of Civil Procedure to accord legislative recognition to the transfer to State Courts of decrees passed by Indian Courts and to proceedings in execution before the former as if they were taken by the latter appears to be very desirable.

The powers of a Court executing a transferred decree shall be the same as those of the Court passing it, subject to the monetary and territorial jurisdiction of the Court of the State which receives the decree for execution.

In the Kashmir State sanction has already been accorded to acceptance of the decrees of Indian Courts as valid and their execution by the state courts.

Section 43 of the Code proposed would, when sanctioned, provide legislative authority in this connection.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha:**—My Lord,—With regard to the question now before the Conference for discussion I think the Princes should safeguard their assent by the consideration of two important elements—(1) that there should be reciprocity between British India and themselves as to equal execution, (2) that their independence of British Legislation should be fully assured. In view of the second consideration I am averse from any amendment of section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code which would by British Legislation make Indian States amenable to that legislation. The alternative—and I think it feasible and reasonable—is to use section 44 of the Civil Procedure Code, to adopt and extend its intent and to make, by notification, decrees of British Courts, Civil and Revenue, capable of execution in such of the Indian States as assent to this provision. The procedure would be simple. Such States as assent would communicate their assent to the Governor-General in Council, who would thereupon notify the adherents in the *Gazette of India*. But I would ask that the language of the extension should be permissive, not imperative. Just as the decrees of Indian States “may” under section 44 be executed in British India, so the decrees of British India, it should be declared “may” and not “shall” be executed in the Indian States. In the large majority of cases such decrees would be executed in the States, but conceivable occasions might arise for a necessity to scrutinize a decree. And that discretion ought in my view to be reserved to the executing Indian State.

**His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner:**—Your Excellency,—We discussed this question amongst ourselves at an informal meeting but unfortunately we did not arrive at a definite conclusion one way or the other, because there were many questions involved which required further consideration. It was therefore decided to defer decision on the question this year pending further consideration. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia’s proposal to refer this to the Codification Committee will meet the point, because in all probability we

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\* Read out by the Political Secretary.

shall have to go into further details which may be done by the appointment of perhaps a sub-committee as we have done in the matter of the currency question. I beg to second His Highness's proposal.

**The Chief of Jamkhandi :—**Your Excellency,—The question before us is as regards the amendment of section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, so as to enable the British Civil and Revenue Courts, as defined in the said Code, to send their decrees for execution to the notified Courts of the Indian States. The main object of the amendment is the legalization of the existing practice in order to remove the hardships now created by the decision of the Madras High Court and also to set at rest the divergent views of the different High Courts in India. I understand that there is some misunderstanding on this point that is reasonably entertained by some of the Darbars, and I hope that the following explanations will remove the said misunderstanding as far as possible :—

- (1) The intended amendment will apply to those States which have already effected or are willing to effect reciprocal arrangements for the execution of their Courts' decrees.
- (2) The said amendment will neither be binding nor affect those States, which have no reciprocity or which are unwilling to have it.
- (3) Only personal or money decrees are, in practice, sent for execution ; other decrees could not be so sent for want of jurisdiction over the subject-matter.
- (4) The introduction of British jurisdiction does not arise in such cases, as the executing foreign Courts are in no way subject to the authority of any British Court or High Court.
- (5) The procedure to be followed and the powers to be exercised by the executing Courts will be as laid down exclusively by the State concerned. The difference in procedure or local laws, if any, will have to be admitted by the party which voluntarily applies for a transfer of his decree.
- (6) The reciprocity arrangements will cause certain loss in revenue both to the Indian States and the Imperial Government. This loss, however, could be justified on two grounds, (a) the ensuing benefits to their respective subjects, (b) the rise in credit on account of the facilities afforded to them to realise their mutual debts.

However, the concluding clause in the explanatory memorandum on agenda V is certainly questionable as well as objectionable. In my humble opinion, the British Legislature cannot lay down either the powers or the procedure for the foreign State Courts. It is the legislative or executive head of the State concerned that can authoritatively lay down the powers and the procedure of the Courts subordinate to it. The Imperial Government can only make suggestions and recommendations on such matters. However, the powers and the procedure will not vary in material respects from those of the British Courts. Subject to this reservation, I would like to have reciprocity in this matter by my Darbar with the Imperial Government and other Indian States, and would like to support the proposed amendment.

**His Highness the Pant Sachiv of Bhor :—**Your Excellency,—With Your Excellency's kind permission I beg to place before the Conference my views on the question of amending section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 908 (V of 1908).



The raising of the status of Indian States seems to be the policy of the British Government. Times have now changed. The judgment of the Court of an Indian State deserves to be respected, as such Courts cannot now be charged with incompetency, want of intelligence and integrity. In order to avoid inconvenience to the public I think it is very desirable to make the necessary amendment if agreement of reciprocity for the execution of decrees with the Indian States be concluded. The State Courts must have the same powers as British Courts in the execution of the decrees of Civil and Revenue Courts.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**It has been moved and seconded "*that item No. V of the agenda of this Conference be referred to the consideration of the Committee which has been appointed by the Conference to consider the question of the simplification, codification and standardization of the present political practice.*"

(The resolution was put and adopted.)

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### Anniversary of the Armistice.

**His Excellency the Viceroy :—**Before Your Highnesses adjourn, I would like to inform you that I have just received a telegram from the Secretary of State asking me to inform Your Highnesses that the following message is about to be issued in the name of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor throughout the Empire. It runs as follows :—

"To my people. Tuesday next, the 11th November, is the first anniversary of the armistice which stayed the world-wide carnage of the four preceding years, and marked the victory of right and freedom. I believe that my people in every part of the Empire fervently wish to perpetuate the memory of that great deliverance and of those who laid down their lives to achieve it. To afford an opportunity for the universal expression of this feeling it is my desire and hope that at the hour when the armistice came into force, the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11 month, there may be for the brief space of two minutes a complete suspension of our normal activities. During that time, except in the rare cases where this may be impracticable, all work or sound and all locomotion should cease, so that in perfect stillness the thought of everyone may be concentrated on the reverent remembrance of the glorious dead. No elaborate organisation appears to be necessary. At a given signal, which can easily be arranged to suit the circumstances of each locality, I believe that we shall all gladly interrupt our business and pleasure, whatever it may be and unite in this simple observance of silence and remembrance George R. I."

The message is addressed to all the peoples of the Empire and it has been repeated to every Dominion and Colony. The Secretary of State for India has telegraphed to me that arrangements are being made in the United Kingdom for the general observance of the two minutes' silence at 11 o'clock next Tuesday. Trains will be stopped on the railways, traffic in the streets, ships as far as possible at sea, and every effort will be made to get work suspended everywhere, in schools, shops, mines and factories, and to ensure complete silence. His Majesty the King hopes that the Ruling Princes and Chiefs will be willing to

arrange for similar observance throughout their States. It is, of course, impracticable, owing to distance, that the ceremony should synchronize throughout the Empire, but it has been suggested that 11 A.M. local time might be adopted throughout India. A further communication on this subject will be made to Your Highnesses through the usual channels.

The Conference will now adjourn till 11 o'clock on Saturday, the 8th instant.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY,

*8th November 1919.*

## ADDRESS BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

On behalf of my brother Princes and myself I take this opportunity, on the last day of the session, to offer a few observations—some of a general nature, others that bear upon the happenings of the last few days.

But before I do so, we wish to offer our cordial thanks for the great sympathy and courtesy with which the business of the session has been conducted by Your Excellency. We heartily reciprocate the sentiment that these annual meetings afford a welcome occasion for the renewal of our friendship with you and, I may say, with the distinguished officers of your Government, and for the formation of new friendships between Your Excellency and these officers and such members of our Order as attend the Conference for the first time.

As Your Excellency very appropriately remarked, our pleasure on the present occasion is tempered with genuine sorrow. We join with Your Excellency in deploring the demise of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Ajaigarh and the Rajas of Sailana, Chamha and Suket. Our hearts go out in sympathy to the bereaved ruling families and we trust that they will accept from us this public expression of our condolences.

We share also Your Excellency's sense of regret at the absence of Their Highnesses the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Jaipur. Both have unfortunately been prevented from attending the Conference on account of ill health. Her highness has shown her genuine interest in the problems of construction which we have been tackling by deputing her son, while the Maharaja of Jaipur, in expressing his regret at his inability to attend, has written to the Honorary General Secretary as follows :—

“ I sincerely hope that the Government of India and my brother Princes will not misunderstand my absence from the very important session of the Conference. They all know full well my entire sympathy with the object of this annual gathering to discuss and settle questions of vital importance in which the Government of India and the Princes are interested.”

We regret no less the absence of other familiar faces. We regret their absence all the more, inasmuch as their advice and suggestions, whether at our informal meetings or in this Conference, are regarded by us as of the greatest assistance.

Turning now to a pleasant topic, I would dwell for a moment upon the services of my valued friend and brother—His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner—services of considerable value which he rendered to the Empire, to India and to our Order, as a member of the Imperial Conference in London and of the Peace Conference at Versailles. The language of genuine appreciation is never effusive, and I would merely say that His Highness has not

only established a claim upon our gratitude, but, what is far more important, he has done credit to our Order.

The great war threw a searchlight over our resources, which were, of course, limited ; but we hope that the services rendered by the Indian States proved to the world at large that the loyalty to the British Throne and the determination to give practical shape to that loyalty, which lie behind those resources, are indeed unlimited. We maintain, however, that His Highness in a sense did more than this. He acquitted himself so creditably in the discharge of the onerous and responsible duties entrusted to him by His Majesty's Government that it was revealed to the countries of Europe and beyond what capacity the members of our Order possessed, and we trust their representatives were impressed with the feeling that the Princes of India constituted a body whose interests deserve consideration.

While on the subject of our services during the war I must not omit to make our grateful acknowledgments for the handsome manner in which Your Excellency has referred to them. May we ask that our gratefulness for His Royal appreciation, coupled with assurances of our abiding loyalty and attachment, may be communicated to His Imperial Majesty in words of Your Excellency's choice, as doubtless they will be far more appropriate and worthy of the occasion than any that we could suggest.

We would also ask Your Excellency to accept our thanks for the need of praise which you have paid us on behalf of yourself personally and your Government.

Before I finish with the subject of the war, I would like to express our profound admiration in which, we are sure, Your Excellency would join, for that veteran soldier—Maharaja, better known as His Highness Sir Pertap Singh. Many young men and ardent spirits of our Order gave proof of the martial spirit which is alive in them by hastening to the battle-fields of Europe at the call of our beloved Emperor. While this was creditable, it was also just what was expected of them. To Maharaja Pertap Singh belongs the credit of demonstrating an utter disregard of the handicap of advancing years. Keen soldier as he is, I am sure, he would like me to speak more colloquially than formally in referring to his patriotic action. I therefore say, with the authority of all the members of our Order, that we admire the way in which he 'struck it out like a man' for nearly the whole duration of the war.

I would now come on to certain words of wholesome advice and exhortation which Your Excellency addressed to us in the course of your inaugural speech.

We thank Your Excellency for your solicitude on our behalf and for inviting our co-operation in the maintenance of law and order. So far as our States are concerned we feel no hesitation in saying that they can never become *alsatias* for people of evil disposition. The temper, and therefore the attitude, of our people is born of sentiments hallowed by traditions and sanctified by religion, and it is not possible for them to believe that there can be any conflict of interests between them and us. It is this bed-rock of inborn affection which underlies our relations—affection that is prompted by real sympathy and an equally real desire for the advancement of all their interests. Therefore, we feel proud that Your Excellency should look to us for co-operation in ensuring peace within the borders of India ; and if at any time our assistance should be sought in any emergency affecting the whole country, especially one arising from causes within, we should always be ready to place at Your Excellency's

disposal the advice or assistance which our experience suggested, always, remembering that man proposes and God disposes.

We thank Your Excellency for inviting our attention to the dangers of the new spirit which we believe is in the main the outcome of the economic revolution which has taken place in the world within recent years at a rapid pace. We venture to think that the underlying cause of the varied demands of the peoples all the world over is essentially more economic than otherwise. This is a state of affairs which is beyond our control and which we can only partially remedy. As for matters of administration, we look forward to the day when our people can render us substantial relief from the responsibility of supplying personal guidance in matters of detail.

This is our position, and it is because we want to rise equal to our responsibilities that we are insistently troubling the Government for the creation of conditions in which our resources can be developed for the benefit of our people and our administrations rendered efficient towards a similar end.

Your Excellency's allusion to the Jagirdars' problem in our States is indeed very gratifying. We do want them to be the bulwarks of our rule and we are labouring to make them so. If at times we have appeared to be harsh in dealing with them, it has been the harshness of a parent towards an erring child and, where such harshness has been employed, it has unfortunately been occasioned by waywardness which was not natural to these hereditary associates of ours.

I now come to those announcements in Your Excellency's speech that call for unqualified gratefulness on our parts.

First of all, we are deeply grateful to His Majesty's Government and, more particularly, to Your Excellency and Mr. Montagu for the assurance that, after the necessary preliminaries have been settled, the Chamber of Princes will be instituted. Equally grateful are we for the promise to constitute a Standing Committee, and for the assurance in regard to the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration.

As regards Courts of Arbitration, we have no doubt that it is for the best of reasons that Your Excellency has seen fit to retain discretion as regards appointing or refusing to appoint them ; even when both parties concerned in a case are agreed upon asking for one. We imagine, however, that the cases wherein assent would be withheld would be very rare indeed and that it would only be in very special circumstances.

The scheme propounded by Your Excellency for the composition of the Chamber is so comprehensive as to embrace all the various interests. This is not only expedient but just : and when the stage of misgiving, which is incidental to all innovations, is passed, it will most probably be recognised as entirely satisfactory. It may, however, be necessary to examine the relative positions of States in certain provinces and to effect adjustments of relations *inter se*, as some of these relations are based upon the varying histories of States in particular local areas. One aspect of this problem of adjustment is happily settled already by the assurance, *viz.*—

“ that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member would not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such State ”.

assuming that the latter is able to establish its claim to feudatory rights over the former.

In any case we think that the attitude which should characterise all members of the future Chamber should be one of keenness to solve the problems common to the Imperial Government and the States or common to themselves. It would not be fair on the part of any one to use his membership of the Chamber as a lever for personal elevation, and we feel sure that such efforts, which are extremely improbable, will find no countenance from the Imperial Government.

In returning thanks for the practical proposals announced, we must not fail to express due appreciation of the decision to employ, in the future, differentiating phraseology, namely, "Ruling Princes" and "Ruling Chiefs", in the description of the more important and the lesser Rulers. In India the importance of dignified phraseology cannot be overstated. It is the measure of peoples' estimation of those whom they address. It will thus be perceived how easily hearts may be won or mortal offence given by care or the want of it in the selection of language.

The assurance, too, is immensely gladdening that the application of the deductive method to the scrutiny and test of practice and procedure in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of the treaties and engagements may proceed. We trust that this process will be allowed to continue until all such States as desire such examination of their treaties are satisfied that it has been thoroughly done.

No less satisfying is the eminently just decision that in future political practice which may have a bearing on the States' prerogatives will be framed after formal and collective discussion with the Ruling Princes.

In alluding to the functions of the Chamber, Your Excellency referred to the divergence of views that existed last year as regards the institution of a more formal assemblage. We feel that, as the objects of the Chamber and the use to which it might be put in the common interests of the Empire and the States come to be better appreciated and apprehensions are thus gradually allayed, and as it is more clearly realised that the Chamber is not going to prove the means of the lowering of the position of any individual State, those who have held aloof so far may feel justified in reconsidering their decision.

In any case the provision that attendance and voting in the Chamber will be purely voluntary is a wise one.

Pleasanter than the task of expressing thanks for the preliminary assurance in regard to the constitution of the Chamber is the duty of expressing our gratefulness for the frank manner in which the admission has been made that a body of usage, in some cases arbitrary, has come into being and has affected the treaty position of the States. We have no doubt whatever that the Government of India, in permitting such usage to grow up, were prompted by benevolent intentions. The benevolence of the Government of India's intentions and their eagerness to foster the interests of the States is proved beyond question by the readiness with which Your Excellency has agreed to alter adverse usage generally and particularly, so as to make it consonant with the spirit of our treaties. All this confirms us in our anticipations. We always felt that our difficulties had only to be brought to light to be promptly

removed and replaced by a set of conditions in which our progress would be rapid consistently with being solid.

We cannot be too grateful for the goodwill towards us by which the British Government are inspired, and we recognise, with due gratitude, their unflinching determination to assist us in every way.

We do not claim that our administrations are yet perfect : we do not even say that they ever will be, for we believe that no administration or, for that matter, no institution that is devised by the wit or ingenuity of man, will ever be perfect. There is room for improvement always and, happily for human society there are always both the disposition and the incentive to improve. All we ask is to be encouraged in this disposition and that our ambition to improve may have free play under the watchful eye of the British Government—nurtured by their kindly assistance and guided by the experience of their wider outlook. This may occasionally mean that we shall buy our own experience, but even that cannot really do much serious harm. We feel that the statesmanlike policy of meeting situations as they arise, which has been so consistently followed by Your Excellency, will soon result in the attainment of all our aspirations, and this happy result will, we hope, supply an enduring justification of Your Excellency's sympathetic policy.

Be that as it may, one thing is certain, and that is, that when the States have bought their own experience, if they must, and thoroughly learnt what they have to learn, which they never will unless enabled, they will be of greater help to the British Empire than ever. Specially important is the matter of accelerating the industrial and economic improvement of the States; so that in times of emergency like that of the recent war, the Imperial Government may find our resources fully developed and available for effective use. The increase of our power in every direction will mean an accession of strength to the already strong arm of the British Government against the hostile designs of all envious intriguers—and the ample development of our own resources, agricultural, industrial, etc., must greatly contribute towards making our country economically self-reliant.

Finally, we may say that we await with very great eagerness the introduction of the scheme to bring the States into direct or closer relations with the Government of India, and hope that its consummation will come before 1919 has run out. It may look as if we are in too great a hurry and do not appreciate the difficulties which the Imperial Government must face in working out such a scheme satisfactorily in all its aspects. We however feel sure that it will be realised that what seems to be our impatience is only the measure of the importance that we attach to the introduction of the revised system.

It only remains for me now to express our gratitude for the very welcome assurance which Your Excellency gave us on the 5th of November, that, God willing, next year we shall meet, not as the Conference, but as the Chamber of Princes—a consummation which we most earnestly desire.

Last but not least, in response to the kind message from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, which Your Excellency conveyed to us as a happy ending to your inaugural address, we request you to assure him of our unflinching faith in his warm sympathy for us and in his determination to promote the interests of our Order. It will be our endeavour to make the Chamber of Princes a lasting monument to the sagacity of Your Excellency and the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu,

# HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE.

YOUR HIGHNESSES,

In the remarks which I made three days ago I expressed my views on some of the most important items on the agenda which you have been discussing in Conference, and I have very little to add to what I then said.

I thank Your Highnesses for the reply which His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior has just made to the address which I delivered at the opening of this Conference.

In the light of experience gained during this Conference we may unhesitatingly conclude that the suggestion made by the Maharaja Scindia for the prolongation of the period of our deliberations was a wise one, since it would not have been possible to complete the important task before Your Highnesses in a shorter time.

I congratulate you on the real progress which has been achieved, and I trust that what you have done will bear fruit in the near future in the establishment of the Chamber of Princes, and in the setting up of machinery which will systematize and simplify the relations between the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and the Government of India.

I am sure that Your Highnesses realise as vividly as I do that a great deal of serious work remains to be done before the Chamber comes into being, and in this work the co-operation of the Committee appointed by Your Highnesses will be a vital factor.

I can assure you that on our part nothing will be left undone in order to bring about the desired result, and I am equally convinced that those of Your Highnesses who have been appointed on the Committee will spare no pains and grudge no expenditure of time in answer to calls that may be made upon them.

Your Highnesses will forgive me if I take this opportunity of dealing with another matter of public interest though not directly affecting Your Highnesses. I have always made a rule of ignoring attacks made in the Press, but I must make an exception in the case of an article in the "*Times*" cabled out by Reuter. A summary which appeared yesterday contained the following passage :—

"Earl Curzon's statement that vital letter of Sir Hamilton Grant, by which Government relinquished control of external affairs of Afghanistan was not kept back, was erroneous. Letter was not only withheld from public for some days, but was not even received by Mr. Montagu until day after text of treaty had reached London. Whole episode, says "*Times*", is in keeping with policy of evasion which too often marks action of present Government of India."

I do not propose to deal with the question of policy embodied in that letter of Sir Hamilton Grant, beyond saying this—that we deliberately turned our backs on the past policy of attempting to control Afghan foreign relations through a paper condition. The aim of our policy is, to quote Lord Curzon's recent speech in the House of Lords as summarised by Reuter :—

"Some arrangement with the Afghan Government which would differ in many important respects from the preceding arrangements, but which would give us what was really solely the essential



thing, namely, a neighbour on the frontier who was friendly and loyal to Britain and with whom we could live in the future amicably."

If we secure this result, it connotes that Afghanistan's foreign relations will be such as to have our approval. Till we are satisfied that Afghanistan's foreign relations are such as meet our approval, the second chapter containing the treaty of friendship will not be written.

But what I wish to refer to, more particularly to-day, is not the wisdom or unwisdom of my conduct of our foreign affairs, but the charge of a policy of evasion which is made against my Government. Here again, if the charge had been couched in general terms, I would have ignored it, because it is obviously unprofitable to bandy argument over a question which must largely be a matter of opinion. In this case, however, it is coupled with the concrete accusation that we had withheld Sir Hamilton's letter not only from the public for some days, but even from the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. Now this allegation can obviously only be based on conjecture, for the Secretary of State alone could inform the "*Times*" of the facts, and no one is more punctilious than Mr. Montagu in such matters.

Let me give one or two dates which will, I hope, dispose of this matter. I find that I communicated the terms of the proposed letter to the Secretary of State by telegram on the 4th of August. It presumably reached him either on the 4th of August, or on the 5th, as I received his reply on the 6th of August. The treaty was signed on the 8th of August, and the actual text of the letter, as delivered to the Afghans, was telegraphed the next day. It is said that the letter was not even received by the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. It must be obvious that with the best will in the world and with the most efficient cable system the text of a letter delivered with a treaty of peace on the 8th of August could not have reached London more expeditiously. And, moreover, the substance of the letter, as actually delivered to the Afghan delegates, was contained in my telegram to the Secretary of State of August 4th to which I have referred above.

Your Highnesses, this is a matter which can be of little interest to you and I hope you will forgive me for introducing this subject into my speech, but I felt that I had to take the earliest opportunity of dealing with a matter which so closely affected my honour.

It only remains for me to wish Your Highnesses farewell and God-speed, and to say that I hope that, when we meet again, I may have the pleasure of welcoming not only Your Highnesses who are present to-day but also many other members of your Order.

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## RESOLUTIONS.

**Resolutions passed by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs held at Delhi on the 3rd November 1919 and following days.**

### Conclusion of Victorious Peace.

*I. Resolved.*—That the Ruling Princes of India, assembled in this Conference, request His Excellency the Viceroy to be so kind as to convey to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor their loyal and heartfelt congratulations on the conclusion of a victorious peace and assurances of their abiding devotion and deep attachment to His August Person and Throne no less than of their unflagging determination to render His Imperial Majesty and his Empire hearty service whenever occasion demands it.

### Vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

*II. Resolved.*—That this Conference records a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and tenders him warm congratulations on the eminent services rendered by His Highness at the Peace Conference.

### Agendum I.

#### *III. Resolved—*

- (a) that this Conference warmly accepts the scheme proposed by His Excellency the Viceroy for the composition of the Chamber of Princes and tenders grateful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India ;
- (b) that this Conference further expresses the earnest hope that the Chamber may be brought into being during the ensuing year ;
- (c) that, in the opinion of the Conference, the suggestion that a reasonable representation of the lesser States should be afforded in the Chamber of Princes, so as to enable them to have a voice in matters affecting their interests, ought to be most carefully examined ;
- (d) that a Committee be appointed to examine the possibility and the feasibility of devising a scheme from a practical point of view and report to the Conference ; and
- (e) that the Government of India be asked to investigate the whole question and to provide material for the Committee to work on, and that the *personnel* of the Committee should, as a matter of convenience, be identical with that of the Committee of the Chamber appointed to carry on the codification of political practice.

### Agendum II.

#### *IV. Resolved—*

- (a) that this Conference recommends that the summaries prepared by the Committee be transmitted to the Government of India for their consideration after circulation, in due course, to the Darbars;

- (b) that the Committee composed of the same members as were appointed by the last Conference be reappointed now as a permanent Committee for the same purpose ; and
- (c) that His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla be added to the Committee.
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### Agendum III.

*V. Resolved.*—That a Sub-Committee consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel F. H. G. Hutchinson, Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India, and a few representatives of the States be appointed to consider the best means of securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics.

The following representatives were nominated by the Princes :—

Colonel Haksar, C.I.E., Gwalior (Central India).

Rai Bahadur Abinash Chandra Sen, Jaipur (Rajputana).

Rao Bahadur Sabnis, C.I.E., Kolhapur (Bombay).

Dewan Bahadur Daya Kishan Kaul, C.I.E., Patiala (Punjab).

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### Agendum IV.

*VI. Resolved.*—That this Conference recognises the desirability of co-operation in matters of public health.

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### Agendum. V.

*VII. Resolved.*—That item No. V of the agenda of this Conference be referred to the consideration of the Committee which has been appointed by the Conference to consider the question of the simplification, codification and standardization of the present political practice.

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# APPENDIX I.

**Report of the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification and standardization of political practice.**

In the draft scheme prepared by Their Highnesses last year the first sentence ran as follows :—

“The treaty rights, the position as Sovereign Princes and Allies, and the dignity, honour, privileges and prerogatives of the Ruling Princes shall be maintained intact and strictly safeguarded.”

In paragraph 309 of the Joint Reforms Report, the following sentence occurred :—

“In the meanwhile, however, we suggest that the time has come when it would be well to review the situation, of course only by consent of parties, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardize and codify existing practice, for the future.”

With reference to this sentence the following agenda was proposed for the consideration of the Princes' Conference which met in January 1919 :

## *Agendum I. Item (ii).*

“That with the consent of the Rulers of States, their relations with the Govt. of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardize and codify existing practice for the future.”

The conference by their Resolution, quoted in the margin, appointed us

### RESOLUTION ON AGENDUM I (ii).

*Resolved* that a permanent Committee of Princes may be elected by the Conference for one year to have periodical sittings with the officers of the Imperial Government from the Political and Legislative Departments, in order that the subject may be threshed out in all its bearings and finally submitted before the next year's Conference when it could again be generally discussed.

The following Princes were elected to serve on the Committee :—

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar together with

The Hon. Sir George Lowndes and the Political Secretary.

as a Committee to consider this subject, and

we now present to the Conference our report on

the discussions which have so far taken place.

Twenty-three questions (see Appendix\* A)

have already been indicated by the Govern-

ment of India in the Foreign and Political

Department as a basis for our discussion, and

of these we have been able to deal with the

following :—

(1) Tours and visits abroad of Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

- (2) The procedure for the execution in Indian States of commissions in criminal cases issued by British Indian courts.
- (3) The construction and maintenance of telephone lines in Indian States.
- (4) The acquisition of immovable *residential* property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

In order to facilitate discussion of these questions summaries of the principles underlying existing practice were submitted to us (see first column of Appendices B, C, D and E). As a result of our discussions we have prepared a revision of the summary in each case (see second column of Appendices\* B, C, D and E), and we present these for the approval of the Conference.

With reference to the second column of Appendix E, we may note that the question of the acquisition of *non-residential* immovable property remains to be dealt with later.

We have also had under consideration certain other questions included in Appendix A, but have been unable, for want of time, to come to any final conclusions upon them.

With regard to telegraphs, the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs explained the position to us, and we asked him for certain further information, which he has now placed at our disposal, but which it has not been possible to consider.

With regard to mints and coinage, we have appointed a Sub-Committee to advise as to the commercial and practical advantages and disadvantages to the States of adopting an universal currency.

As regards the question of the grant of mining concessions in Indian States, our discussions have been assisted by the Director of the Geological Survey, and he has kindly undertaken to prepare a note for us on certain aspects of the question which we have not been able as yet fully to consider.

If our revised summaries meet with the approval of the Conference, we recommend that they may be transmitted to the Government of India for consideration, after circulation, in due course, to the Darbars.

The Committee desire to place on record their conviction that the continuance of the work on the lines on which it has been begun will be of great advantage both to the Imperial Government and to the Indian States.

If the Conference desires that the work should be continued, it will be for them to appoint a Committee to carry it on.

While dealing with these questions in detail we have not overlooked the desirability of formulating a summary of the main principles which emerge from the body of treaties and engagements, and we think that this work should, so far as possible, proceed concurrently with the other.

The Princes who were appointed by Your Highnesses as members of this Committee desire to append to the Committee's Report a note on some of the more important principles which will be involved in this procedure.

In conclusion the Ruling Princes on the Committee particularly desire to express their gratitude to the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes and the Hon'ble Colonel Holland for their great sympathy and courtesy and for the very fair

and frank manner in which they have throughout dealt with the questions which came before us, thus greatly facilitating our task.

JEY SINGH,

*Maharaja o Alwar.*

GANGA SINGH,

*Maharaja of Bikaner.*

MAHARAO KHENGARJI,

*Maharao of Cutch.*

MADHO RAO SCINDIA,

*Maharaja of Gwalior.*

RANJIT SINGH,

*Maharaja of Navanagar.*

BHUPINDAR SINGH,

*Maharaja of Patiala.*

G. R. LOWNDES.

R. E. HOLLAND.

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## NOTE.

With reference to the general discussion which took place at the first sitting of the Committee held in Simla on the 22nd September 1919, it appears very necessary that we should place this note on record in order to obviate any misunderstanding that may arise in the near or distant future as regards the bearing of our deliberations upon the treaty rights and sovereign status of our Order.

2. We have the gracious and oft-repeated assurances of the Crown that our rights and privileges will be respected and also numerous solemn declarations by the highest authorities that the British Government are determined scrupulously to adhere to the provisions of our treaties, *sanads*, and engagements. This fact was also referred to by the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Holland in his opening remarks at the Committee Meeting on the 22nd September. Only recently it was proposed in the Joint Report by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that—

“ . . . . . the Princes should be assured in the fullest and freest manner that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities, and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements, or by established practice ”

and His Excellency the Viceroy in his inaugural address at the Princes' Conference in October 1916, observed as follows :—

“ . . . These treaties are sacred, and I can assure you that it will be my earnest desire to maintain them not only in the letter, but in the spirit in which they were framed.”

3. Accordingly we felt that, as custodians for the time being of the treaty rights of our brother Princes who elected us, it was not necessary that we should consider the question whether a certain practice did actually amount to an infringement of these rights. But as a convenient *modus operandi* we decided to examine certain matters, the political practice in regard to which had been summarised for discussion.

4. To go back to the question of our inherent rights and prerogatives, it appears hardly necessary to emphasise the inviolate character of our treaties, *sanads*, and engagements. Suffice it to say that the treaties between the British Government and the Indian States provide the sole test of the latter's rights and the only correct standard for judging the obligations of the former. It must, however, be added that no *laches*, lapse of time or the growth of any practice in which the Princes had no voice can be admitted to modify the original relations of the States with the British Government as deducible from the treaties, much less to render these treaties obsolete.

5. The structure of political practice can only rise on the foundation of the treaties, and its mass and design must be determined by that foundation. Any working arrangements occasioned by the needs of public business must be regarded as without prejudice to the rights and position of the States as they may be deduced from their treaties, and in no sense as an abandonment, partial or *pro tanto*, of those rights and that position.

6. No treaty that was ever drafted has entirely provided for every contingency that was likely to arise in the future. Therefore the Princes naturally desire that the solution of problems, present or future, should be in unison with the spirit of their treaties.

7. At the discussions which took place on the 23rd September, the right of the British Government to construct and work a line of telegraph in the Indian States was called into question, and it was readily acknowledged that the system had 'crept in haphazard'. Now a strict insistence on treaty rights would justify all manner of claims in respect of such practice, some of which might render the entire system unworkable. Such problems are clearly cases for amicable settlement, subject essentially to a full and frank recognition of the sovereign rights of the Ruling Princes and an adequate provision for meeting the interests of their States.

8. We, therefore, wish to place it clearly on record that, anxious and willing as the Princes are to co-operate with the British Government in revising political practice with a view still further to improve their mutual relations and for their mutual benefit, nothing in such negotiations or any arrangements resulting therefrom shall be regarded as modifying, impairing or infringing in the slightest degree any of the rights and privileges guaranteed by, or flowing from, their respective treaties and engagements, when construed or interpreted according to both their letter and the spirit in which they were originally entered into, and that it shall not prejudice in the slightest degree the sovereign status and powers of themselves or of their successors, or affect their assured position as Allies and Friends, or the internal independence and autonomy of their States. Nor shall such procedure or action on our part give the British Government or the Government of India any claim to revise existing treaties or to assert any claim at any time in derogation of such position and powers and status of the Princes and their States.

9. It is, of course, understood that the Committee's proposals are to be laid before the Princes' Conference for further discussion, and that we have no right to commit or bind our brother Princes in any way, either individually or collectively. Similarly, we each also retain and reserve full freedom further to reconsider our views in regard to such matters.

JEY SINGH,

*Maharaja of Alwar.*

GANGA SINGH,

*Maharaja of Bikaner.*

MAHARAO KHENGARJI,

*Maharaja of Cutch.*

MADHO RAO SCINDIA,

*Maharaja of Gwalior.*

RANJIT SINGH,

*Maharaja of Navanagar.*

BHUPINDAR SINGH,

*Maharaja of Patiala.*



**Appendix A.**

*In response to enquiries made by the Government of India, Darbars have made the following representations on the subject of the encroachment of political practice on the dignity and prerogatives of the States :—*

1. That the prerogative of the Ruler to coin money for use in his State should not be disallowed.
2. That Government interferes unwarrantably with the exploitation of States' resources by industrial schemes.
3. That Government officers entertain unwarrantably complaints from the subjects, muafidars, Jagirdas, servants, etc., of the States.
4. The Government exercise unwarrantable interference in States on behalf of British subjects and alleged British subjects, and that they have unwarrantably withdrawn from Darbars the right to exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects and servants of British Government, e.g., postal employes in State territories.
5. That Government interferes unwarrantably in matters of jurisdiction and construction of railways and tramways within State limits and denies the States' sovereignty over ceded lands.  
(Also as regards construction of telegraph and telephone lines.)
6. That Government interferes unwarrantably with the exercise of mining rights by the States.
7. That Government has no right to prohibit the cultivation of opium or impose restrictions.
8. That Government places unwarrantable restrictions on the importation of arms for the use of State forces.
9. That the jurisdictional powers of many Bombay States are improperly limited by Government.
10. That Government unwarrantably restricts the manufacture and export of salt by Darbars.
11. That Government wrongfully deprives the Darbars of Postal and Telegraph revenues.
12. That the procedure adopted by the Political Officers in the matter of the execution of commissions, for the examination of witnesses in criminal cases issued by the courts of British India is prejudicial to the interests and privileges of States.
13. That the provisions of the Indian Extradition Act, 1903, should not be extended to States without the consent of their Rulers.
14. That there should be no restrictions on the employment of Europeans, even for domestic purposes, in States.
15. That strict reciprocity is not observed in the execution of decrees.
16. That Darbars should be permitted to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over State subjects and other suzerain rights in cantonment areas.
17. That restrictions are improperly imposed on the possession, purchase and importation of arms and ammunition for the personal use of Rulers of States.
18. That the British Government ought not to select a successor to a Ruler in default of direct lineal heirs.

19. That the sanction of Government should not be required to the purchase by Darbars of immovable property in British India.

20. That improper restrictions are imposed on Rulers' movements in respect of travelling generally, and visits to hill stations in British India in particular.

21. That ceremonials have been curtailed so as to detract from the dignity and privileges of Rulers.

22. That Darbars' suzerain rights in railway lands over which jurisdiction has been ceded are wrongfully disregarded by Government.

23. That reciprocity should be accorded in the matter of surrender of deserters.

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## Appendix B.

## I.—TOURS AND VISITS ABROAD OF RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS.

*Original Summary.*

When a Ruler, or a noble or a son or near relative of a Ruler or a noble, desires to travel abroad, early and detailed information of the proposal should be furnished in order that ample notice may be given to the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State attaches importance to the early receipt of this information in view of the inconvenience, both to the India Office and to the travellers themselves, which results from a failure to furnish him with necessary particulars. The Secretary of State also wishes to be kept informed of any changes of address during the course of a Ruler's travels.

In the case of Rulers entitled to a salute of eleven guns or more, it is the practice to grant customs facilities in respect of personal baggage on arrival in England and to obtain a like privilege on the continent abroad, when the foreign government concerned is willing to grant it. The facilities which the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury are willing to grant do not include exemption from payment of duty on dutiable articles. Under the regulations in force the baggage of persons of distinction is not exempt from examination, and duty is required on any articles subject thereto which may be contained in the baggage.

With a view to the personal convenience of Rulers, therefore, precise information on the following points is required by the Government of India to enable them to make the necessary communication to the Secretary of State :

- (a) The number of persons accompanying the Ruler, with names of those of importance.
- (b) When travelling by sea, the name of the ship, name of the port of arrival and date of disembarkation.

*Draft of Summary as amended by the Committee.*

When a Ruling Prince or Chief or his heir, or any noble for whom the Ruler of the State requires\* facilities proposes to travel abroad, the Government of India desire that, with a view to the personal convenience of the party travelling, information on the following points, in such detail as may be possible, may be communicated through the usual channel for transmission to the Secretary of State :—

- (a) The number of persons accompanying the Ruler, with names of those of importance.
- (b) When travelling by sea, the name of the ship, the name of the Port of arrival and the date of disembarkation.
- (c) When travelling by land, details of route, with special reference to names of places where frontiers are to be crossed with the date of intended crossing.
- (d) A permanent address should be given to which all communications may be forwarded.

When the programme of a Ruler's journey does not admit of full information on all the points mentioned above being given before the party leaves India, the particulars required may be communicated direct to the Political Aide-de-Camp at the India Office—at least ten days' notice, if

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\*The Committee considered that as a matter of courtesy, exemption from payment of duty on dutiable articles should invariably be arranged for Rulers entitled to a salute of 11 guns or more on arriving in England and that, so far as possible, similar exemption should be arranged for them when travelling on the Continent.

### Original Summary.

- (c) When travelling by land, details of route with special reference to names of places where frontiers are to be crossed, with date of intended crossing.

When the programme of a Ruler's journey does not admit of full information on all the points mentioned above being given before he leaves India, he should communicate the particulars required direct to the Political A.-D.-C. at the India Office, giving at least ten days' notice of any intended journeys in the course of which he wishes to receive customs facilities.

### Draft of Summary as amended by the Committee.

possible, being given of any intended journey in the course of which customs facilities may be required.

## II.—VISITS OF RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS TO PLACES IN BRITISH INDIA OTHER THAN SIMLA AND DELHI.

In the case of private visits of Ruling Princes and Chiefs to places in British India, other than places such as hill stations, where accommodation is limited, or where there may be other special conditions which render such visits inconvenient, the Government of India desire that, as a matter of courtesy, previous intimation of the visit may be given to the Local Government or Administration concerned through the Political Officer. Even this intimation is not required in the case of casual private visits, where no prolonged stay is made and no house is engaged.

In view of the shortage of accommodation at the hill stations mentioned below, the Local Governments and Administrations concerned desire that

In the case of private visits of Ruling Princes and Chiefs to places in British India other than hill stations, the Government of India hope that, as a matter of courtesy, previous intimation of the visit may be given to the Local Government or Administration concerned through the Political Officer. If no intimation is given, it will be understood that the Prince or Chief desires to remain *incognito*.

In the case of formal visits when ceremonial is involved it is desirable that notice should be given to the Local Government or Administration as far in advance as possible.

In view of the shortage of accommodation at the hill stations mentioned below, the Local Governments and Administrations concerned desire

*Original Summary.*

visits to these stations should not be arranged without their prior concurrence :—

- (1) Assam . . . Shillong.
- (2) Bengal . . . Darjeeling.
- (3) Central Provin- Pachmarhi.\*  
ces.
- (4) Madras . . . Any station in the  
Nilgiri or Palni  
Hills.
- (5) Punjab . . . Murree, Dalhousie,  
Dharamsala.

In the case of the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, the Local Government desire that notice should be given, as far in advance as possible, of formal visits on ceremonial occasions, or where the Ruler proposes to perform some ceremony. Fourteen days' notice is required of visits, other than casual, to Mahableshwar and Matheran.

The United Provinces Government desire that visits to Mussoorie, Landour, Lansdowne, Naini Tal, Almora and Ranikhet should not be arranged without sufficient previous notice being given to that Government.

The stipulations mentioned above are made purely as a matter of mutual convenience.

*Draft of Summary as amended by the Committee.*

that\* visits to these stations should be arranged in prior consultation† with them :—

- (1) Assam . . . Shillong.
- (2) Bengal . . . Darjeeling.
- (3) Central Provinces Pachmarhi.
- (4) Madras . . . Any station in the  
Nilgiri or Palni  
Hills.
- (5) Punjab . . . Murree, Dalhousie  
Dharamsala.
- (6) United Provinces Mussoorie, Lan-  
dour, Lands-  
downe, Naini  
Tal,‡ Almora  
and Ranikhet.
- (7) Bombay . . . Mahableshwar  
and Matheran.

\*Such consultation is not required in any case in which a Ruling Prince or Chief is the owner of the house or houses in the hill station which he intends to occupy; but as a matter of convenience and courtesy prior intimation of such visits is desirable.

†H. H. the Maharao of Cutch preferred the words "sufficient previous notice of proposed visits to these stations should be given to them, which ordinarily should not be less than 15 days from the date of the receipt by them of the notice."

‡H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar suggested the omission of Almora in view of the fact that it is not the headquarters of Government or a military cantonment or sanatorium.

\*Except in the case of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who has a house there.

### III.—VISITS TO SIMLA.

#### *Original Summary.*

The previous consent of the Government of India should be obtained when a Ruler wishes to visit Simla. The Government of India desire to receive the earliest possible intimation in regard to such visits and to be informed of the object of the visit, the duration of it, the place of residence, the names and degrees of relationship of any near male relation who will accompany the Ruler, the names of high officials of the Darbars and the number of the retinue.

The difficulty of providing accommodation and the danger of overcrowding are the chief reasons which render the previous approval of the Government of India desirable in these cases. Moreover, the Government of India are naturally desirous of having early information of the intended visit of a Ruler to the headquarters of Government.

#### *Draft of Summary as amended by the Committee.*

\*The previous consent of the Government of India should be obtained when a Ruling Prince or Chief or his heir wishes to visit Simla. The Government of India desire to receive the earliest possible intimation in regard to such visits and to be informed of the object of the visit, the approximate duration of it, the place of residence, the names of any near relatives (other than ladies), or high officials of the State who accompany the Ruler, and the number of the retinue.

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\*This provision does not apply to the Rulers of the Simla Hill States in political relations with the Superintendent, Simla Hill States, who own houses in Simla.

The Committee were of opinion that some relaxation in the conditions governing visits to Simla should be made in the case of all Ruling Princes and Chiefs owning the houses in Simla which they intend to occupy, on the understanding that arrangements are made to provide against overcrowding.

### IV.—VISITS TO DELHI.

The Government of India desire to receive early intimation of the proposed visit of any Ruling Prince or Chief to Delhi, while Government is in residence there, even though the visit may be private and the Ruler may not propose to ask for an interview with His Excellency. Here again the visit of a Ruler to the winter capital is a matter of interest to the Government of India, and timely intimation is only required as a matter of courtesy.

The Government of India desire to receive early intimation of the proposed visit of any Ruling Prince or Chief to Delhi, while Government is in residence there, even though the visit may be private and the Ruler may not propose to ask for an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy.

*Original Summary.*

## V.—VISITS TO KASHMIR.

When a Ruler intends to visit Kashmir, prior intimation of the visit should be sent to the Resident in Kashmir, the reason being that the visit of a Ruler usually involves elaborate arrangements and the taking of a large number of conveyances, and sometimes also the reservation of rest-house accommodation which would otherwise be available for the general public.

*Draft of Summary as amended by the Committee.*

## V.—GENERAL.

When visiting places in British India, Princes and Chiefs are requested to observe the following conditions of residence :—

- (1) The Ruler will enforce on his *entourage* respect for Municipal Regulations.
- (2) The number of followers accompanying the Ruler when in residence will be reasonable and not in excess of that for which the accommodation is considered suitable by the Municipal authority, if any.
- (3) On the occasions of the Ruler's visits he will depute an officer on his behalf to communicate with the local Health Officer and carry out his requirements in the matter of sanitation.

# Appendix C.

*Procedure regarding the execution of commissions in criminal cases issued by courts in British India for the examination of witnesses in Indian States.*

A Darbar has represented that the procedure adopted by Political Officers in the matter of the execution of commissions for the examination of witnesses in criminal cases issued by the courts of British India, is prejudicial to the interests and privileges of Indian States.

It appears that the Political Officer concerned was in the habit of sending such commissions to the Darbar courts for execution. It was, however, discovered that this practice was illegal under section 503, Criminal Procedure Code, and the Political Officer accordingly informed the Darbar that he would in future execute such commissions himself.

Under section 503, Criminal Procedure Code, a commission may be issued by a court in British India to the "officer representing the British Indian Government" in the State in which the witness resides, who may delegate this duty to an officer subordinate to him invested with powers not less than those exercised by a magistrate of the first class in British India.

The Government of India, before the receipt of this representation, had under consideration the question of amending section 503, Criminal Procedure Code, in order to provide for the execution by Darbar courts of commissions issued by British Indian courts, and in August 1918 the views of Local Governments, Political Officers, and Darbars, and those of the High Court, Calcutta, were called for. Some replies are still awaited, and when they are received the question will be fully considered by the Government of India.

*Draft Resolution regarding the procedure for the execution in Indian States of commissions in criminal cases issued by British Indian courts.*

The Committee are of opinion that the question of the execution of commissions to take evidence in criminal cases should be dealt with on a strictly reciprocal basis. They consider that in the case of States, which are willing to participate, commissions issued by British Indian courts for the examination of a witness residing in the territories of any such State should, as at present, be directed to the Political Officer, but that he should be empowered to refer it for execution to the court or courts authorized by the State, it being understood that such court would in executing it be bound only by the laws of the States, but would enforce the attendance of the witness in question by such means as might be sanctioned by the law or usage of the State. In the same way, where a court of the State desires the examination on commission of a witness, resident in British India, the commission under the seal (or other formal authority of the court) should be directed to the Political Officer, who would arrange for its execution under similar conditions by the appropriate court in British India. The particular courts in a State by which commissions may be either executed or issued would be a matter for arrangement with the individual State. The Committee hope that the Government of India will undertake whatever legislation may be necessary to give effect to this proposal if approved by the Conference.



## Appendix D.

CONSTRUCTION OF TELEGRAPH AND  
TELEPHONE LINES IN INDIAN STATES.*Original Summary.*

1. The following are the principles observed in the matter of the construction and maintenance of telegraph and telephone lines in Indian States :—

- (1) Private lines, whether telegraph or telephone (*i.e.*, lines not used by the public and not worked for gain), may be constructed in an Indian State without the previous approval of the Government of India, provided that :—
  - (a) the lines shall not pass beyond the boundary of the State concerned ;
  - (b) the construction and any subsequent addition to the system shall be notified to the Government of India and a sketch map of the line furnished ; and
  - (c) no private telephone line shall run into an Imperial telegraph office. A private telegraph line may, however, do so on the condition that a deposit account is kept by the State at the office for the transmission of telegrams over the Imperial system.
- (2) Telephone systems may be set up and maintained, opened to the public and worked for gain in an Indian State without the previous approval of the Government of India, provided that :—
  - (i) the line shall be confined to definite ' local areas,' *e.g.*, an important town or its environs within a radius of 10 or 15 miles, and shall not go beyond the limits of a State ;

CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF  
TELEPHONE LINES IN INDIAN STATES.*Draft of summary as amended by the  
Committee.*

The Indian States are entitled to set up and maintain telephone systems, to open them to the public and work them for gain, without previous reference to the Government of India, provided that :—

- (i) The lines do not go beyond the limits of a State.
- (ii) The telephone system of one State is not connected with the telephone system of another without the previous consent of the Government of India.
- (iii) If an installation open to the public and worked for gain is set up in a State, the fact is intimated to the Government of India, and a brief description, with a sketch map of all trunk lines included in the installation, provided for their information.
- (iv) If any such installation is extended by the addition of trunk lines the fact is intimated to the Government of India, and a sketch of the new trunk or trunk furnished for their information.

*Original Summary.*

- (ii) no such local systems shall be connected with one another or with an Imperial office ;
  - (iii) the fact of the installation shall be reported to the Government of India ;
  - (iv) the Government of India shall retain the right to buy up any such telephone system in whole or in part, if it is required for Imperial purposes ; and
  - (v) the price of such purchase will be a matter for negotiation, but will not be based on the actual capital expenditure unless the system has been constructed under license from, and regularly inspected by, the Indian Telegraph Department.
- (3) No line of telegraph open to the public and worked for gain should anywhere be undertaken in an Indian State without previous reference to, and the consent of, the Government of India.

2. These principles are not intended to include wireless telegraphic installations, the construction of which is confined to British India.

3. Whenever it is proposed by the Telegraph Department to establish a new Imperial telegraph or telephone office, with the necessary extension of line, in an Indian State, the Superintendent of Telegraphs should address the Political Officer concerned direct in order to ascertain the views of the Darbar on the project ; when the proposal for the establishment of such an office emanates from the Darbar, the Political Officer will address the Superintendent of Telegraphs. The establishment of a new Imperial office in an Indian State will not require a previous reference to Government ; it should, however, be reported to the Local Government or Administration concerned.

*Draft summary as amended by the Committee.*

## Appendix E.

## ACQUISITION OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY IN BRITISH INDIA BY RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS.

*Original Summary.*

1. As a general principle the Government of India regard it as undesirable that Ruling Princes and Chiefs and notables in Indian States should acquire, whether by purchase or mortgage, immovable property in British India. The reasons for this policy are as follows :—

- (1) Princes and Chiefs naturally find it difficult to distinguish between their position as Rulers and their position as property holders in British India.
- (2) In the latter capacity they become subject to British courts and their dignity is wounded by the service of legal processes.
- (3) Disagreeable discussions arise about taxation.

The Government of India have in the past, in some cases desired a Ruler or an important personage in a State to divest himself of immovable property acquired by him in British territory. But on the other hand the Government of India, while still holding that such Rulers and notables should be advised on favourable opportunities to get rid of such properties, have sometimes, more recently refrained from pressing them to do so, especially when the properties have been acquired in ignorance of the wishes of Government.

2. The policy followed by Government in this matter does not extend to the prevention of the acquisition of such properties by Rulers or notables when the acquisition occurs by bequest or succession. The question whether the individual beneficiary should eventually be desired to divest himself of his proprietary rights in the property and, if so, in what manner and within what period, requires decision in each case with reference to the particular circumstances.

*Draft of Summary as amended by the Committee.**(A) Residential Property.*

I. The previous consent of the Government of India or of the Local Government or Administration concerned is required for acquisition of residential property by Ruling Princes and Chiefs of Indian States or by their near relatives in the case of the Presidency\* towns and the following hill stations :—Simla, Shillong, Darjeeling, Pachmarhi, any stations in the Nilgiris or Palni Hills, Murree, Dalhousie, Dharamsala, Mussoorie, Landour, Lansdowne, Naini Tal,† Almora, Ranikhet, Mahableshwar and Matheran.

II. The Government of India have no objection to the acquisition, whether by purchase or mortgage, of immovable property for residential purposes in any part of British India in places other than the hill stations named above and Presidency\* towns, provided that the following general conditions and stipulations are recognised and accepted :—

- (1) The Ruler will not effect any transfer of property or create any encumbrances on it without the previous consent of the Government of India or the Local Government or Administration

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The Committee recorded the opinion that, as a matter of courtesy, Rulers owning residential property in British India should be exempted from the payment of income tax.

\*The Committee hope that it may be possible at some future date to relax the restriction in regard to Presidency towns.

†His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar suggested the omission of Almora, in view of the fact that it is neither the headquarters of Government nor a military cantonment or sanitorium.

3. The objections to the acquisition of property in British India by Rulers apply generally to the sons and other relatives of Rulers, but they do not apply to cases where immovable property in British India is acquired by relatives of Rulers, not in the direct line of succession, who leave the State to which they belong in order to reside in British India, and who submit themselves in all respects to British jurisdiction.

4. Exceptions to the general principle have frequently been made in cases where Princes have wished to acquire houses or sites at hill stations and sometimes, in special cases, at other places. In the case of properties acquired at hill stations and in Presidency towns, some or all of the following conditions have, as a general rule, been imposed when permission to acquire has been given :—

- (i) That the Ruler will not effect any transfer of the property or create any encumbrance on it without the approval of the Government of India.
- (ii) That the Ruler will undertake to divest himself of the property whenever called upon by the Government to do so.
- (iii) That the Ruler will be subject to the ordinary civil courts in respect of the property.
- (iv) That the Ruler will enforce on his servants respect for municipal regulations.

Other minor stipulations which are generally made by the Bombay Government are—

- (v) That the property will be acquired as State property, and not as the personal property of the Ruler.
- (vi) That the property will not be dealt with in a commercial way.
- (vii) That the number of followers accompanying the Ruler when in residence will be limited.

- (2) A Prince or Chief acquiring immovable property in British India may, with the consent of the Governor-General in Council, be used with reference to such property in British India courts, either in the name of the State or, if arrangements for this purpose are made, in the name of an agent, *vide* sections 85—87, Code of Civil Procedure, 1908.

- (3) The Ruler will appoint a responsible agent in the locality in which the property is acquired to answer to the authorities in case of need.

Local Governments and Administrations will be glad to receive previous intimation, unless circumstances make it impracticable, of a Ruler's intention to purchase residential property within their jurisdiction.

III. In cases of emergency the Government of India have no objection to the conclusion by a Ruling Prince or Chief of a preliminary contract for the purchase of residential property in any part of India without obtaining whatever previous consent may be required by the circumstances of the case.

(viii) That there will be some responsible person in the locality in which the property is acquired to answer finally to the authorities and to sue and be sued.

(ix) That on the occasions of the Ruler's visits to his property he will have a qualified medical officer on his staff who will report to the local health officer and carry out his requirements in the matter of sanitation.

5. The Government of India do not encourage the acquisition of house property by Rulers at Simla or at other hill stations which are the summer capitals of Local Governments, in view of the fact that these places are very overcrowded and that there is already great difficulty in finding suitable accommodation for officials of Government.

For the same reasons Local Governments have also sometimes deprecated the purchase of property by Princes and Chiefs at Presidency towns and Provincial capitals.

6. The Government of India have delegated to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Assam and Central Provinces, the power to approve acquisitions of immovable property within the province concerned by Rulers and notables of Indian States situated in the province.

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## APPENDIX II.

### Report of the Committee appointed to consider the best means of recording vital statistics.

The Committee appointed by the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs to make recommendations on No. III of the agenda, *i.e.*, to consider the best means of recording vital statistics, suggests that it would serve the purpose best from the technical side of the question, if this matter were gone into by the Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India and a few representatives from the States. The following, therefore, are the names of the members recommended :—

- (1) Lieutenant-Colonel F. H. G. Hutchinson, Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India.
- (2) Colonel Haksar, C.I.E., Gwalior (Central India).
- (3) Rai Bahadur Abinash Chandra Sen, Jaipur (Rajputana).
- (4) Rao Bahadur Sabnis, C.I.E., Kalhapur (Bombay).
- (5) Dewan Bahadur Daya Kishan Kaul, C.I.E., Patiala (Punjab).

TAKOJI RAO PUAR,

*Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).*

MADHO RAO SCINDIA,

*Maharaja of Gwalior.*

BHAWANI SINGH,

*Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar.*

RIPUDAMAN SINGH,

*Maharaja Malvendra of Nabha.*

F. H. G. HUTCHINSON,

*Sanitary Commissioner to the  
Government of India.*

## APPENDIX III.

**Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the best means of recording vital statistics.**

From the resolution adopted at the Princes' Conference on the 3rd November, we find that there was a general approval of the principle of co-operation in matters relating to the compilation of vital statistics. The sub-committee appointed on the 5th idem is required to consider the best means for recording vital statistics, bearing in mind the technical side of the question as well as the peculiar local conditions of the different States. In other words, their duty is to discuss the practical aspects of the desired co-operation. The result of their deliberations is submitted as follows.

(a) At first sight the forms annexed to the question (idem No. III of the agenda) appeared somewhat too complicated for the ordinary agency of the district administrations in the States, but it was explained that these forms were meant to be employed only for purposes of compilation. Their bases are the registers of births and deaths, which are much simpler to keep. This makes the position easier and in our opinion, whatever may be the agency in any State, it should prove adequate for the registration of births and deaths. The following are the forms of the registers which the village agency will be required to keep.

## BIRTHS.

Names.	Father's name.	Sex.	Date.	Religion.
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## DEATHS.

Name.	Father's name.	Age.	Sex.	Religion.	Cause of death.
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For purposes of the initial record of these statistics the village is the unit and the agency employed may be a patel, a chaukidar, a lambardar, a patwari, a schoolmaster, or anyone whom a State may appoint for the purpose. Experience has proved that in a village with a population of 500 souls the person who has to keep the registers has to record, on an average, four births and as many deaths in the course of a month. This person, if illiterate, can always obtain help from literate people in having the registers duly filled in. But he will be responsible for furnishing copies of his registers at prescribed periods : in the case of deaths from cholera, small-pox and plague weekly, if possible, and statements of births and deaths from all causes, monthly.

As regards compilation, in view of the different administrative organizations of the States, it would, in our opinion, be an easy matter for every State to appoint a central agency for collecting and compiling the statistics, be it the office of a Sanitary Commissioner, a Chief Medical Officer, a Civil Surgeon, or any other officer whom a State may nominate for the purpose. The work of compilation in itself, we are informed, is not very heavy. To speak mathematically, one and a half clerks represent the ministerial assistance

required for a population of one million and the pay of these clerks, according to the present market rate, may vary from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 *per mensem*. With the necessary complement of hands on this basis, it would be practicable for the central compiling officer to furnish detailed information in the forms which are at present in use in British India. It would suffice to send these statistics properly compiled, once a month, to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, direct from the office of the central compiling officer in every State.

(b) It appears to the committee that whenever there is any question of co-operation between the Government of India and the States in matters of public benefit, the Jagirdars' problem in the States causes difficulty in effecting the improvements desired. This difficulty was experienced by similar committees in the past. It is obvious that if vital statistics for the whole of India are to be as complete as it is desired that they should be each State must collect statistics for the whole of its territories and not only for a part of them. It is hardly within the province of this committee to go into details as regards the best means of obviating the difficulties that might be expected from the inclusion of Jagir statistics in the figures of the entire States, but they feel that if the statistics are to be for the States, as a whole some provision should be made, where necessary, by which the Darbars of States will be able to ensure that figures for Jagirs are available to them. The committee doubt if the Darbars generally would view with favour the assistance of intermediaries in the obtaining of figures, and therefore it is obvious that, if the States are to be responsible for the supply of the statistics, their right to collect or to demand the collection, to their satisfaction, of figures relating to Jagirs should be clearly recognised. The committee are aware that in regard to the Jagiratar problem conditions are not similar in all the States. The object, therefore, of the observations that have been offered on the question of difficulties that may be expected is only to make it clear that where such difficulties do exist, the Government of India, in the public interest, would have to arrange that the Darbars of the States are not balked in their efforts to make their co-operation effective.

F. H. G. HUTCHINSON,  
*Lieutenant Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Sanitary Commissioner to the  
Government of India.*

K. N. HAKSAR,  
*Political Member,  
Gwalior State.*  
ABINASH CHANDRA SEN,  
*Foreign Member,  
Jaipur State.*

R. SABNIS,  
*Dewan, Kolhapur State.*

DAYA KISHAN KAUL,  
*Foreign and Financial Secretary,  
Patiala State.*



## APPENDIX IV.

**Draft Constitution of the Chamber of Princes giving representation to all Indian States prepared by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.**

## PREFACE.

I have prepared this draft with a view to facilitate discussion of the subject at the proposed Conference of Princes. I am conscious of its shortcomings which are especially due to my inability to obtain correct information about the number of Sovereign States enjoying full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the powers to make their own laws. It is needless to say that the scheme is open to correction. If, however, the points which I have submitted in the explanatory notes elicit any criticism, I shall feel more than satisfied.

**Constitution of the Chamber of Princes.**

With a view to give the Ruling Princes the opportunity of informing the Government as to their sentiments and wishes,

Preamble.

it is proposed to establish a permanent consultative body.

1. This consultative body shall be called the Chamber of Princes  
Designation. or Narendra Mandal.

2. The Chamber will discuss questions which affect the States generally  
and questions which are of concern either to  
Functions. the Empire as a whole or to British India  
and the States in common.

3. The Viceroy shall summon a meeting at Delhi once a year ordinarily  
and oftener if meeting of the Chamber becomes  
Time of Meeting. necessary for any important business.

4. The Viceroy shall be the President of the Chamber. In his  
absence any Prince elected by the Chamber  
President. may preside.

5. The Chamber shall elect every year an Executive Committee consist-  
ing of five members to carry on its work  
Executive Committee. throughout the year.

6. The Chamber shall elect every year an Honorary Secretary to carry  
on the work of the Chamber under the control  
of the Executive Committee. There shall be  
Honorary Secretary. a paid Under Secretary and an establishment paid  
out of the funds contributed by the members and working under the direction  
of the Honorary Secretary.

7. The Executive Committee shall prepare the agenda of business to  
Agenda of Business. be brought before the Chamber for discussion.

8. If any member desire that any subject should be included be the  
agenda, he should address the Executive  
Agenda of Business. Committee.

9. The Viceroy shall have the prerogative of removing any subject from the agenda prepared by the Executive Committee and adding any subject to it at his discretion.  
Veto.
10. The Chamber shall have the right to frame the rules of business with the sanction of the Viceroy.  
Rules of Business.
11. On the requisition of one-third of the members of the Chamber a meeting of the Chamber of Princes shall be called.  
Special Meeting.
12. Every Prince who enjoys full sovereign powers in his State and the population of whose State is above three lakhs, shall be eligible to be a member of this Chamber, and shall be entitled to one vote.  
Membership and Vote.
13. Every Prince who enjoys full sovereign powers in his State and the population of whose State is above five lakhs and does not exceed ten lakhs, shall be eligible to be a member of the Chamber and shall be entitled to two votes.
14. Every Prince who enjoys full sovereign powers in his State and the population of whose State exceeds ten lakhs, shall be eligible to be a member of the Chamber and shall be entitled, in addition to his two votes, to one vote for every million of population belonging to his State.
15. The Princes, who enjoy full sovereign powers in their States but the population of whose States is less than three lakhs shall be grouped as noted in the accompanying Schedule A, and each group shall be eligible to elect one Prince to the Chamber, who shall be entitled to one vote.
16. Princes who enjoy restricted powers in their States shall be grouped as indicated in Schedule B, and each group shall be entitled to elect one Prince to the Chamber and shall be entitled to one vote.
17. All smaller States shall be grouped on a territorial basis and each group shall be entitled to elect a Ruler of one of them, who shall be entitled to one vote.
18. Each member elected by groups mentioned in clauses 15, 16 and 17 shall be entitled to hold office for three years.
19. The rules of election and the qualifications for eligibility shall be laid down by the Chamber with the sanction of the Viceroy.  
Election rules.
20. The business of the Chamber shall be decided by a majority of votes.  
Conduct of business.
21. The proceedings of the meeting shall ordinarily be conducted in English, but provision shall be made to interpret the proceedings in Hindustani to any member if he so desires.  
Language.

### Explanatory Memorandum.

1. Last year's Conference unanimously decided—

- (a) That this Conference warmly approves the establishment of a permanent Council of Princes.

- (b) That this Conference recommends that the term "Narendra Mandal" (Chamber of Princes) be adopted as the designation of the proposed body.
- (c) That this Conference recommends that a definite line should be drawn for the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the report.
- (d) That this Conference recommends that the line of demarcation should be drawn between (1) sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws, and (2) all other States.
- (e) That the Chamber of Princes should consist (1) of sovereign States and (2) such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes.

It will thus appear that the conclusions reached last year are final, and I do not think that any discussion of the same would be permissible.

2. The preamble is quoted from paragraph 306 of the report on Indian Constitutional Reform.

3. As regards the designation I should have very much liked it to be "Raj Mandal." The word "Narendra" in its etymological sense connotes personal attributes. That the Princes should style themselves "best of men"—for that is the meaning of the word "Narendra"—appears to me egotistic. I should have styled it "Raj Mandal", a word familiar in Indian history and more in consonance with our traditions. If one person more than another deserves to be called Narendra, in my humble opinion, it is His Imperial Majesty, the King-Emperor of India. However, as Their Highnesses have preferred this designation, I have nothing to say.

4. The functions have been defined in paragraph 306 of the Report on the Indian Reforms Scheme.

5. Sections 3 and 4 are provided in paragraph 306 of the Report.

6. Sections 5, 6 and 7 are necessary for carrying on sustained work of the Chamber in a systematic manner.

7. Section 7 empowers the Executive Committee to prepare the agenda. The report provides that the agenda should be approved by the Viceroy, and this is specially provided in paragraph 9. Section 8 is provided by the Report.

8. Section 10 is in compliance with the suggestion contained in paragraph 306.

9. Section 11 is provided in accordance with the suggestion in paragraph 306 to the effect that the Princes should be entitled to suggest to the Viceroy that an extraordinary meeting should be held.

10. Last year's Conference has defined sovereign States as States enjoying full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws. Government last year published a statement showing the States whose powers are restricted. Government have not published a statement of States which, in their opinion, are Sovereign States according to the definition. No existing publication gives this classification clearly. An attempt was made by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar to prepare a list showing the powers of various States, but the list published last year by Government of doubtful States includes States which have been classified as full power States in the Alwar list. It is, therefore, very difficult to know exactly the number of full Sovereign States as defined last year.

11. Up till now for all ceremonial functions the States have been classified on the salute basis. This test is no doubt very unsatisfactory. His Excellency the Viceroy last year very pertinently observed, "We felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation in view of the anomalies which appear to exist, and we held, therefore, that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder." In spite of this pronouncement the invitations to the Conference are still based on this test. The anomalies of the salute test are patent.

12. If we scrutinise the salute list attached to this memorandum and marked C. it will be found that the States enjoying salutes up to 13 guns are 54 in number. Of these, Ratlam only is included in the doubtful list (*vide* Statement D), but from the Alwar list we find that Sirohi is described as one possessing limited powers. The same is the case as regards Tonk, Dhar, Datia and Rewa, but for want of definite information, I have taken all except Sirohi as Sovereign States. So 52 States only from this category can be classified as Sovereign States.

Of the 31 States enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and one enjoying a personal salute, 20 have been included in the doubtful list. Of the remaining 12 Janjira, Samthar and Tehri are not Sovereign States according to my information available. I have, therefore, selected only 9 States out of this category as Sovereign States. Thus the total number of the Sovereign States comes to 61.

There are 36 States enjoying hereditary 9-gun salutes. Of these 28 are included in the doubtful list. Of the 8 which are not included, 4 belong to the Aden Protectorate and 4 to Burma and are admittedly smaller States.

Of the 7 States enjoying personal salutes of 9 guns, one is included in the doubtful list. The remaining 6 are admittedly smaller States.

It will thus be evident that there are only 61 Sovereign States which will necessarily have to be included in the Chamber of Princes. But there is one important consideration of a constitutional character which must be borne in mind in this classification. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in the memorandum which was circulated last year has expressed the following objection against the system of One-member-one-vote: "By this form of representation the larger and more progressive States will not wield their legitimate influence in the assembly, at all events not to the extent of the importance commensurate with their population or magnitude of their interests. The largest or the most advanced State gets the same representation as the smallest or the most backward." This is no doubt a very sound objection. However, it will be clear that the Mysore Darbar approves of the idea of classifying States according to population.

13. His Excellency the Viceroy also stated last year that the distinction between the important States and the remainder must be based on constitutional considerations. The Viceroy has not, however, defined what these constitutional considerations are. In constitutional history the importance of a State depends particularly upon population. The history of various federations clearly shows that for all purposes of representation population is taken as the only basis. In the Commonwealth of Australia the House of Representatives consists of members sent by constituencies formed on the basis of population. The same is the case in Canada. The Swiss cantons

are divided into 22 divisions each consisting on an average a population of twenty thousand. The constitution of the South African Union and the United States Constitution are also based on the test of population. It will, therefore, be necessary not only to look to the test of sovereignty but also to that of population for purposes of representation.

14. Viewed in this light the basis of British Indian Administration would be very instructive. The unit of administration in British India is the district. Except Burma the minimum average population of a district is above 4 lakhs and in Burma the average minimum is 2,15,000. The statement given below will show the average population of districts in various Provinces in British India :—

Serial No.	Name.	No. of Districts.	Average area in square miles.	Average population.
1	Madras . . . . .	25	5,646	1,407,117
2	Bombay . . . . .	23	5,436	784,142
3	Bengal . . . . .	47	3,224	1,503,520
4	N.-W. Provinces . . . .	49	2,194	957,247
5	Punjab . . . . .	31	3,570	672,932
6	Central Provinces . . .	18	4,805	599,127
7	Assam . . . . .	13	3,770	421,295
8	Burma . . . . .	35	4,897	215,478
9	Berar . . . . .	6	2,953	482,915

[The Indian Empire by Sir William Hunter, page 516.]

15. If, therefore, we take three lakhs of population as a necessary qualification for a Sovereign State to be individually represented in the Chamber of Princes, I think it would not be an improper test. Each State will represent as large an interest as that of an average British District. And as in British India representation in constitutional bodies is distributed by districts, a classification of Sovereign States on this very consideration should not, in my humble opinion, be deemed unfair.

16. As stated last year in my note, the constitution of the German Bundesrath before the Revolution of November 1918 affords a striking and very appropriate parallel to the Chamber of Princes. Representation in the Bundesrath is given to States and it is of an unequal character. The States of Germany were divided with unequal representation according to the importance of each State as follows :—Prussia had 17 votes, Bavaria 6, Saxony and Wurttemberg 4 each, Baden and Hesse 3 each, Mecklenberg-Schwerin and Brunswick 2 each. The other 17 States one apiece. The votes of each State which was entitled to more than one vote were to be cast as one unit. If, therefore, the important States are given votes in proportion to their population, the objection raised by the Mysore Darbar will lose its force. And for such a procedure there is this constitutional precedent.

17. I divide Sovereign States on the basis of population. A State having a population of 3 lakhs and above should have an undoubted right to be present in the Chamber of Princes. Such a State, so far as voting is concerned, should have one vote up to 5 lakhs of population. A State whose population exceeds 5 lakhs and does not exceed 10 lakhs should have 2 votes and one having a population above 10 lakhs should have an additional vote for every million of population. Sovereign States the population of which is below 3 lakhs each are grouped together. Each group consists of States having an aggregate of 3 lakhs of population. By this method they are given a fair representation and also equality of treatment along with other Sovereign States. This is the only way of bringing together all Sovereign States without any prejudice to their respective importance in point of population. The statements marked A and B give the list of these Sovereign States and their votes and the number of their representatives.

18. Two States whose population at the last census falls short of three lakhs, viz.:—Nabha and Jind, are included in the list A, because by this time the population must have risen to this standard, and, secondly, in dividing constituencies it is not always possible to make equal divisions without sacrificing the integrity of a State to suit any particular limit. In the Swiss constitution the National Council consists of representatives of electoral districts each consisting of 20,000 inhabitants. If any canton has less than 20,000 inhabitants, it is nevertheless entitled to send a representative. These constituencies are generally formed upon an approximate calculation, and mathematical accuracy need not be expected in them. I have also adopted a scale of votes for these various States of different magnitude. States which have a population from 3 to 5 lakhs are treated on a level of equality and are given one vote. Every State with a population above 5 lakhs and not exceeding 10 lakhs is given 2 votes, and every State with a population above 10 lakhs is entitled, in addition to its two votes, to one vote for every million of population above 10 lakhs. Such a method of restricting multiple votes has been adopted even in ordinary joint stock concerns. With a view to avoid any swamping of individual votes by the accumulation of multiple votes in one and the same body, such a device is often resorted to and is sanctioned by law. In the Presidency Banks Act (XI of 1876), section 56 provides that in the case of the proprietor of the capital stock of rupees two thousand he has one vote, and in the case of the proprietor of the capital stock amounting to 10 thousand he has two votes and the proprietor of the stocks in excess of this has one for every multiple of 10,000. This is up to 50,000. Then for an excess of 50,000 there is one vote and the maximum number of votes is also limited. It will thus appear that for an ascending scale of importance there is a descending scale of votes prescribed with a view to safeguard minorities. The scale of votes I have suggested is adopted on the analogy which I have quoted above. By this method it will not be possible for any two big States by a coalition to stultify the votes of the other members of this Chamber. If it be found in practice that minorities are being swamped away by the cumulative votes of big States, a provision similar to that which obtains in the German constitution may be adopted. In the Bundesrath, if 14 negative votes are cast on one side, no amendments to the constitution can be passed, and organic changes proposed by larger States may be defeated by this contrivance. I think that there is no occasion for such a provision, as the Chamber of Princes is to be of a consultative character at the present juncture.

19. I have annexed a list of doubtful States marked D. It includes States which enjoy restricted powers. The total population of these States comes to 6,400,000. They are grouped on a territorial basis.

If we assign one member to every group and an additional member to a group for every multiple of 5 lakhs of population, these States will be able to send 15 representatives to the Chamber. They will get a fair representation by this arrangement.

20. The smaller States, which are not included either in the category of Sovereign States or in the doubtful States, can also be divided on territorial basis and grouped together. The total population of all such States approximately amounts to 12,000,000. If these groups send 12 members to the Chamber each in proportion to its population on the basis of one member for every million, they will be adequately represented.

21. The total strength of the Chamber of Princes would thus consist of 73 members. 34 representing the full Sovereign States included in list A, 12 elected by the full Sovereign States included in list B, 15 elected by the doubtful States and 12 elected by the smaller States. Thus representation would be extended to all States, small or great, in the Indian Protectorate.

22. In the case of smaller States their representatives might find it expensive to attend the Conference every year. In their case it might be provided that groups should combine and delegate their powers to one member who should represent them and should have votes for all the groups he represents, or a group might delegate its power of representation to any Prince who is empowered to attend the Chamber and such a Prince would represent the group severally. Such a device was provided in the old German constitution. Dr. Wilson observes in "The State" as below :—"The smaller States have found the duty of maintaining representatives at times very onerous ; it has become a common practice for them to observe economy and their own convenience by combining to maintain joint representation. Groups of them combine and each group delegates its powers to a single person who is authorised to represent them severally." On the ground of convenience and economy delegation of representation should be provided, if necessary, for all the members who have a right to attend the Chamber.

23. The voting strength would consist of 122, of which 51 votes would be single votes, which are equal to  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total votes. There would be absolutely no chance of individual votes being swamped by the combination of States enjoying multiple votes. The Chamber of Princes would not thus be in any way unwieldy and its size would be consistent with easy transaction of business. It would also leave no room for the apprehensions entertained by the biggest State such as Mysore.

24. The explanation given above relates to Sections 12 to 20.

25. Section 21 is included particularly with a view to avoid the confusion created last year when agenda No. 1, item No. (i), was under consideration. His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar suggested that the resolution would be put not only in English but also in Hindustani, because some of Their Highnesses did not at times understand the resolutions.

His Excellency the Viceroy, though he appreciated the force of the argument, was unable to comply with the request on the ground that the proceedings are to be carried on in English. With a view to meet such a contingency this section has been specifically inserted.

26. The list of doubtful States numbering in all 59 States and published last year by Government has created considerable uneasiness among the States

enjoying the honour of salutes. 48-salutes States are included in this list. Their eligibility to the Chamber has been doubted. Government by conferring on them the honour of salutes has recognised them as entitled to better treatment than the rest. This fact cannot be now ignored. I, therefore, suggest that so far as the Chamber of Princes is concerned they (all the doubtful States) should be placed on a footing of equality with Sovereign States enjoying unrestricted powers. For all practical purposes they are Sovereign States. The Chamber of Princes is going to be a consultative body. Vested interests will not suffer if these doubtful States are declared eligible to the Chamber of Princes. These States have given undoubted proofs of their loyalty and the magnificent services which they have rendered during the war certainly entitle them to this privilege. His Excellency the Viceroy also stated last year that Government would be pleased to consider whether the restrictions on the powers of these States might be reasonably abrogated. Whatever the views of Government may be about the removal of these restrictions so far as admission to the Chamber of Princes is concerned, these States should be treated as full Sovereign States. The result of such a declaration would be to make at once all salute States eligible to the Chamber of Princes and they would be included in one category or the other according to their salutes.

27. The minimum of three lakhs which I have taken as necessary for individual representation to the Chamber is not a rigid one. If Their Highnesses think that it should be still lowered and brought down to the average of 2 lakhs as it is in Burma, I have no objection. I have fixed three lakhs tentatively. I sincerely desire that the Chamber of Princes should come into existence and represent all Indian States whether great or small. Some of Their Highnesses who have till now been favoured with invitations to the Princes' Conferences or to Imperial functions have cherished this honour with peculiar solicitude and interest. I earnestly wish that their feelings may be respected. I would, therefore, include all such Princes, who otherwise cannot get admission to the Chamber, as an exception to the rules framed above.

I hope the proposals made above will commend themselves to my brother Princes and persuade them to give a dispassionate consideration to the scheme I have ventured to formulate.

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## A

List of Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws and having a population of above three lakhs each.

Serial No.	Name.	Area.	* Population.	* Income in lakhs.	Hereditary salute.	Votes.
<b>Under Government of India.</b>						
1	Hyderabad . . .	82,698	11,141,142	359	21	12
2	Mysore . . .	29,444	5,530,399	190	21	7
3	Baroda . . .	8,099	1,952,692	123	21	3
4	Kashmir and Jammu .	80,900	2,905,578	87	19	4
<b>Central India Agency.</b>						
5	Gwalior . . .	25,041	2,933,001	163	21	4
6	Indore . . .	9,500	850,690	72	19	2
7	Bhopal . . .	6,859	665,961	29	19	2
8	Rewa . . .	13,000	1,327,385	29	17	3
9	Orchha . . .	2,080	321,634	6	15	1
<b>Rajputana Agency.</b>						
10	Jodhpur . . .	34,963	1,935,565	55	17	3
11	Udaipur . . .	12,691	1,018,805	24	19	2
12	Jaipur . . .	15,579	2,658,666	62	17	4
13	Bharatpur . . .	7,982	626,665	35	17	2
14	Bikaner . . .	23,311	584,627	23	17	2
15	Kotah . . .	5,684	544,879	33	17	2
16	Alwar . . .	3,141	828,487	30	17	2
<b>Baluchistan.</b>						
17	Kalat . . .	71,593	372,531	98	19	1
<b>Madras.</b>						
18	Travancore . . .	7,091	2,952,157	100	19	4
19	Cochin . . .	1,362	812,025	27	17	2
20	Pudukkottai . . .	1,100	380,440	11	11	1

\* The figures given in these columns are out of date.

A—contd.

Serial No.	Name.	Area.	* Population.	* Income in lakhs.	Salute.	Votes.
	<b>Bombay.</b>					
21	Kolhapur . . .	2,855	910,011	48	19	2
22	Cutch . . .	7,616	488,022	20	17	1
23	Bhavnagar . . .	2,860	412,664	30	13	1
24	Junagarh . . .	3,284	395,428	27	13	1
25	Navanagar . . .	3,791	336,779	31	13	1
	<b>United Provinces.</b>					
26	Rampur . . .	899	533,212	33	13	2
27	Benares . . .	983	438,544	10	13	1
	<b>Punjab.</b>					
28	Patiala . . .	5,412	1,596,692	57	17	3
29	Bahawalpur . .	15,000	720,877	24	17	2
30	Kapurthala . .	630	314,351	13	13	1
31	Nabha . . .	928	297,949	14	11	1
32	Jind . . .	1,259	282,003	12½	11	1
	<b>Bengal.</b>					
33	Cooch Behar . .	1,307	566,974	24	13	2
34	Bhutan . . .	20,000	400,000	..	15	1
			48,015,835			83

\* The figures given in these columns are out of date.

## B

List of Sovereign States having full and unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction in their States and the power to make their own laws and having a population of below three lakhs.

Serial No.	Name.	Area.	* Population.	* Income in lakhs.	Salute.	Votes.
Rajputana Agency.						
1	Tonk . . . . .	2,553	273,201	12	17	5
2	Dholpur . . . . .	1,155	270,973	10	15	
3	Bundi . . . . .	2,220	171,227	7	17	
4	Banswara . . . . .	1,946	165,350	13½	15	
5	Karauli . . . . .	1,242	156,786	5	17	
6	Dungarpur . . . . .	1,447	100,103	13½	15	
7	Kishangarh . . . . .	858	90,970	6	15	
8	Jhalawar . . . . .	810	90,175	4	11	
9	Jaisalmer . . . . .	16,062	73,370	1	15	
10	Partabgarh . . . . .	886	52,025	2	15	
			1,444,180			
Central India.						
11	Datia . . . . .	911	173,759	4	15	2
12	Dhar . . . . .	1,775	142,115	9	15	
13	Jaora . . . . .	568	84,202	8½	13	
14	Dewas (Senior) . . . . .	446	62,312	3½	15	
15	Dewas (Junior) . . . . .	440	54,904	3½	15	
			517,292			

\* The figures given in these columns are out of date.

**B—contd.**

Serial No.	Name.	Area.	* Population.	* Income in lakhs.	Salute.	Votes.
Bombay.						
16	Palanpur . . .	1,766	222,627	5	11	4
17	Khairpur . . .	6,050	199,313	16	15	
18	Idar . . .	1,669	168,522	4	15	
19	Gondal . . .	1,024	162,859	15	11	
20	Rajpipla . . .	1,517	117,175	8	11	
21	Morvi . . .	822	87,496	6	11	
22	Porbandar . .	636	82,640	6	13	
23	Cambay . . .	350	75,225	4½	11	
24	Dhrangadhra . .	1,156	70,880	3½	13	
25	Radhanpur . . .	1,150	61,548	3½	11	
			1,248,285			
Bengal.						
26	Tippera . . .	4,086	173,325	8	13	1
27	Sikkim . . .	2,818	59,014	1½	15	
			232,339			
						12

\* The figures given in these columns are out of date.

## C.

## SALUTE LIST.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Salute.	If included in the doubtful list.	Remarks.
1	Baroda . . . .	21	..	
2	Gwalior . . . .	21	..	
3	Hyderabad . . . .	21	..	
4	Mysore . . . .	21	..	
5	Bhopal . . . .	19	..	
6	Indore . . . .	19	..	
7	Jammu and Kashmir . .	19	..	
8	Kalat . . . .	19	..	
9	Kolhapur . . . .	19	..	
10	Mewar (Udaipur) . . .	19	..	
11	Travancore . . . .	19	..	
12	Bahawalpur . . . .	17	..	
13	Bharatpur . . . .	17	..	
14	Bikaner . . . .	17	..	
15	Bundi . . . .	17	..	
16	Cochin . . . .	17	..	
17	Cutch . . . .	17	..	
18	Jaipur . . . .	17	..	
19	Karauli . . . .	17	..	
20	Kotah . . . .	17	..	
21	Marwar (Jodhpur) . .	17	..	
22	Patiala . . . .	17	..	
23	Rewa . . . .	17	..	
24	Tonk . . . .	17	..	
25	Alwar . . . .	15	..	
26	Banswara . . . .	15	..	
27	Bhutan . . . .	15	..	
28	Datia . . . .	15	..	

C—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name of State.	Salute.	If included in the doubtful list.	Remarks.
29	Dewas (Senior Branch) . . . .	15	..	
30	Dewas (Junior Branch) . . . .	15	..	
31	Dholpur . . . . .	15	..	
32	Dhar . . . . .	15	..	
33	Dungarpur . . . . .	15	..	
34	Idar . . . . .	15	..	
35	Jaisalmer . . . . .	15	..	
36	Khairpur . . . . .	15	..	
37	Kishangarh . . . . .	15	..	
38	Orchha . . . . .	15	..	
39	Partabgarh . . . . .	15	..	
40	Sikkim . . . . .	15	..	
41	Sirohi . . . . .	15	..	
42	Benares . . . . .	13	..	
43	Bhavnagar . . . . .	13	..	
44	Cooch Behar . . . . .	13	..	
45	Dhrangadha . . . . .	13	..	
46	Jaroa . . . . .	13	..	
47	Jind . . . . .	13	..	
48	Junagadh (or Junagarh) . . . .	13	..	
49	Kapurthala . . . . .	13	..	
50	Navanagar . . . . .	13	..	
51	Porbandar . . . . .	13	..	
52	Rampur . . . . .	13	..	
53	Ratlam . . . . .	13	Yes.	
54	Tippera . . . . .	13	.	
55	Ajaigarh . . . . .	11	Yes.	
56	Baoni . . . . .	11	Yes.	
57	Bijawar . . . . .	11	Yes.	

## C—contd.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Salute.	If included in the doubtful list.	Remarks.
58	Cambay . . . .	11	..	
59	Chamba . . . .	11	Yes.	
60	Charkhari . . . .	11	Yes.	
61	Chhatarpur . . . .	11	Yes.	
62	Faridkot . . . .	11	Yes.	
63	Gondal . . . .	11	..	
64	Janjira . . . .	11	..	
65	Jhabua . . . .	11	Yes.	
66	Jhalawar . . . .	11	..	
67	Kahlur (Bilaspur) . .	11	Yes.	
68	Maler Kotla . . . .	11	Yes.	
69	Mandi . . . .	11	Yes.	
70	Manipur . . . .	11	Yes.	
71	Morvi . . . .	11	..	
72	Nabha . . . .	11	..	
73	Narsingarh . . . .	11	Yes.	
74	Palanpur . . . .	11	..	
75	Panna . . . .	11	Yes.	
76	Pudukkottia (or Pudukotta) .	11	..	
77	Radhanpur . . . .	11	..	
78	Rajgarh . . . .	11	Yes.	
79	Rajpipla . . . .	11	..	
80	Sailana . . . .	11	Yes.	
81	Samthar . . . .	11	..	
82	Sirmur (Nahan) . . .	11	Yes.	
83	Sitamau . . . .	11	Yes.	
84	Suket . . . .	11	Yes.	
85	Tehri (Garhwal) . . .	11	..	
86	Alirajpur . . . .	9	Yes.	
87	Balasinore (or Vasadasinor) .	9	Yes.	

## C—contd.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Salute.	If included in the doubtful list.	Remarks.
88	Bansada . . . .	9	Yes.	
89	Baraundha . . . .	9	Yes.	
90	Bariya . . . .	9	Yes.	
91	Barwani . . . .	9	Yes.	
92	Chhota Udepur . . . .	9	Yes.	
93	Dharampur . . . .	9	Yes.	
94	Dhrol . . . .	9	Yes.	
95	Fadthli . . . .	9	..	
96	Hsipaw (or Thibaw) . . . .	9	..	
97	Karond (Kalahandi) . . . .	9	Yes.	
98	Kengtung (or Kyaington) . . . .	9	..	
99	Khilchipur . . . .	9	Yes.	
100	Kishn and Scotra . . . .	9	..	
101	Lahej . . . .	9	..	
102	Limbdi . . . .	9	Yes.	
103	Loharu . . . .	9	Yes.	
104	Lunawara (or Lunawada) . . . .	9	Yes.	
105	Maihar . . . .	9	Yes.	
106	Mayurbhanj . . . .	9	Yes.	
107	Mong Nai . . . .	9	..	
108	Mudhol . . . .	9	Yes.	
109	Nagod . . . .	9	Yes.	
110	Palitana . . . .	9	Yes.	
111	Patna . . . .	9	Yes.	
112	Rajkot . . . .	9	Yes.	
113	Sachin . . . .	9	Yes.	
114	Sangli . . . .	9	Yes.	
115	Savantvadi . . . .	9	Yes.	
116	Shehr and Mokalla . . . .	9	..	



C—concl'd.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Salute.	If included in the doubtful list.	Remarks.
117	Sonpur . . . . .	9	Yes.	
118	Sunth . . . . .	9	Yes.	
119	Vankaner or Wankaner .	9	Yes.	
120	Wadhwan . . . . .	9	Yes.	
121	Yawnghwe (or Nyaunggywe) .	9	..	
PERSONAL SALUTES.				
1	Bhor . . . . .	11	Yes.	
2	Danta . . . . .	9	..	
3	Dthala . . . . .	9	..	
4	Kanker .. . . .	9	..	
5	Las Bela . . . . .	9	..	
6	Jamkhandi . . . . .	9	Yes.	
7	Tawngpeng . . . . .	9	..	

D

List of Princes whose eligibility for membership of the Council or Chamber is in doubt.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTES.		Votes.
					Permanent.	Personal.	
	<b>Madras.</b>			Rs.			
1	Banganapalle . . .	255	39,344	2,81,000	..	..	
2	Sandur . . .	164	13,517	93,405	..	..	1
			52,861				
	<b>Bombay.</b>						
3	Bhor . . .	925	137,268	4,65,433	..	11	
	<b>Kathiawar Agency.</b>						
4	Sachin . . .	42	18,903	2,08,981	9	11	
5	Wankaner . . .	417	32,653	4,68,100	9	11	
6	Palitana . . .	289	52,856	5,14,867	9	..	
7	Dhrol . . .	283	24,358	1,49,630	9	..	
8	Limbdi . . .	344	31,287	2,50,000	9	..	
9	Rajket . . .	282	50,638	3,69,291	9	..	
10	Wadhwan . . .	236	34,951	4,75,846	9	..	
			245,546				
	<b>Rewa Kantha Agency.</b>						
11	Balasnor . . .	189	32,618	1,36,350	9	..	
12	Bariya . . .	813	115,350	7,95,349	9	..	
13	Chhota Udepur . .	873	103,000	7,20,900	9	..	
14	Lunawada . . .	388	75,998	3,12,954	9	..	
15	Sunth . . .	394	70,974	2,37,663	9	..	
			397,940				

*D—contd.*

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTES.		Votes.
					Permanent.	Personal.	
	<b>Surat Agency.</b>			Rs.			
16	Bansda . . .	215	44,594	5,69,356	9	..	
17	Dharampur . .	704	115,000	8,00,000	9	..	
			159,594				
	<b>Thana Agency.</b>						
18	Jawhar . . .	310	3,489	2,04,948	..	..	
	<b>Southern Mahratta Country States.</b>			Rs.			
19	Sangli . . .	1,112	216,128	11,58,051	9	..	
20	Miraj (Senior). .	339	81,467	2,92,770	..	..	
21	Miraj (Junior) .	210	36,806	25,770	..	..	
22	Kurundwad (Senior)	185	42,474	1,59,131	..	..	
23	Do. (Junior). .	114	34,003	1,69,300	..	..	
24	Mudhol . . .	368	63,001	3,14,922	9	..	
25	Jamkhandi . . .	524	105,357	8,05,350	..	9	
26	Ramdurg . . .	169	37,848	1,61,810	..	..	
			626,094				
	<b>Dharwar Agency.</b>						
27	Savanur . . .	70	18,446	1,15,072	..	..	
	<b>Belgaum.</b>						
28	Savantwadi . .	925	217,240	4,44,000	9	..	
			1,805,617				
	<b>Punjab.</b>						
29	Bilaspur . . .	448	92,525	3,00,000	11	..	
30	Chamba . . .	3,216	135,873	4,00,000	11	..	

*D—contd.*

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTES.		Votes.
					Permanent.	Personal.	
	<b>Punjab—contd.</b>			Rs.			
31	Faridkot . . .	632	130,294	11,00,000	11	..	
32	Maler Kotla . . .	167	71,144	11,00,000	11	..	
33	Mandi . . .	1,200	191,110	5,00,000	11	..	
34	Sirmur . . .	1,198	138,520	6,00,000	11	..	
35	Suket . . .	420	54,928	2,00,000	11	..	
36	Loharu . . .	222	18,597	1,00,684	9	..	
			822,991				2
	<b>Bihar and Orissa.</b>						
37	Mayurbhanj . . .	4,213	729,848	16,53,294	9	..	
38	Kalahandi . . .	3,745	419,413	3,75,898	9	..	
39	Patna . . .	2,399	408,821	4,36,763	9	..	
40	Sonpur . . .	906	215,716	2,07,802	9	..	
			1,773,798				4
	<b>Assam.</b>						
41	Manipur . . .	8,000	346,222	4,42,201	11	..	1
	<b>Central Provinces.</b>						
	<i>Nil.</i>						
	<b>Central India.</b>						
42	Ratlam . . .	743	75,291	9,00,000	13	..	
43	Sailana . . .	279	26,885	3,89,268	11	..	
44	Sitamau . . .	185	26,484	3,00,000	11	..	
45	Narsingarh . . .	734	109,854	6,05,309	11	..	
46	Rajgarh . . .	962	127,297	6,01,305	11	..	
47	Khilchipur . . .	273	40,075	1,63,630	9	..	
48	Jhabua . . .	1,336	111,292	2,53,400	11	..	
49	Barwani . . .	1,178	108,583	6,00,000	9	11	

## D—concl'd.

Serial No.	Name of State.	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	SALUTES.		Vote.
					Permanent.	Personal.	
	<b>Central India—cont'd.</b>			<b>Rs.</b>			
50	Alirajpur . . .	836	72,454	3,18,200	9	..	
51	Ajaigarh . . .	802	87,093	3,25,000	11	..	
52	Baoni . . .	121	20,121	1,30,000	11	..	
53	Bijawar . . .	973	125,202	2,40,000	11	..	
54	Charkhari . . .	880	132,530	6,00,000	11	..	
55	Chhatarpur . . .	1,118	166,985	5,00,000	11	..	
56	Panna . . .	2,596	228,880	6,60,000	11	..	
57	Baraundha . . .	218	16,982	17,173	9	..	
58	Maihar . . .	407	73,155	1,97,078	9	..	
59	Nagod . . .	501	74,592	1,98,000	9	..	
			1,623,755				3
			6,425,244				15

STATEMENT.	No.	Votes.
I. Sovereign States having a population of above three lakhs each .	34	83
II. Sovereign States having a population of below three lakhs each .	27	12
III. States included in the doubtful list . . . . .	59	15
IV. All smaller States not included in any of the above three categories . . . . .	..	12
		122

## POPULATION.

Population of States included in list A. . . . .	48,045,835
Population of States included in list B. . . . .	3,442,096
Population of States included in the doubtful list . . . . .	6,425,244
	<u>57,913,175</u>
Nearly . . . . .	58,000,000
Population of all the remaining smaller States approximately . . . . .	12,00,000
	<u>70,00,000</u>

## APPENDIX V.

### Note by the Chief of Jamkhandi on the question of the "line of demarcation" and the Chamber of Princes.

The Resolution under discussion may be divided into two parts—

- (1) the line of demarcation, and
- (2) the composition of the proposed Chamber.

These points are interdependent, but they may be discussed conveniently as two propositions.

*Line of demarcation.*—The purpose of the line of demarcation as it stood on the agenda of the last Conference, and the object of the Resolution passed by the last Conference are not identical. If the Resolution be finally adopted by this Conference, it is bound to work untold hardships and to create new difficulties. A passing suggestion in paragraph 302 of the Report has been taken by the last Conference as a guiding principle without sufficient reasons.

A perusal of the past proceedings will convince every body that all held contending views on this most vital question. Uneasiness and friction have been the natural results. The reconsideration of the same Resolution testifies to its great importance and to the unwillingness of the Government of India to accept the same as binding on them. The solution of the problem appears to me more easy from new standpoints and I hope that this Conference will come to a final conclusion that may be satisfactory to all.

The announcement of a more liberal policy towards the Indian States has created a good deal of confidence, new hopes and aspirations in the mind of all. I am of opinion that no steps should be taken to destroy that confidence and to create uneasiness in the minds of those Rulers who would be excluded from the proposed scheme of Reforms.

The noble authors of the Joint Report intend to have a line of demarcation, and the object of it is *to improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States*. This object is commendable to all. However, the wording of the Resolution passed by the last Conference clearly excludes the non-autonomous States. Again the Resolution is contrary to the Resolution as regards the constitution of the Chamber [*vide* item (1) (c)] passed by the last Conference. This may be due to mere inadvertence or the changed angle of vision during the course of discussion. The non-autonomous States would not be pleased by a mere participation in the deliberations of the proposed Chamber but would be certainly pleased if they are to enjoy the benefits of all the proposals, which are intended to safeguard their interests, nay the very existence of them. The noble authors of the Report have said in the introduction that they have only indicated their proposals without going into details. The suggested exception need not be accepted as a gospel truth. I am of opinion that great caution and forethought are required to solve this problem.

All will agree with me in holding that the proposals in Chapter X apply equally to all the Indian States. The interests of all are sacred and are to be guarded by us and by the Imperial Government. The differences in the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Rulers vary no doubt, but the proposals have nothing to do with these rights and privileges. All are aware that the treaties with the Indian States have been the outcome of the different policies adopted by the East India Company. If some States more than others need substantial protection in future politics, they are, I believe, the smaller States of India.

Thus the line of demarcation, if drawn at all, may be drawn to serve subsidiary purposes and not for those specifically mentioned in the Report. I think that it would be of utility in consideration of the following questions : (a) the placing of all important States in direct political relations with the Government of India, (b) individual representation on the proposed Chamber, (c) the question of precedence of Princes and Chiefs, and (d) the immediate withdrawal of restrictions placed on the inherent powers of the doubtful States. These are the birth rights of all the autonomous States. The lesser States will not be inclined to question this preferential treatment. But they will feel themselves aggrieved, if they are debarred from enjoying the benefits of the proposals. In the light of the well defined goal in view, even the smaller States are entitled to have internal autonomy either individually or by suitable groups in due course of time. If this be not the case the future position of the smaller States becomes obscure.

The last war has been victoriously fought for the right of small nations and for the right of all people to rule their own destinies. If any moral lesson is to be learned from this, it cannot but be the protection and gradual progress of the smaller Indian States. All the Princes and Chiefs are the acknowledged hereditary representatives of their respective States. For this reason the Imperial Government and the bigger Indian States should think it their solemn duty to raise the status of the smaller States as junior partners of the Indian Empire. This benevolent policy will not only give entire satisfaction to the smaller States, but will also greatly strengthen and accelerate the attainment of the object—Imperial Federation.

The announcement of August 20th, 1917, is right and wise ; and the policy which it embodies is the only possible policy for India. India, as a whole, contains both British and Indian State territories. The announcement pledges the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards *three hundred millions* of people of both British and Indian India. We too have hailed the announcement with great satisfaction. India will represent a federation as an integral part of the British Empire. The recent participation of our representatives in the deliberations of the Imperial Conference distinctly proves the future Imperial policy. The ends for which the Empire exists cannot be easily realised by India as a whole, though it is not the one far off divine event to which all the States move, that India shall consist of a sisterhood of States self-governing in all matters of purely local interests. A central Imperial Government shall preside over them. If the smaller States are excluded from the federation, the Central Government cannot be fully representative of all of them. In short, the Government of India cannot, on the one hand, announce their intention of making the Government increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of British India, and on the other, tighten the screw upon the inherent or proposed autonomy of the doubtful States and exclude the smaller States from the proposed Reforms. Omniscience alone can bring us nearer to reality. The existing Indian States cannot be classified in a mutually exclusive manner. They must be brought somehow to unity. It is not a double work. Hence the Chamber of Princes should be constituted on as broad a franchise as possible. If the lesser States go without any representation it will be a great drawback and will surely frustrate the attainment of the goal. On all these grounds, complete exclusion of the lesser States would be both illogical and dangerous, and this is the one possible conclusion.

The veiled process of unification of the two parts of India has an Imperial basis. All States depend on the Imperial Government in all external affairs.

Their internal sovereignty depends on their original treaties as modified by precedent, custom and usage. The States in the Bombay Presidency have been classified into seven groups without the consent of those concerned. The classification is relative and tentative and has not crystallized in course of time. The classification of the first and second classes is unsound and unconstitutional. The permission of the Political Agent to try British or foreign subjects is a mere formality. Such a classification has no foundation in the original treaties or in the law of the country. It has become quite useless on account of the all-round progress achieved by the second class States. The extradition treaties have modified the classification. Some of the second class States have been raised to the position of the first class. The Imperial Government have no direct control in the internal administration of the first and second class States and hence they deserve to be classed as autonomous.

In the case of the remaining States from the third to the seventh classes—the Imperial Government have a direct hand in their internal administration. In a few Agencies the Agency Courts have power to try capital offences committed by foreigners or British subjects. Such is not the case at least in the Southern Mahratha Country Agency. The practice in the existing Agencies varies to a great extent, and thus the principle appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs appears to have been inadvertently applied to the greater ones. However, the proposed codification will finally set this question at rest. Abstract and general theories will fail to solve practical problems. Though no two States be altogether alike no two are altogether different. Community and co-operation between the States is organic. It cannot be destroyed; it can be merely readjusted. The unity of India is the only ideal to be attained in future.

All the Indian States are equally loyal to the Crown, have done their utmost during the last war and have been trying their level best to administer their own States. The Imperial Government have recognized in the past a policy of relaxing the restrictions on the powers of certain States on account of personal qualifications or enlightened policy of their Rulers. Recent events prove that the Indian States are worthy of further trust. Radical changes are therefore required, and His Excellency has publicly announced the future policy at the last Conference.

Some may try to classify the States as allied, friendly, protected, independent, feudatory, tributary or vassal. But since 1858 all such States are placed in one category on the Imperial basis, and the said classification is misleading. The distinction of the States as Chiefships, Jagirs, *Sanad* States, and mediatised Chiefships, and the terms Bhumias, Talukdars, Thakurs, Sardars, Jagirdars and Subedars are distinctly invidious and carry no definite meaning without any reference to the sovereign powers actually enjoyed by the Rulers. These distinctions recall nothing but the origin of the States. The dual position of some of the Rulers should neither be ignored nor over-emphasised. It is analogous to the dual capacity of the Imperial Government of India. Let us ignore the past and look to the bright future, taking our stand on the constitutional bond between the Crown and the States.

The claims of the autonomous States cannot be weakened, and those of the doubtful ones cannot be ignored in future. It is needless to quote the recent pronouncements as regards the Indian States solemnly made by His Imperial Majesty and His responsible representatives in India. The declared policy of the Imperial Government in preserving and raising the status of the Indian States is that "they should grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength." The exclusion of the lesser States from the proposed federation is



contrary to the present policy of union and co-operation. So far I have not met with a single convincing and positive argument on which the intended exclusion could be legitimately based. Negative arguments are many, but no action should be based on them.

*Chamber of Princes.*—The Resolution passed by the last Conference reads as follows :—

“ That the Chamber of Princes should consist—

(i) of Sovereign Princes,

(ii) and such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes.”

The Chamber is primarily intended to be instituted for the purposes of expressing considered opinion on “ *questions which affect the States generally and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole, or to British India and the States in common.*” I need not go into details of the admitted matters of common concern and show their effect on the interests of the Indian States. I cannot understand how these matters affect the important States alone and not all the States equally. As already discussed, all the States are entitled to have representation in the Chamber. However, I beg that my proposal should not be misunderstood meaning that I am for individual representation for all States. I am of opinion that individual representation for all autonomous States and one representative for each of the existing or revised groups of non-autonomous States, will solve the question in a satisfactory manner. I do understand that there cannot be true representation by groups in the case of all full-powered Princes and Chiefs.

Some of the leading Princes apprehend that the collective opinion of the representatives of the lesser States might drown the voice of the Princes of the first rank. In the first place, the function of the Chamber is merely advisory ; in the second place, the danger could be easily averted by giving multiple votes to the bigger States according to their revenue and population. It might be provided that even the views of the majority should not be acted upon when a fixed percentage of the total votes is against any vital question. With these safeguards, I hope that much of the opposition may be overcome.

As regards the question of representation, the salute test cannot now be relied upon in the face of His Excellency's considered pronouncement at the last Conference. The test of internal autonomy is the only constitutional basis on which individual representation should be given. Out of a total of 680 States some 106 possess no territory to govern and may therefore be rightly excluded from this scheme. There are about 65 autonomous States and about 59 doubtful ones. The remaining 450 are not autonomous. The number of such States in the Bombay Presidency is about 300. Next comes Central India with about 100 States and lastly comes Burma with about 50. It has been suggested that local or provincial Councils should be constituted and about 50 Sovereign Princes sent as representatives of all the Indian States. Indirect representation does not appear satisfactory in the case of all autonomous and some of the doubtful States. In the case of the others that is the only solution. If necessary, the non-autonomous States might be regrouped, with their free consent, on certain well defined data.

The position of the doubtful States presents many difficulties. The grounds on which they are classed as doubtful are complex. The intended inquiry about their autonomy might be left either in the hands of the Government of India or in those of a local Committee consisting of Political Officers and some autonomous Princes. I am confident that His Excellency will be

pleased to deal with this very delicate and important question in a generous spirit. The reports of the Committees would be of great use to the Government of India as regards the status of the doubtful States.

I fully agree with the recommendation as regards the relaxation of restrictions now imposed on the powers of the doubtful States. However, the following observations will not be out of place in this connection. The so-called restrictions or powers of control on the exercise of full powers by the doubtful States ought to be broadly interpreted. Any ground for acrimony should be avoided in conducting the inquiry. In case of doubt full benefit should be given to such States or the question should not be closed for ever. The resolutions and the correspondence relating to them should be communicated to the States concerned. The general power of tendering advice in all important matters should never be construed as legitimate control. The object in view, while tendering advice, as usually represented to the States, is to set right any mistake of policy and not in any way to interfere with the Ruler's jurisdiction. The existing usage, practice, or precedent should not be allowed to override the plain meaning of the treaties, which are solemn documents and looked upon by the States as their title-deeds. Contemporary official correspondence, proclamations and other assurances conveyed by private or formal letters should be relied upon. Not only the letter but the spirit of these treaties deserves to be maintained. The names of Wellesley, Elphinstone, Malcolm and Munro are still revered and remembered with gratitude for their friendship and generosity by almost all the Rulers since the political settlement of the last century. British good faith and respect for the British Nation have conjointly brought the British Nation out of many difficulties. Lord Hastings, who made more treaties than other Governor Generals, always intended to construe the terms of treaties in their true spirit and most favourably for the party whose sole dependence was on the honour of the other. Statesmen, like Hon. Mr. M. Elphinstone, have expressly stated that "it ought to be a rule with the Government to discourage all direct interference with the Native States even in cases justified by their agreements, so long as general advice was sufficient to prevent great oppression."

British jurisdiction is not introduced in all the Indian States. All the Rulers are bound to exert themselves to do justice and to promote the welfare and happiness of their subjects. These clauses, whether expressly mentioned in the treaties or not, are equally binding on all the States. As a rule there is no appeal from the decisions of the Princes and Chiefs of the first and second classes, but their proceedings are called for and reviewed on any suspicion of injustice. This practice is based on the prerogative of the Paramount Power and cannot be construed as based on the terms of the treaties. It is only when the treaties authorise it to entertain complaints and to issue orders thereon, that the Paramount Power can legitimately wield its power of control. When the treaties are silent on these points, all such States deserve to be classed as autonomous, as internal affairs were to be regulated as before by the custom, law and usage of the country or *Lex loci*. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone has distinctly reported that the great Jagirdars and Sardars of the Maratha Empire exercised full Sovereign powers as regards their own principalities. If the question of autonomy be decided in the light of these observations, the doubtful States will be satisfied with the final decision and will be grateful to the Imperial Government. The duty of the Political Officers is to watch over the Rulers' actions and influence their conduct and policy. Any idea in the State that there is freedom of appeal to the Political Officers ought to be discouraged. The subjects look upon their Ruler as their rightful Sovereign. Any interference by

the Agents of the Paramount Power tends to lower the prestige of the Ruler in the eyes of his subjects. Continuous interference degrades the States for ever, as was said by Sir Charles Metcalfe.

As regards the constitution and voting of the Chamber, the following arrangements will be satisfactory to all. Out of the 65 autonomous States only 23 should be entitled to have a multiple vote. These should be given a total number of 74 votes ranging between 2 to 15 according to revenue and population. The remaining 42 should have in all 42 votes. As regards the doubtful States, they should be given 59 votes provisionally. If perchance any one of them is not classed as autonomous, its vote should be utilised in revising the votes of the 23 States. The lesser States numbering in all 450 should be grouped into 25 circles or agencies either according to area or revenue and population and authorised to send one representative for each circle. Each of these representatives should have one vote. Thus in all there would be 150 representatives having in all 200 votes. Thus the Chamber would not be a too unwieldy body. Many of the representatives would be unable to attend the Chamber on account of their minority or other causes. Some of the leading Princes think it advisable not to attend the Chamber. Thus the total number that is likely to be present at the meetings of the Chamber will not ordinarily exceed 100. This figure is neither too large nor too small when compared with that of the members of the new Legislative Councils that are to be introduced in the old Presidency. This is a mere outline of the constitution, and I shall be grateful if a better scheme be suggested in its place. The distribution of the votes and other details of the scheme may be worked out by a Committee.

In conclusion, I am of opinion that—

- (1) The line of demarcation should be drawn not only for all the purposes indicated in Chapter X of the Report but also for some subsidiary ones.
- (2) All the autonomous States should have the right of individual representation and their votes regulated according to revenue and population.
- (3) The inquiry as regards the status of the doubtful States should be undertaken as early as possible.
- (4) The remaining States which are not and which will not be autonomous after inquiry should have representation by groups.
- (5) The existing groups of non-autonomous States should be kept intact or revised only with the free consent of the States concerned.

## APPENDIX VI.

**Note on the status of the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country prepared by the Chief of Mudhol.**

It is a matter of deep regret and profound disappointment that the position of the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country should still remain indeterminate. In my humble opinion, there ought to have been no doubt whatever regarding our status, but as some misapprehension seems unfortunately to exist in certain minds, I shall endeavour to show in the following pages how the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs have stood in the past and how they still enjoy full powers of internal administration and how, therefore, it follows that they are eligible, in their individual capacity, for membership of the Council of Princes.

Now, for a proper exposition of the case of the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country, I shall take a dip into the history of the Southern Maratha Country and shall, as briefly as possible, explain our situation to this Conference. The Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country represent three families, the Patwardhans, the Bhawes and the Ghorpades, to the last of which I have the honour to belong. Appendix A to Wellesley's Notes relative to the late

Annexure I.

transactions in the Maratha Empire, 1804, gives at pages 85-89, an account of the Southern Jagirdars of the Maratha Empire. It is important to observe that Wellesley's Note compiled from information communicated by Sir John Malcolm draws a clear line between Chieftains of the first class and those of the second class. Among the Chieftains of the first class occur the following names: (1) the Patwardhan family, (2) Maloji Ghorpade of Mudhol, (3) Venkatrao, Jagirdar of Nergund and Ramdurg. Thus it will be seen that the three families of the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs have been regarded as belonging to the first class.

The first direct connection of these Chiefs with the East India Company began when the Resident at Poona presented, on the 6th of July 1812, a paper to the Peshwa, by whom it was accepted on the day following. This was, indeed, preceded by two or three Treaties of Peace, but they were all drawn up on behalf of the whole Maratha Confederacy. The spirit in which the agreements were entered into and the manner in which the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country were to be treated will be clear from the following excerpt:—

"These Jagheerdars" wrote Mr. Elphinstone in his letter to Secretary Metcalfe, "must by our agreement with them continue to be governed according to the terms of Punderpoor, which are founded on the ancient custom of the Mahratta Empire. *They must, therefore, have the entire management of their own Jagheers, including the power of life and death, and must not be interfered with by the Government unless in case of very flagrant abuse of power of long continuance of gross mismanagement.*

Any matters of difference among themselves were to be regarded as political matters and to be dealt with by direct orders from the Government and not under the regulations applicable to the British territory; and further assurances were given that the Government would maintain their rank and dignity as it was maintained under the Peshwa's rule." (*Vide Colebrooke's Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone, Volume II, page 76.*)

Again, in giving an account of a meeting at Rahmatpur with seven chiefs of the family at Patwardhan, also Venkatrao Ghorpade, Raja of Mudhol and the Chiefs of Nergund and Ramdurg, Mr. Elphinstone writes :—

“It ought to be a rule with the Government to discourage all direct interference with them even in cases justified by their agreements, so long as general advice is sufficient to prevent great oppression.”  
(*Ibid*, pages 190—191.)

Furthermore, it may be noted that Mr. Elphinstone was quite unwilling to interfere with the internal administration of the States even in such matters as regarded the police, the customs, etc., for, in paragraph 12 at page clxxv of Captain West's Memoir of Southern Maratha Country States, he observes :—

“The only general rules that I would suggest for the future regarding the Chiefs are that no alterations regarding the police, the customs, the mints, and similar branches of the administration of the Jagheers which may be thought to affect the interests of Government may be attempted without the free consent of the Jagheerdars.”

Regarding the wide powers actually exercised by the Chiefs the following extract from Elphinstone's Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa gives some information. (Vide pages 308—309 of *Forrest's Selections from the Minutes and Official Writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*.)

“A Chief was thought to have authority over his own troops and servants. Wherever he was Scindia, while he affected to act under the Peshwa, put many of his chiefs and ministers (even Brahmins), who had been accused of plots, to death. At Puna, Appa Desai (one of the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs) in 1813, while completely in the Peshwa's power, blow away one of his Sardars from a gun for conspiracy against him, and was never questioned, though the execution took place within a mile of Puna.”

The Chiefs even exercised the rights of coining money and levying customs on goods passing through the country. This was considered prejudicial to trade by General Munro, who, in his report on the Southern Maratha Country (vide paragraph 25 at page 366 of *Gleig's Edition 1831 of the Life of Sir Thomas Munro*) suggested that “it ought to be abolished whenever the Jagheerdars can be prevailed upon to accept a fair compensation for the sacrifice of these rights.”

From the foregoing it will appear to be quite clear that the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs were acknowledged as enjoying full sovereign rights long before they came under British control. When they transferred their allegiance to the British on the overthrow of the Peshwa Government, British officers recognised this fact of their enjoyment of autonomy and guaranteed the same to them. The East India Company offered the following terms for the acceptance of the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs :—

“The confirmation under the guarantee of the British Government of all lands held under the authority of the Peshwa was irrevocably pledged to you (Southern Maratha Country Chiefs) so long as you should continue to perform the duties of allegiance, fidelity and attachment.”

(Vide *Appendix F* of *Captain West's Memoir of Southern Maratha Country States*.) And “assurances were given that the Government would maintain their rank and dignity as it was maintained under the Peshwa's rule.”

Having dealt so far with the position of the Southern Maratha Country Chiefs as a whole, I may be permitted to add a few words with regard to my own State. I need hardly say that in doing so I have not the remotest idea of separating myself from my brother Chiefs. I would humbly request attention to Annexure\* 2, which is an extract from pages 666—67 of Forrest's Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Volume I.

My family has been in possession of the Mudhol territory since the time of the Adilshahi kings of Bijapur. The founder of the family, Sujjan Singh, joined the army of Allauddin Hassan about the year 1340 and soon afterwards was granted the Panch Mahals of Mudhol in Jagir. The family gradually rose into eminence and obtained command of 7,000 horse. During the time of Shivaaji, Maloji Ghorpade was addressed by the former "as an equal" and must have been "one of the greatest nobles of the Adilshahi Court. The family has from an early period borne the title of Raja, probably conferred by the kings of Bijapur ;

Annexure 2.

and it is his privilege not only to be excused from performing *Mujra* (the obeisance of a subject), but the chief of the family is entitled to have a *Morchal* (a fly flapper of peacock's feather) waved over his head on occasion of state." After the fall of the Adilshahi dynasty, the five Parganas, including Mudhol, continued to be held by the family along with the Saranjami lands. With the rise of the Maratha power the Saranjami territory was gradually annexed by the Marathas owing to the refusal on the part of the Mudhol Raja to serve the Maratha Confederacy. The family, thus, enjoyed complete independence from the date of the fall of Aurangzeb down to 1755 when my ancestor Maloji Raje joined the Peshwas in their campaign against the Carnatic and Guzerat in the pursuit of Raghoba Dada. In 1761 Maloji Raje "to save himself from the imposition of Chouth on his Jagir consented to serve with 250 horse. This agreement was not acted up to, and in consequence his estate was attached in 1766. It was subsequently restored and "the Peshwa imposed on him the duty of serving with 150 horse, but it is understood that he never served with more than 75 and then received pay." (Vide *Elphinstone's Despatch to Mr. Chaplin, dated 16th August 1819, paragraph 23, page clxxxviii of Captain West's Memoir.*) In spite of this agreement, Mudhol was never free from the Peshwa's incursions. It will thus be seen that the Mudhol Raja was reckoned not as a vassal or the Peshwa but more or less as an ally. The following extract gives further information :—

"Besides the Putwardhans several other Jagheerdars came to visit me at Baguleote. The Brahmin Chiefs of Nergoond and Kamdoorg, the former of whom has a Jagheer of Rs. 90,000 and the latter of Rs. 75,000 free of all tributes and service, were among the number as were the Chiefs of Moodhole and Beelghay, both members of the Ghorepurary family. These two Chiefs hold their lands of the kings of Bijapoor which have been respected by the Mahrattas. The former has Rs. 1,50,000 for the service of 75 horses and the latter Rs. 25,000 for his personal service". (Vide *paragraph 17, Elphinstone's Letter to Metcalfe, dated 7th June 1819, at page clxxix, Captain West's Memoir.*)

That the Chiefs were entitled to differential treatment on account of greater dignity or long standing custom was recognised by the Honourable Mr.

\*Pages 703—704 ante.

Elphinstone when he issued instructions to Mr. Chaplin (vide *paragraph 26 of Elphinstone's Despatch to Chaplin*):—

“ You will be able on this information to fix the number of horse with which each Chief is to serve, allowing a liberal attention to the claims of the Chiefs, as the right to their horse is of importance more to mark their relations to the Government than for any real service they will ever perform. The rest of the agreements with them may be framed on that with Chintaman Rowe of Sangli excepting the first article. Changes of expression may be necessary on account of their greater dignity, and if custom should require relaxation in our claims of sovereignty over them (which, however, I do not apprehend), greater care must be taken to do away all pretension on their part to a right to carry on any intercourse with foreign States .”

I shall now proceed to consider the treatment which the Chiefs have received under the British Government since 1819. It must be gratefully acknowledged that, broadly speaking, there has been no departure from the policy of non-interference with the internal sovereignty of the States. A few instances may be cited. In 1837-38 transit duties were suspended and abolished but compensation was given to the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country. Similarly, when during the eighties of the last century Government entered into agreements with the Chiefs of the Southern Mahratha Country States for the promotion of free trade or for the abolition of the cultivation of poppy in their States or obtained from them cession of jurisdiction, short of sovereignty rights, over the lands within the States, then occupied by the Railway comprised in the Southern Maratha Railway system or obtained on lease the right to the liquor traffic within the Southern Maratha Country States, they clearly acknowledged the full internal sovereign rights of the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country. It must be added that the Chiefs enjoy the rights of all kinds of taxation direct or indirect within their own territory. Finally, they exercise the power of life and death and make their own laws and regulations.

I hope I have made it clear that the States of the Southern Maratha Country come under the category of full-powered States and are therefore entitled to have independent and individual representation at the Delhi Conferences. Why then is the privilege still denied to us? My attention has been drawn to Appendix C of the proceedings of the last Conference. There at page 141 occurs the following note against the names of the Southern Maratha Country States :—

“ These Rulers exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction over their own subjects and have powers to make their own laws, but the Political Agent and the Government of Bombay exercise certain special powers of control in civil and criminal cases.

The system is based upon article 9 of the Treaty of 1819 at page 274 of Aitchison's Treaties, Volume VII.”

Now, instead of offering any personal comment, I quote Mr. Elphinstone himself to show what the intention of the illustrious author of the Treaty was :—

“ The 9th Article,” writes Mr. Elphinstone to Secretary Metcalfe, “ is inserted as much for the purpose of guarding the Jagheerdars from vexatious interference on the part of our officers as for that of leaving Government the power to interpose in case of the occurrence of any atrocity which it would be

hurtful to its reputation to overlook and even to introduce its own police in case the administration of the Jagheerdars should ever fall into entire disorder."

The unsettled state of the country at that time and the existence of abuses in the administration of the Jagheerdars may have justified the insertion of the article. But it is quite clear that the sovereign rights of the States were not at all intended to be curtailed or interfered with. Government, as the Paramount Power, simply reserved the right "to interpose in case of the occurrence of any atrocity, etc., etc." It is scarcely necessary to add that Government as the supreme authority has always possessed this right of interference in the case of every Indian State, provided, of course, there has been "very flagrant abuse of power or long continuance of gross mismanagement";

So much for article 9 of the Treaty of 1819. Let me now consider the nature of the powers of control exercised by the Political Agent and the Government of Bombay. It must be emphatically stated at the outset that the supervisory rules issued in 1889 were the outcome of purely adventitious circumstances. There was a considerable increase of murderous crime at that period and the Government wanted to satisfy themselves that the responsibility resting upon the Chiefs was properly discharged. But the resolution of Government in this matter clearly stated that it was not to be understood that an appeal was allowed against the orders of the S. M. C. Chiefs. The limitations were obviously of a temporary nature and certainly ought to have been removed when the reasons which were deemed to justify their imposition no longer existed. It must be admitted that these limitations, and these only, stand to this day. We have memorialised Government on this subject and it is fervently hoped that these minor restrictions will be speedily abrogated. It is gratifying to note that the last Conference also has passed a resolution recommending the relaxation of restrictions imposed on the powers of Rulers. I, therefore, humbly submit that our position must not be allowed to be adversely affected by the continuance of the rules of 1889. For, as His Excellency the Viceroy truly observed in the course of his inaugural address to the January Conference, "the essential question for classification purposes would seem to be whether the Ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of his subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials."

That the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country have normally the power of legislation and independent administration is a fact that cannot be disputed. The control imposed under abnormal conditions cannot be considered to impair their internal autonomy. I, therefore, humbly submit that the doubt surrounding our position must vanish and we must, in justice and fairness, be allowed to take our place in the Council of Princes as Sovereign Princes.

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## Annexure 1.

*Extract from Notes relative to the late transaction in the Maratha Empire by General Wellesley, 1804 Edition, Appendix A, pages 85—90.*

## “SOUTHERN JAGHEERDARS OF THE MAHRATTA EMPIRE.

The subordinate chieftains, occupying territory to the south of Poona, may be divided into two classes ; first, the Rajahs and hereditary Jagheerdars, and second, officers of the Government of Poona who command troops or forts.

The principal chieftains of the first class are :—

1. The Rajah of Colapore, who is of the same family as the Rajah of Sattarah. Although this chieftain, therefore, may have submitted to the power of the Peishwah, it would be an inversion of the principles on which the authority of the Peishwah rests, to suppose that the Peishwah could demand personal allegiance from a branch of the family of which he is the ostensible minister. On this account the Peishwah addresses the Rajah of Colapore as a superior and treats him as such on all occasions of form or public ceremony. The Rajah maintains 1,500 horse, and 3,000 peons, and is stated to enjoy a revenue of between twenty and twenty-five lacks of rupees.

2. The Putwardun family, who are Cokan Bramins. Gopaul Hurry, the father of the late Purseram Bhow, left seven sons who are all deceased, and of whom the four eldest (namely, Gopaul Rao, Purseram Bhow, Ragonaut Rao and Pandurung Rao) left issue. The property and Jagheers of the Putwardun family are now divided between the sons of these four chiefs, who are, first Balajee Gopaul Rao, the son of the second Gopaul Rao. As the senior branch of the family, Balajee Gopaul Rao possesses Meritch and the neighbouring districts, yielding a revenue of about four lacks of rupees ; he maintains a force of about two hundred horse and one thousand five hundred foot.

Second Appah Sahib, the son of Purseram Bhow, resides at Jamcondah, one of his Jagheers, and enjoy a revenue of about four lacks of rupees ; he maintains a fixed establishment of five hundred horse and one thousand foot.

Third, Trimluck Rao Ragonaut Rao resides at Karandwar, the chief town of his Jagheer, which yields an annual revenue of about two lacks of rupees. His quota is three hundred horse.

Fourth, Chintamanee Rao Pandurung, son of Pandurung Rao, has a Jagheer yielding four and half lacks of rupees, and resides at Hercepoor ; he maintains a fixed establishment of seven hundred cavalry and four hundred horse.

3. \* \* \* \* \*

4. \* \* \* \* \*

5. Malajee Goorparah, who holds in Jagheer the towns and districts of Tumba, Indie, and Almil, from which he derives a revenue of one lack of rupees ; he maintains six hundred horse, for which he is allowed pay by Government.

6. Purseram Pundit is a chief of some consequence ; he possesses to the Southward of Poonah, Bijapur Bagawarah, Aundh. and some land in the Cokan : his revenue is estimated at ten lacks of rupees and he maintains a force of three thousand horse.

7. \* \* \* \* \*

8. Jaun Rao Nemalkur, Jagheerदार of Puttun, a town near Panderpoor, Phaltan. on the bank of the Beemah maintains one thousand and five hundred horse.

9. Venketerow, Jagheerदार of Nurgood and Ramdroog, has a revenue of one lack and twenty-five thousand rupees and maintains five hundred peons to garrison his forts : he has obtained some consequence by the marriage of his daughter to the youngest son of the late Purseram Bhow, and of his son to the sister of Bapoo Ghoklah ; the latter chief, in consequence of this connection, leaves his family and property in Nurgood whenever he is engaged on a distant expedition.

10. \* \* \* \* \*

11. Dowlut Rao Goorparah, the brother of the famous Morari Rao Ghooty, is Jagheerदार of the town and district of Gujinderghur, which has long been in his family. It was taken by Tipoo Sultaun in 1786 but recovered in 1792 and restored to this family, who are highly respected among the Mahrattas, notwithstanding they have lost that power which they formerly possessed. Dowlut Rao Goorparah has a revenue of about three lacks of rupees, and maintains a force of three hundred horse and three hundred peons, which form the garrison of the fort of Gujinderghur.

12. \* \* \* \* \*

Then follow names of the Chiefs of the second class. ”

## Annexure 2.

*Extract from the pages 666—667 of selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Volume I, by Mr. G. W. Forrest.*

### BHONSLA GHORPADE, RAJA OF MUDHOL.

The first authentic account of this branch of the Bhonsla family is to be found in an original letter from Shivaji to Maloji Ghorpade, dated Bhagnugur, when he was forming a connection with the king of Golkonda. This curious document is in the hands of Govindrav Ghorpade, together with a vast number of Persian papers, the authenticity of which, when compared with other documents of the same time, cannot, for a moment be doubted. The letter alluded to is from Shivaji, recapitulating the several causes which combined to create the inveterate hostility between the Bhonslas and Ghorpades, and endeavouring to assuage it by pointing out to Maloji the disadvantages of perpetuating such an enmity and the advantages of his abandoning the fortunes of the Pathans of Bijapur who hold the young king in subjection. At

this time Maloji Ghorpade is addressed by Shivaji as an equal and must have been one of the greatest nobles of the Adilshahi Court. The family has from an early period borne the title of Raja probably conferred by the kings of Bijapur; and it is his privilege not only to be excused from performing *Mojra* (the obeisance of a subject), but the chief of the family is entitled to have a *Morchal* (a fly flapper of peacock's feathers) waved over his head on occasions of State. This family held from the Adilshahi Government the following districts, viz.:—

Pargana Mudhol.

„ Lakapur.

„ Dhowleswar.

„ Joungee.

„ Manchnocr . . . . .Rs. 1,00,000

which the family enjoys to this day under the British Government.

During the reign of the Rajas of Satara we hear little of the Mudhol Raja the first instance we find is in the case of Shankraji Raja (younger brother to the then Ruler of Mudhol), who joined in the pursuit of Raghoba Dada into Gujarat, where he died. For this and for other aid afforded subsequently he had a Saranjam assigned him of Rs. 2,50,000 for the maintenance of 675 horse, but which was resumed by the late Bajirav. It is the pride of this family that its personal estates are derived from the kings of Bijapur, but that it never received personal support from any subsequent rulers.

The family also has half the Deshmukhi of Satara and the villages of Nandgaon Taraf Satara, Koonta, Taraf Koregum, Rs. 8,000. and Pusurni, Prant Karnatak, value unknown.

## APPENDIX VII.

### Note by His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch) on the Revised Reform Scheme.

#### 1. *Preliminary remarks.*

In view of the discussions which took place at the last Conference at Delhi and specially in the Select Committee, as well as on account of written criticism received and views expressed in personal interviews, it is necessary to revise the Dewas Scheme of 1918 in many of its details.

Primarily it may be remarked, without going into details, that there was a notable lack of agreement in the discussions, which clearly shewed the existence of strongly contending opinions based on early racial feelings, former and present historical relationships, opposed traditions, and the conflicting standards of conservative and up to date methods of administration from which it was obvious that no one set of criteria suitable to all India could be found.

On the other hand, although participation in any scheme of a Chamber of Princes may remain optional, it is still obviously desirable that the scheme should be such as to be not only generally acceptable but also capable of attracting all concerned. It must also be sufficiently wide in its scope not to require, constant or violent readjustments before leading Princes who had stood out could be induced to join.

While still adhering to the ideal of a chain of executive bodies, it is clear that for the present the functions of any proposed body will have to remain merely advisory, as the more advanced scheme is still regarded with distrust.

Passing on to the classification of the States for the purpose of a Chamber of Princes, the discussions at Delhi clearly shew that in separating the States into groups or differentiating between them individually, it is impolitic to adopt a criterion such as that proposed of "Sovereign Princes", which is new and unfamiliar. There may be a few anomalies in the existing criteria of classification, but on the other hand these criteria are those with which Rulers have been familiar for over a century; they have been generally accepted and are easily understood not only within the States themselves but throughout India. Thus whether a Ruler possesses the title of "His Highness" and does or does not enjoy a hereditary salute, are two salient distinctions which are recognisable by every one, State, subjects, and the public alike. Again if these States are differentiated on this basis, though a few anomalies may exist, and a few Rulers may be dissatisfied, it is impossible to deny the fact that Rulers with a salute and the title of "His Highness" are everywhere held in higher estimation than those with salutes only, while "Chiefs" enjoying neither of these distinctions fall far below them in the eyes of the public. Although this last class may in a few cases claim to be "States", they have nothing beyond that appellation, and by the majority of the Ruling Princes or even by the public are never regarded as included among "Ruling Princes and Chiefs". Thus in Bombay, which possesses a large number of this class, in all 316, they are styled Thakurs High Jagirdars, or Sardars, and rank far below those with the titles of "His Highness the Thakur" or "His Highness the Raja" or "His Highness the Chief". Similarly in Central India there are "Ranas and Rajas" who have no salutes, and many Thakurs, etc., in all 121, all of whom rank far below the superior class. In the Central Provinces and Orissa are States, in all 37, holding analogous position, a small number of similar holdings exists in the other

British provinces or agencies, *viz.* Assam 15 Rajputana 2, Madras 2, Punjab 21. It would, therefore, be a mistake to "lump" these so-called States with the salute States, whose position is clearly defined, and thus raise the total number to over 600. It is with the 52 Burman States which are not considered in this scheme that the total goes to about 700 and hence here the number is quoted as "over 600". We now come to distinctions existing among the salute States themselves, some being generally recognised throughout India as of greater importance than the rest.

Their importance is judged by four criteria :—

1. The early historical position and traditions of the State, especially of the last few hundred years or so, being the more important as leading up to a permanent status.
2. The nature of the relations existing between the Paramount Power and the State, *i.e.*, treaties, *sanads*, mediatized agreements, etc.
3. The hereditary salute enjoyed, those enjoying 15 guns and above being always held to be the more important.
4. The mere predominance of the material stake held in the country by a State.

## 2. *Composition of a Chamber of Princes.*

The first question is whether a Chamber of Princes is desired. In spite of the abstention of certain leading Princes the answer is in the affirmative. The second question is how it is to be constituted, a question leading to great controversy. The discussions at the last Conference in Delhi, while they raised a great deal of feeling, ended in a very unsatisfactory solution, *viz.* :—that the Council should consist of—

[a] Sovereign Princes.

[b] Such others as the Government of India may decide to include in consultation with the Princes.

The reason why no satisfactory solution was arrived at must be clear to all who attended the Conference. It was that the test for classifying States then proposed, *viz.*, that of "Ruling Princes with sovereign powers" was unfortunate, in that it was wholly unfamiliar and raised suspicions and doubts in many minds. This criterion not only introduces new difficulties, but it most unfortunately also tends to complicate and obscure the well-known existing criteria of titles and salutes. Under the test proposed only about 60 States out of 115 salute States (or the 600 and over so-called States) become eligible for the Chamber, the rest not possessing the full internal autonomy required by the definition. This leaves 55 salute States (and over 500 so-called States) out. This fact was at once recognised and the expedient was then adopted that an artificial enhancement of the powers of so many of the others as was possible should be made in order to enable them to be included within the scope of the definition. This proposal caused heated discussions and raised much ill-feeling and misunderstanding. It was a patched-up peace, agreed to grudgingly in order that progress could be made, and not because those concerned were really convinced. But luckily this expedient need not now be resorted to, bristling as it does with difficulties and the breeding of discontent, as the acceptance of the proviso leaving it to the Government of India to include those outside the definition of "Sovereign Princes" makes this resolution a dead letter.

Thus some practical proposals are still needed, and they should be such as can be readily understood by all, be easy to work and not such as run counter to traditional feeling and sentiment, as the proposal for the enhancement of power with its levelling-up tendency certainly did.

The circle is now complete and we find ourselves once more back at the existing and familiar criteria of distinction, *viz.* :—

1. The early historical position and traditions of the State (especially of the last few hundred years.)
2. The nature of the original and existing relations with the Imperial Government.
3. The hereditary salutes enjoyed, which almost invariably determine local Provincial rank.
4. Lastly, the mere predominance of the material stake held in the country.

These tests should be applied in the order given, which is the order of their importance. The first test separates the States into two big classes.—

1. The “important” States, *viz.*, those which have always held a conspicuous position generally, and have in many cases exercised some form of overlordship and themselves have been in no feudatory, tributary or otherwise subordinate relations to any of the other States.
2. The rest.

As regards the second test, where no specific treaty or engagement exists defining a State’s position, its relative importance to States possessing such documents must be considered. In other words it must be considered which of those States which, not having definite treaties, have nevertheless always been regarded with the same consideration as those which have them. It will be seen that practically all the other leading States with Rulers of ancient lineage, not satisfying the first test, are included here.

The third test is that of salutes. In this connection (until recently perhaps and that too only in some quarters) all Rulers enjoying salutes of 15 guns and over have always held a superior position and have, as the official ceremonies show, been treated with greater deference. Some few anomalies exist in regard to local ranks. Thus, Alwar, Jaisalmer, and Kishangarh with 15 guns rank above a couple of Rulers with 17 guns. Such anomalies may require adjustment but they do not affect the validity of the test, nor does the fact that some Rulers may consider they should have their salutes raised to 15 or 17 guns vitiate it. It will be found on examination that the grant of the salutes down to 15 guns appears to be based practically on the very considerations dealt with in tests 1 and 2, those with lower salutes having been found to fall short in these respects. Thus all the 41 States falling within this group are important States.

The fourth test is the weakest and is open to considerable divergence of opinion. It will affect States which do not fulfil tests 1 to 3 and yet are generally held in high estimation owing to the position they have always held in the country, *i.e.*, Benares, Bhavnagar, Junagarh, Kapurthala, Nabha, Navanagar, Rampur and Jind.

These tests, moreover, seem to distinguish the “important” States from the rest for all purposes, not only for the Chamber of Princes. It would also obviate the inadvertent application of practices appropriate to smaller States to those thus differentiated as “important”.

It may also be noted here that it would appear desirable to modify the last sentence in paragraph 302 of the Report so as to include all hereditary salute States for the purposes of Chapter X, while as regards non-salute States it might be modified so as to allow of their admission by representative to local group councils when they come into existence, or failing their existence, to the extent of allowing these States to send a few representatives to the Chamber at Delhi, but not for any other purpose. It must here be mentioned that these remarks apply only to such of the non-salute States as are in no way subordinate (i.e., as feudatories, tributaries, or otherwise) to any of the salute States.

All States satisfying any of the tests mentioned above would as "important" States be represented personally in the Chamber by their Rulers and exercise an individual vote.

These tests, too, might be used to make further differentiation by determining a proportional vote as among the "important" States themselves, a principle which has been proposed by some of the leading States. Thus a State satisfying a majority of these tests might be granted two votes, the rest having one vote each. Another way to effect this would be to exclude States satisfying only test No. 4 and including these among those in the "local groups," if these come into existence as described below, but allowing them two votes each within the group. These alternatives are mentioned merely to show how this very system could also, if found essential, be used to determine a proportional vote, as personally I am not much in favour of the idea.

As the question of the name for the Chamber was considered at Delhi, a few remarks may be made on this point. In spite of the resolution passed, the English name still appears by far the most suitable. It is in keeping with present ideas and best defines the fresh link which this Chamber is to make between the Indian Rulers and the Imperial Government. Mahomedans, however much they may concede out of good-will on this point, cannot really like a purely Hindu title, while it seems unfair that the Hindu element should take advantage of its preponderance to carry this point. Further the whole conception of this Chamber is Western, and English is the language used in its discussions. Hence for every reason the name "Chamber of Princes" seems far and away the most appropriate.

The remaining salute States outside the category of "important" have now to be considered, viz., those with hereditary salutes of 13 to 9 guns.

### 3. Local Group Council.

These States owing to their numerical superiority cannot be granted individual representations. To counteract this numerical superiority they must be represented in proportion to their stake in the country and their position compared historically and traditionally with that of the "important" States. There does not appear to be any more satisfactory way of accomplishing this than by forming "groups" or "panels". These are given in Table 2.\* It should not be difficult to persuade the States which will form these groups of the advantage it will be to them.

It should be remarked also that if any "important" State later on and of its own accord wishes also to join the local group which, as noted lower down, will it is to be hoped develop into local advisory bodies, it will be open to it to do so. The question of political charges is closely connected with the groups.

In view of the resolution on Item 7 of Agendum 1 an attempt has been made to solve this question in Table 3.\* By this scheme—

1. The same Political Officer can be accredited to the "important" States and also be connected with a group of lesser States in the same local area.
2. This scheme should not require readjustment even if "important" States later on joins the local group system. Thus if an "important" State with a separate Political Officer accredited to itself only joins local group, its Political Officer will come with it, the Political Officer who originally belonged to the group continuing, however, to act as its Secretary as proposed on page 9 of the original Dewas scheme. The President, however, would be chosen from among any Ruler of the "important" class who had joined. If no Ruler of an "important" State had joined the group the President will be elected from among the Rulers of the States forming the group.

It is to be hoped that these groups will develop from election panels into useful local bodies which can be consulted as regards :—

1. Interstatal questions.
2. Questions arising between States and the Imperial Government and matters of common concern to them.
3. They could even be used as general Commissions of Inquiry and so obviate the apprehension felt by some of the States as to the expense likely to be incurred by the Commissions of Inquiry suggested at the last Conference, a proposal which has otherwise also received general acceptance.

The proportional representation from any group will be approximately at the ratio of one Ruler to every three in the group. Objections have been raised to the group or the penal system, but its advantages in case of smaller States, i.e., States not in the "important" class seem to outweigh any objections urged, while no other workable scheme has been put forward. The only proposal made at the Conference was a recommendation for the enhancement of the powers of certain States, which has been dealt with above, and shewn to be in many ways objectionable.

In this group system the States belonging to the group will each have one vote. Any "important" States joining the group will be given two votes. The Political Officers would have one vote. In case of a minority (or for any other special reason similarly affecting a State) the State would send its representative to the group, who would have the same vote as the Ruler would have had. Should the alternative mentioned above be adopted, by which States only satisfying test No. 4 are relegated to the group, then—

1. Each State belonging to the group would have one vote.
2. Such relegated States would have two votes.
3. "Important" States would have three votes.

If the other alternative is adopted giving all States of the important class proportional votes among themselves, then these would be altered to—

1. One vote to each State belonging to the group.



2. Two votes to each State of the "important" class not possessing a majority of the four tests.
3. Three votes to each State of the "important" class possessing a majority of the four tests.

#### 4. *Analysis of the scheme.*

- I. *Preliminary remarks.*—On pages\* 1 and 2.
- II. *Classification of States.*—[Report, paragraph 302]. This point is dealt with on pages† 2 to 5 and in Agendum I (i) Table I.
- III. *Establishment of a Chamber of Princes.*—[Report, paragraph 306 and Agendum I (iii)]. This point is dealt with on pages‡ 2 to 4 and in Tables I and IV with the details connected with its name, etc.
- IV. *The proposals for local groups and Councils.*—These are made in the scheme on pages‡ 4 to 5 and in Table II.
- V. *Direct relations with the Imperial Government.*—[Report, paragraph 310 and Agendum I (vii)]. This point is dealt with on pages‡ 4 and Table III.
- VI. *Commission of Inquiry.*—[Report, paragraph 308, and Agendum No. I (v) ]. This point is dealt with on pages‡ 5.
- VII. *Depriving a Ruler of powers.*—[Report, paragraph 309, and Agendum No. I (vi) ]. This requires no special remarks as it has already met with unanimous approval.
- VIII. *Joint deliberation between States and Government.*—[Report, paragraph 311, and Agendum No. I (viii) ]. This has been for the present put off by resolutions of the last Conference on the subject.
- IX. *Codification of treaties, etc.*—[Report, paragraph 305 and Agendum No. I (ii) ]. It was proposed to refer this to a Select Committee. I may here, however, remark in passing that it would appear necessary owing to the important nature of the subject to add some names to the Committee so as to make it more representative.

The list now gives—

Bombay 2.  
 Punjab 1.  
 Central India 1.  
 Rajputana 2.

But the large number of States in Central India, many of importance, which represent very wide interest and varied views, appear to require the addition of one more representative from this area. The circumstances in Bombay and Central India are most complicated and are quite different to any other areas of Indian States. In the light of these remarks I would also urge that a Political Officer from each of these two territorial groups, possess.

\* Page 704 *ante*.

† Pages 713—717 *ante*.

‡ Pages 706—707 *ante*.

ing all the necessary experience of their conditions, should be added by the Imperial Government to the Select Committee already proposed.

X. *Standing Committee*.—[Report, paragraph 307, and Agendum No. I (iv) ]. The resolution passed at the last Conference contemplates a Standing Committee of five members ; of these four are to be representatives of the four main territorial divisions and the fifth to be the Secretary of the Rulers informal Conference as an *ex-officio* member. But the result of the resolution on item 7 of the agenda automatically contemplates the splitting up of the two present large territorial blocks of Rajputana and Central India into various smaller blocks. Moreover, when (as seems probable) the States now situated in British provinces come directly under the Government of India, further splitting up will result specially in the States now in the Bombay Presidency. To give all these smaller blocks representation would defeat the object of having a committee by making it too bulky. The simplest solution, therefore, seems to be for the Chamber to elect members of its order on the following basis :—

1. Sikhs and Jats to elect one member.
2. Mahomedans to elect one member.
3. Rajputs to elect two members.
4. Marathas to elect one member.

This gives five members. There are still the scattered States to be represented, and for them His Excellency the Viceroy might nominate a representative. This gives six members. These members should all be elected from Princes having seats individually in the Chamber. The power of co-opting would enable others to be added from Rulers representing local group and non-salute States. It is evident from the resolution on the subject as it stands now, that the co-opting proposed is to be from the members of the Chamber only. Two Rajput members are given because —

1. Rajput States are the most numerous.
2. This is the proportion which would result if the scheme in the resolution were carried out.

There is another point. The Secretary alluded to in the resolution is the Secretary of an informal body. Personally I have always considered that these conferences lack unity. They would be more business like and unliable to be distrusted by party bickering if a Political Officer—the Political Secretary or the Deputy Secretary—were invited to attend them. It would also, I believe, save much time by preventing the Conference, in its ignorance of certain lines of policy fixed by the Imperial Government, from making proposals which could not be accepted. Should this proposal be approved, His Excellency the Viceroy would no doubt very kindly agree to spare an officer for this purpose. It should save much time in the Conference itself to have this assistance beforehand.

Table No. I.

SHOWING THE RESULT BY THE FOUR TESTS.

*(In case of States falling under any one or more of these tests.)*

No.	Name of States.	Test No. I.	Test No. II.	Test No. III.	Test No. IV.	Total.	Remarks.
1	Bahawalpur .	1	..	1	1	3	<i>Sanad engagements.</i>
2	Baroda .	1	1	1	1	4	
3	Bharatpur .	1	1	1	1	4	
4	Bhopal .	1	1	1	1	4	
5	Bhutan .	1	1	1	1	4	
6	Bikaner .	1	1	1	1	4	
7	Cochin .	1	1	1	1	4	
8	Cooch Behar .	1	1	1	1	4	
9	Cutch .	1	1	1	1	4	
10	Datia .	1	1	1	1	4	
11	Dewas (S. B.) .	1	1	1	1	4	
12	Dewas (J. B.) .	1	1	1	1	4	
13	Dhar .	1	1	1	1	4	
14	Dholpur .	1	1	1	1	4	
15	Gwalior .	1	1	1	1	4	
16	Hyderabad .	1	1	1	1	4	
17	Indore .	1	1	1	1	4	
18	Jaisalmer .	1	1	1	1	4	
19	Kohat .	1	1	1	1	4	
20	Karauli .	1	1	1	1	4	
21	Kashmir .	1	1	1	1	4	
22	Kishangarh .	1	1	1	1	4	
23	Khairpur .	1	1	1	1	4	
24	Kolhapur .	1	1	1	1	4	
25	Mysore .	1	1	1	1	4	

No.	Name of States.	Test No. I.	Test No. II.	Test No. III.	Test No. IV.	Total.	Remarks.
26	Orchha . .	1	1	1	1	4	Sanad engagements.
27	Patiala . .	1	..	1	1	3	
28	Rewa . .	1	1	1	1	4	
29	Samther. .	..	1	..	..	1	
							Samthar has 11 guns salute but ranks above the two States of 18 guns in Central India.
30	Sikkim . .	1	1	1	1	4	
31	Travancore .	1	1	1	1	4	
32	Alwar . .	..	1	1	1	3	
33	Banswara . .	..	1	1	1	3	
34	Bundi						
35	Dungarpur .	..	1	1	1	3	
36	Jaipur . .	..	1	1	1	3	
37	Jodhpur . .	..	1	1	1	3	
38	Kotah . .	..	1	1	1	3	
39	Partabgarh .	..	1	1	1	3	
40	Sirohi . .	..	1	1	1	3	
41	Tonk . .	..	1	1	1	3	
42	Udaipur. .	..	1	1	1	3	
43	Idar . .	..	..	1	1	2	
44	Benares . .	..	..	..	1	1	
45	Bhavnagar .	..	..	..	1	1	
46	Kapurthala .	..	..	..	1	1	
47	Jind . .	..	..	..	1	1	
48	Junagarh . .	..	..	..	1	1	
49	Nabha . .	..	..	..	1	1	
50	Navanagar .	..	..	..	1	1	
51	Rampur . .	..	..	..	1	1	

## NOTES.

I. These tests show that whatever differences existed at the time of contracting relations with the Paramount Power by tests I and II, they were practically equalised by the nature of the relations then entered into, and so States falling under tests I and II can form a natural class by itself within the "important class" as referred to in the scheme in connection with proportionate vote idea.

II. This table also shows in column 3 how salutes do serve to distinguish the more important States.

III. The result of test IV clearly shows the fact that States falling only under this test. If considered essential, can be made into a separate class (as referred to in the scheme in regard to proportionate vote idea) along with Nos. 29 and 43 of this table, as these States have either one or two of these four tests as shown in the total column in their favour, and thus cannot also be considered to possess the majority of these four tests.

IV. The test No. IV being the weakest and thus open to divergence of opinions, it has been rather strictly followed, in the inclusion of States, inasmuch as only those that appear most conspicuous in this class have been entered in the above table. In other words, if it is thought advisable some more States could be added to this class, as this would not only include all of the remaining States coming under the unfortunate criterion of "Sovereign Powers" proposed at the last Conference at Delhi, but as a matter of fact include a few more who stand out most prominently among those outside this class, as the following names would show, without having recourse to the proposed idea of enhancing their powers (an idea which, as noted in the scheme, is now a dead letter in the light of proceedings and resolutions passed in connection with item (i) of agenda No. 1 of the last Conference). The following is the list of States that could be added, if absolutely necessary and advisable, to the States already appearing under test IV in the above table :—

(1) Dhrangadhra . . . . .	}	From Kathiawar, Bombay.
(2) Porbandar . . . . .		
(3) Morvi . . . . .		
(4) Gondal . . . . .		
(5) Rajpipla . . . . .	}	From Gujarat, Bombay.
(6) Palanpur . . . . .		
(7) Radhanpur . . . . .		
(8) Cambay . . . . .		
(9) Janjira . . . . .	}	From the Konkan, Bombay.
(10) Savantvadi . . . . .		
(11) Puddukkottai . . . . .		From Madras.
(12) Hill Tippera . . . . .		From Bengal.

(13) Manipur . . . . .	From Assam.
(14) Tehri (Garhwal) . . . . .	From the United Pro- vinces.
(15) Jhalawar . . . . .	From Rajputana.
(16) Jaora . . . . .	} From Central India.
(17) Ratlam . . . . .	
(18) Panna . . . . .	
(19) Faridkot . . . . .	} From the Punjab.
(20) Maler Kotla . . . . .	

*N. B.*—(a) This would also do away with the necessity of the scattered group No. 10 of Table II, as all the States included in that group would come personally under the fourth test of this Table into the Chamber of Princes.

(b) Similarly all these States<sup>1</sup> if included in this Table under test No. IV would be outside the local group councils as coming under the “important class” and would have to appear in column 5 of the Table II in their geographically convenient places with respect to the different groups of the Table II.

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Table No. II.

*Showing groups (in the cases of salute States) other than those of the "important" class and showing to which of these groups individual States of the "important" class can conveniently join when any one of them voluntarily proposes to do so.*

No.	Name of group.	States forming the groups.	Group Headquarters.	Which group what "important" States can join.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Baghelkhand .	Baraundha, Nagod, Maihar,	Satna . . . . .	Rewa . . . . .	When the States are placed directly under the Government of India, Benares also can join in this group in column 5.
2	Bundelkhand .	Ajaigarh, Beoni, Bijawar, Charkhari, Chhattarpur, Panna.	Nowgong . . . . .	Orrhpa, Datia, Samthar.	
3	Western Malwa .	Alirajpur, Barwani, Jagra, Jhabua, Ratlam, Sailana, Sitamau.	Manpur . . . . .	Indore, Dhar, Dewas (S. B.), Dewas (J. B.)	
4	Eastern Malwa .	Khilchipur, Narsingarh, Rajgarh.	Sehore . . . . .	Bhopal, Dewas (S. B.), Dewas, (J. B.).	

Alirajpur and Barwani by their association naturally fall in a group with Baryia and Chhota Udepur, but must remain in Central India until the Bombay States are placed under the Government of India. Manpur is suggested as the more convenient headquarters for this group and actually on several occasions the Political Officer there has had charge of these States. The Dewas States are so situated that they can join in column 5 either of the groups Nos. 3 and 4, as they both or individually may choose.

5	Bombay-Guzerat	Palasinor, Bansda, Barya, Bhor, Cambay, Chhota Udepur, Dharampur, Janjira, Paltana, Radhanpur, Rajppla, Sachin, Sunth.	Bombay	Idar, Cutch, Khairpur	These States under the Bombay provincial system are in political relation with the local District Officers and, as long as this system continues, the centre must be in Bombay and Political Officer in the Secretariat acting as Secretary. When the provincial system terminates, the natural centre for this group is Baroda (see remarks in Table III regarding the Resident at Baroda). When Baroda, as noted above becomes the centre for the Guzerat group, on the termination of the provincial system, the natural place for Bhor and Janjira is in the group Maharashtra under column 3.
6	Bombay-Kathiawar	Dhrangadhra, Dhol, Gondal, Limbdi, Fortanar, Rajkot, Wadhwan, Wankaner.	Rajkot	Bhavnagar, Junagarh, Navanagar, Cutch.	Cutch is geographically connected with Kathiawar and on the termination of the provincial system it might join either the Guzerat or the Kathiawar group in column 5.
7	Bombay-Maharashtra	Mudhol, Sangli, Savantvadi.	Kolhapur	Kolhapur	Bhor and Janjira, as noted above would come in column 3 of this group on the termination of the provincial system.
8	Eastern Group	Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj, Patna, Sonepur.	Raipur	..	Failing any better centre the headquarters put at Raipur, where there is a Chief's College. But for the present, as States are in different British Provinces they have to be included in the scattered Group No. 10 for the purpose of representation in the Chamber.



No.	Name of group.	States forming the groups.	Group Headquarters.	Which group what "important" States can join.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
9	Punjab . . .	Bilaspur, Chamba, Faridkot, Leharu, Malerkotla, Mandi, Sirmur, Suket.	Lahore . . .	Bahawalpur, Jind, Kapurthala, Nabha, Patiala.	Remarks as to the headquarters are the same as above for Bombay-Guzerat. The natural headquarters when the provincial system terminates is Patiala. Tehri could then also be put in column 3 in this Group.
10	Scattered group .	Jhalawar, Manipur, Pudukkottai, Tehri (Garhwal) and Hill Tippera.	..	..	This is merely a group formed for the purpose of sending a representative to the Chamber only and not for any local council purposes.  Should Rajputana form a federation as noted below, Jhalawar could be allowed to join it for purpose of the federation only and obviously not for representation to the Chamber.

NOTES.—1. The Rajputana States are all of the "important" class and cannot be expected to follow the group system, but could form a federation of their own for the same purposes as a local group council. Being of the "important class" similar remarks could be made as to voluntary federation by the States in the Malwa country," viz., Indore, Bhopal, Dhar, Dewas (S.B.), Dewas (J. B.). Again the four Sikh States of the Punjab with Bahawalpur could also form a similar federation.

2. Baroda, Bhutan, Cochin, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, Rampur, Kalat, Sikkim and Travancore hold such a distinct position from the geographical or other reasons that they cannot be federated.

3. Though not of their class, yet merely for the purposes of the federation the Rajputana States could well allow Jhalawar, Khushalgarh, Shahpura and Lawa to participate in it.

**Table No. III.**  
*Showing the political charges with the States connected with each political charge.*

No.	Names of charges.	Names of States according to charge.	Designation of Political Officers.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Baluchistan .	Kalat . . . . .	Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan.	
2	Bhutan .	Bhutan . . . . .	Resident for Bhutan.	
3	Sikkim . . . . .	Sikkim . . . . .	Resident for Sikkim.	
4	Udaipur, Southern Rajputana.	Udaipur, Dungarpur, Partabgarh, Banswara.	Resident at Udaipur and for Southern Rajputana States.	
5	Jodhpur, Western Rajputana.	Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Sirohi .	Resident at Jodhpur and for Western Rajputana States.	
6	Bikaner . . . . .	Bikaner . . . . .	Resident at Bikaner . . .	When the Punjab States come out of the Punjab Province, Bahawalpur and Loharu can be connected with Bikaner, and similarly when the Bombay States come out of the Bombay Presidency Khairpur can be connected with either Bikaner or charge No. 5. When this happens the designation of the Resident at Bikaner will have to be added by the words " and for Western India States ".
7	Jaipur and Central Rajputana.	Kishangarh, Jaipur, Bundi and Tonk.	Resident at Jaipur and for Central Rajputana States.	
8	Eastern Rajputana	Karauli, Kotah and Jhalawar .	Resident for Eastern Rajputana States.	

No.	Names of charges.	Names of States according to charge.	Designation of Political Officers.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
9	North-Eastern Rajputana.	Bharatpur, Alwar and Dholpur	Resident for North-Eastern Rajputana States.	<p>At present it is understood that Indore desires to have a Resident to itself. In this case Dhar and Dewas which on every consideration go naturally with Indore must be connected with charges Nos. 14 and 15, respectively [<i>i.e.</i>, Dhar with Western Malwa and Dewas (S. B.) and Dewas (J. B.) with Eastern Malwa]. By the connection of these three Puar States with these two charges Nos. 14 and 15, the designation of Political Officers attached to these charges would have to be as follows :—</p> <p>“Resident for Dhar and Political Agent for the Western Malwa States,” and “Resident for Bhopal-Dewas and Political Agent for the Eastern Malwa States.”</p>
10	Gwalior	Gwalior	Resident at Gwalior.	
11	Bundelkhand	Orchha, Datia, Samthar, Panna, Baoni, Ajaigarh, Charkhari, Chhatarpur and Bijawar.	Resident and Political Agent for Bundelkhand States.	
12	Baghelkhand	Rewa, Baraundha, Maihar and Nagod.	Resident for Rewa and Political Agent for Baghelkhand States.	
13	Indore (Central Malwa).	Indore, Dhar, Dewas (S. B.) and Dewas (J. B.)	Resident at Indore, and for Dhar, Dewas States or (Maharatta Puar States).	
14	Western Malwa	Alirajpur, Barwani, Jaura, Jabua, Ratlam, Sailana and Sitamau.	Political Agent for Western Malwa States.	

15	Eastern Malwa	.	Bhopal, Rajgarh, Narsingarh and Khilchipur.	Resident for Bhopal and Political Agent for the Eastern Malwa States.	
16	Hyderabad	.	Hyderabad	Resident at Hyderabad.	
17	Mysore	.	Mysore	Resident at Mysore.	
18	Baroda	.	Baroda	Resident at Baroda	
19	Kashmir	.	Kashmir	Resident for Kashmir	

In view of the contemplated abolition of the two First Class Residencies (i.e., the Agent to the Governor-Generals of Central India and Rajputana) it is only fair to the Political cadre to compensate it by two First Class Residencies elsewhere, Baroda and Kashmir are apparently most suited for this. Baroda has two reasons in its favour:—

(a) Baroda ranks in between Hyderabad and Mysore, both of which have First Class Residents.

(b) When the Bombay States come out of the Bombay Presidency, the Guzerat States (*vide* Table 2, No. 5, both from administrative convenience and geographical situation naturally fall in with Baroda and hence they should be connected with this charge, and the designation of "Political Agent for the Guzerat States" should be added to the designation of the Resident at Baroda.

Kashmir is a big frontier State and at one time had a First Class Resident. Hence this should be raised to a First Class Residency [*vide* preliminary portion of the remark to No. 18 (Baroda)].

No.	Names of charges.	Names of States according to charge.	Designation of Political Officers.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
20	Phulkian . .	Patiala, Jind and Nabha . .	Resident for Phulkian States .	When the Punjab States come out of the Punjab Province, they should all (including these three Phulkian States) be connected with one charge to be named either "Phulkian and Northern India States" or simply "Northern India States" and the designation of the Political Officer should be "Resident for Phulkian States and Political Agent for Northern India States" or "Resident and Political Agent for the Northern India States."
21	Travancore-Cochin .	Travancore-Cochin . . . .	Resident for Travancore and Cochin States.	At present also there is a separate Political Officer for these two States, but he is of the Madras Government; in future he should be of the Government of India. These two States are so situated that they can easily be taken out of the Madras Presidency and connected with the Imperial Government directly.
22	Kolhapur . .	Kolhapur . . . .	Resident at Kolhapur . .	Kolhapur has a Political Officer of the Bombay Government and the State is so situated that (like Travancore and Cochin) it can be easily connected with the Imperial Government directly by replacing the Bombay Political Officer by a Political Officer of the Government of India. The Resident at Kolhapur under the present system of Bombay is also politically connected with the Southern Mahratta Country States, but in the proposed arrangements this also could be adjusted in two ways :—

(a) The Resident at Kolhapur belonging to the Imperial Government can be connected with the Southern Mahratta Country States as Political Officer for them by placing him purely for this purpose under the Bombay Government (like the existing arrangements connected with the Phulkian States in the Punjab.).

(b) Southern Mahratta Country States could be politically connected with the conveniently situated Local Heads of Districts by the Bombay Government like their present system in the cases of the Guzerat and other Maharashtra and Konkan States.

When the Bombay States come out of the Bombay Presidency, all the States of Maharashtra and Konkan naturally go in with Kolhapur and in that case the Resident at Kolhapur will also have the additional designation of "Political Agent for Maharashtra States" (also see No. 7 of Table No. II with its remark).

Like Kolhapur, Cutch also has a Political Officer of its own but of the Bombay Government. Cutch is also so situated that it can (like Kolhapur, Travancore and Cochin) be easily connected directly with the Imperial Government by giving it a Political Officer of the Government of India.

At present all these States are in political relation with the Bombay Government and remarks for them in columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 of this Table are only applicable when these States come out of the Bombay Presidency and are directly connected with the Imperial Government.

Resident for Cutch . . . . .

Resident and Political Agent for Kathiawar States.

Cutch . . . . .

Bhavnagar, Junagarh, Navanagar, Gondal, Morvi, Porbandar, Dhrangadhra, Dhrol, Wadhwan, Wankaner, Limbdi and Rajkot.

Cutch . . . . .

Kathiawar . . . . .

23

24

No.	Names of charges.	Names of States according to charge.	Designation of Political Officers	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
25	Eastern India States	Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj, Patna and Sonepur.	Political Agent for the Eastern India States.	All these States are in political relation with the British provinces of Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa and therefore the remarks in columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 of this Table are only applicable to them when these States come out of these provinces and are directly connected with the Imperial Government.

## NOTES.

I. The majority of the scattered States (*viz.*, Tehri-Garhwal, Rampur, Benares, CoochBehar, Manipur, Hill Tippera and Puddukottai) being so isolated within the British provinces and yet too small to justify a single Political Officer being attached to them, there is no alternative but either to leave them in political relation with the provinces concerned as at present, or to place the Local Heads of Districts acting now as Political Officers in direct communication with the Political Department of the Imperial Government, so far as the work with the States is concerned. This will place the States in direct relation with the Imperial Government and yet they will not lose touch with the local provinces with whom, by their isolated situation, they are so involved.

II. (a) The term "Resident at " is used in the cases of those States only of the "important " class, as is more or less customary now

(b) The term "Resident for " is used in the cases of all States of the "important " class.

(c) The term "Political Agent for " is used in the cases of all States not in the "important " class.

III. The designation of the Political Officers as they stand above may appear rather lengthy. But this is unavoidable as this is essentially a matter mainly of sentiment which plays a great part in the minds of the Princes and Chiefs. If this difficulty could, however, be got over the simplest thing would be to call all Political Officers (whether " Resident at " or "for " or " Political Agent for ") "Agent to the Viceroy " as suggested in the Dewas original Scheme.

It might be here also remarked in passing, that as in everything else the whole idea of splitting up the present few large political charges has its advantages and disadvantages. The obvious and main advantages are that :—

(a) It places all the salute States in direct relations with the Imperial Government through one intermediary and thus brings the States in close touch with it.

(b) It, in consequence, meets the sentiments of the Princes and Chiefs, a fact which as noted above, plays a very great part indeed where Princes and Chiefs are concerned.

The main disadvantage is that in advocating and carrying out this idea we must naturally be to some extent prepared to forego the advantages of such efficiency as is found in the present arrangements.

IV. The number of assistants under the Political Officer for each political charge is not given in this table, as it can best be decided on the amount of work entailed in each political charge. But no assistant should deal or correspond direct with the Darbars on his own account or for the Political Officer of the charge concerned. In other words they should be merely assistants and in no way Political Officers accredited to the States.



Table No. IV.

*Regarding the inclusion of the representatives from the non-salute States to the local group council and (failing their coming into existence) the nomination of some representatives of this class to the Chamber of Princes —*

1. Some representatives of non-salute States should be admitted to the local group council in such proportion as in every case to be less than the number of the Rulers forming the group i.e., Rulers of States mentioned in column No. 3 of Table No. II, the fixing of the exact proportion being left to each local group council when it comes into existence. As to which group which of such non-salute States are to send its representatives to is obviously a matter to be determined by the geographical situation of such non-salute States with respect to the various groups. The following table gives the details:—

No.	Name of Group.	Of what areas non-salute States to participate in the group.	Remarks.
1	Baghelkhand . . .	Baghelkhand area.	
2	Bundelkhand . . .	Bundelkhand area.	
3	Eastern Malwa. . .	Present Bhopal Agency.	
4	Western Malwa . . .	Present Indore Residency and the present Malwa Southern States Agencies; And Malwa portion of Gwalior Residency areas; also Rajputana Agency areas.	
5	Bombay-Guzerat . . .	Areas of all the Agencies in the Guzerat.	
6	Bombay-Kathiawar . . .	Areas of all the Agencies in Kathiawar.	
7	Bombay-Maharashtra . . .	Whole of Maharashtra, Kandesh and Konkan areas and Madras Province areas.	
8	Eastern Group . . .	Whole of Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa area.	
9	Punjab Group . . .	Punjab Province and United Provinces areas.	
10	Scattered Group . . .	....	This group is not for the Local Council purposes and hence no non-salute States could participate in this group.

*Note.—(a)* No representatives of the non-salute class on the local council will be eligible to be elected as representatives by the local group to the Chamber of Princes, but will vote for such representative to be elected from the local group and to be of the class of hereditary salute-Chiefs forming the group according to column 3 of Table II.

*Note.*—(b) As noted in the scheme, since none of the non-salute holdings (included in the so-called States) having any subordinate relation (*i.e.*, as feudatories, tributaries, or otherwise subordinate) to any of the salute States are included in this table and hence are in no way concerned by its remarks, it would even be better and more advisable that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (more specially Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6) should be totally omitted— and ther are very few holdings in those parts who do not come under the term of “having any subordinate relation . . . . . to any of the salute States”. In other words the advantages of this Table No. IV as a whole are vital only to the non-salute States of Maharashtra, Madras, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and the Punjab, as it is believed that practically none of thsse non-salute States are in any way in “subordinate relation” to any of the salute States.

2. Failing the existence of local group councils, it is to be suggested that in the case of all these no n-salute holdings each of the following areas should return one representatives each to the Chamber of Princes, the representatives being nominated by such of the Local Governments or Political Administration in whose charge (as the case may be) the majority of such non-salute States are, *viz.* —

1. Maharashtra and the two States of Madras.
2. Guzerat, Kathiawar.
3. Central Provinces.
4. Bihar and Orissa.
5. Punjab.
6. Assam.
7. Central India and the two states of Rajputana.

In all seven.

Even with this number these people would be within a reasonable minority, not only by themselves but even if the representatives of the salute State outside the “important” class were added to them (whose number by representation approximately at one to every three comes to about twenty-two) and hence none of the Princes of the “important” class, who number 51 in all, need have any apprehensions of more numerical superiority over them by the salute Chiefs of the class below them or by the people of non-salute States class.



## APPENDIX VIII.

**Note by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur on Agendum V.**

The question for consideration is whether the existing practice should now be legalised by an amendment of section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908 (V of 1908) and, if so, what should be the powers to be exercised in such cases by State courts.

This point first arose in a case reported in I. L. R. 12 Bom., page 23. The learned Chief Justice Sir Charles Sargent, in a judgment of two lines, held that the courts in British India have no authority to send their decrees for execution to courts not in British India. Absolutely no reasons were given for this view. The Calcutta High Court in 29 Cal., page 400, followed the Bombay decision and added that no decree by a court in British India can be sent for execution into a territory such as Mayurbhunj (an Indian State.) without prior notification in the *India Gazette* as specified in the section. Again the same point came before the Madras High Court in a case reported in 32 Madras Law Journal, page 487. The Court held that section 44 deals with decrees of what are known as 'favoured Native States.' The section provides that decrees of the courts of any Indian Prince or State in alliance with His Majesty may be executed in British India as if they were passed in British India. There is no converse provision that decrees passed in British India can similarly be executed in courts established by the authority of an Indian Prince or State. The absence of such a provision seems to be conclusive upon this question. The point again came before a full bench of the Madras High Court in the case reported in I. L. R. 40 Madras, page 1069. The full bench held that in the absence of any provision to that effect in the Civil Procedure Code (V of 1908) courts in British India have no power to send their decrees for execution to the courts in Travancore. It must be noted here that as regards Travancore a notification was issued by Government about this state and it would certainly come under the term 'favoured Native States' used in I. L. R. 29 Cal. The learned Chief Justice observed that the Indian legislature has so far refrained from making provision for the transfer of these important powers with regard to decrees in British India to courts in Indian States other than those specified in section 45 of the Code. The Chief Justice admitted that notifications have been issued with regard to numerous Indian States about reciprocal arrangements by which decrees of British courts can be executed in the courts of the Indian States and *vice versa*. He also added that the decrees of our courts have been executed by the Travancore courts and the courts of other Indian States, and it would be unfortunate if we were obliged to hold that there was any impediment in the way of the satisfactory working of the system.

It will thus appear that a practice has till now prevailed by which decrees of British courts were sent as a matter of fact for execution to the courts of Indian States, and that Government have concluded agreements with various Indian States for the reciprocal arrangement of execution of the decrees of each other. The mere omission in the legislature expressly to provide for the transfer of decrees in British courts to the courts of Indian States has resulted in these rulings, which will prove very inconvenient to many people who want to execute their decrees by transferring them to the courts of Indian States.

But this precise point has been very recently decided quite against the full bench ruling of the Madras High Court in a case reported in 20 Bom. L. R. at page 241 "*Janardhan versus Narayan*." A divisional bench of the

Bombay High Court has held that an application made to a British Indian court to transfer its decree for execution to an Indian State, between whom and the British Government there exists an arrangement to execute each other's decrees, is a step in aid of execution. Mr. Justice Beaman has very clearly enumerated the reasons for holding this view. He remarks : "The interchangeable use of civil machinery between British and Indian State courts is a matter of comity. But once arranged and understood, surely, where the conditions exist, our courts are intended to make use of it. Else what would be the sense of Government of India negotiating with Indian States and issuing notifications on the subject ? It is conceded for the argument before us that some time prior to the application a political agreement had been reached under which the courts of Sangli State (this was a case for asking a British court decree to be transferred to Sangli court for execution) were to execute our decrees and we were to execute theirs. But if no British court could *intra vires* send any of its decrees for execution to a court of Sangli State, this agreement would be entirely unilateral and for any advantage the British courts were to have of it might as well not have been made. Are we seriously to suppose that the Government of India plays and plays repeatedly such a solemn farce as this ? It is perfectly well known that as soon as our courts are notified that they must execute the decrees of any given Indian State court, that court in turn has undertaken to execute the decrees of our courts. The reason is the same in both cases." He further on emphasised that "for years together decrees of British courts have been executed in this manner. We should much prefer to look to and give effect to the spirit even if be necessary to discard the letter (of law)." The divisional bench has not followed the full bench decision of *Pierce Leslie vs. Perumal*, 40 Madras. The learned judges, however, have not referred to the judgment of Sir Charles Sargent, I. L. R. 12 Bom. It is, however, a matter of supreme importance to note that none of these British courts has questioned the propriety of sending its decrees for execution to the courts of Indian States. In view of this conflict of opinion on this point I am of opinion that the present law may be so amended as to empower British courts to transfer their decrees for execution to courts in those Indian States with whom agreements of reciprocity may have been made. Such an amendment would be in consonance with every day practice and also with the spirit of law. It will also carry out the intentions of Government evidenced in their diplomatic relations with Indian States. The Government have concluded agreements with various Indian States for reciprocal execution of the decrees of civil courts. The existing practice, therefore, deserves to be legalised to avoid inconvenience to the public and to remove this conflict of opinions.

The second part of this question is very important and affects the status of Indian States. Section 2, clause 5, of the Civil Procedure Code has defined a foreign court as a court situated beyond the limits of British India which has no authority in British India and which is not established or continued by the Governor-General in Council. The court of an Indian State would come under this definition. The courts of the Indian States have been treated as foreign courts so far as the Civil Procedure Code is concerned. The Privy Council case of *Faridkot* reported in 22 Cal., page 222, has treated an Indian State court as a foreign court. Mr. Justice Farran in a case reported in I. L. R. 15 Bom., page 216, has held that section 229B (which corresponds to the present section 44) does not remove the decree of an Indian State falling in its purview from the category of foreign judgments. The same view has been followed in a case reported in 18 Bom. Law Reporter, page 486. It is

thus quite clear that British Indian courts have treated Indian State courts as foreign courts and have applied to them the provisions of section 13 of the Civil Procedure Code.

A court executing a foreign decree is entitled to exercise certain powers according to the International Law which are embodied in section 13 of the Civil Procedure Code. A judgment of a foreign court is made conclusive except—

- (a) where it has not been pronounced by a court of competent jurisdiction ;
- (b) where it has not been given on the merits of the case ;
- (c) where it appears on the face of the proceedings to be founded on an incorrect view of International Law or a refusal to recognise the law of British India in cases in which such law is applicable ;
- (d) where the proceedings in which the judgment was obtained are opposed to natural justice ;
- (e) where it has been obtained by fraud ;
- (f) where it sustains a claim founded on a breach of any law in force in British India ;
- (g) where it has been pronounced by a court without jurisdiction (I. L. R. 22 Cal., page 222).

It is a well-known principle of jurisprudence that no country can legislate for the procedure to be followed in another State. Every Indian State court has got a Civil Procedure Code of its own. It may be that some States have bodily copied the British Indian Code. Some without having any specific Civil Code of their own are following the spirit of the British Civil Procedure Code in their everyday working. But this is a question of convenience or expediency. Mr. Tupper has very pertinently observed as below in this connection.

“British laws may be brought into force in Native State territory by the Chief himself or by an officer of the British Government acting on behalf of the Chief in consequence of his minority or other disability. Some of the Punjab States have adopted the Indian Penal Code and the Codes of the Criminal and Civil Procedure, doubtless with some modifications. The States under the Government of Madras either follow certain British enactments as laws of the State or have made regulations after the fashion of British laws and for the most part based on them. In all this, of course, there is no exception to the usual rule of immunity from foreign law, because the law, though it happens to coincide with foreign law, is in fact the home made copy edited by the Chief of the State or some officer acting in his behalf.”

Mr. Tupper has emphasised the fact that Indian States enjoy immunity from foreign laws, meaning thereby laws enacted in British India.

If decrees of British courts are sent for execution to Indian State courts, the result will be, to use the words of the learned Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, “to make them the executing courts as regards such decrees for all purposes with authority to decide all questions arising in the course of execution,” I. L. R. 40 Madras, page 1078. The Indian State courts shall have to exercise the powers contained in their own Code similar to those contained in section 13, Act V of 1908, of the British Civil Procedure Code, which British courts exercise in their own case under similar circumstances. This

is a right which Indian State courts are legitimately entitled to claim. Any proposed amendment should in no way affect this right of the Indian State courts. The question whether Indian State courts possess the powers similar to those contained in section 13 of the Civil Code would only arise in Indian State courts and not in the British courts. But it is necessary clearly to understand the position and the legal status of Indian State courts before any amendment of section 45 is enacted into law. The Indian State courts should be entitled to refuse to enforce any judgment of a British court, if it does not recognise the law of the Indian States in cases in which such law is applicable. They should also have power to refuse recognition to any judgment of a British court where it sustains a claim founded on a breach of any law in force in Indian States. They should also be considered within their rights if they exercise any of the powers inherently vested in them under International law and which are enacted in the British Indian Civil Procedure Code, section 13. These are the powers which Indian States are privileged to exercise in such cases. This is the natural corollary of the proposition that Indian State courts are foreign courts so far as the administration of municipal laws is concerned.

This view has been supported even by Sir William Lee Warner in his book 'The Native States of India': "If the hand of foreign jurisdiction is to be extended according to the circumstances of the case and if analogies between European International usage and the treatment of the Native States are to be ruled out of court, the protected Princes must lose a powerful defence against encroachment. Yet Parliament, the King's Order in Council, and even recent treaties, constantly proclaim that the Princes of India have sovereign rights."

The facts of the Privy Council case of Faridkot reported in 22 Cal., page 222, are briefly these:—

A sued B in the court of the Indian State of Faridkot claiming Rs. 60,000, being the amount alleged to have been misappropriated by B while in A's service at Faridkot. B did not appear at the hearing and a decree *ex parte* was passed against him. B was an Indian of another Indian State. At the date of the suit B neither resided in Faridkot, nor was he a domiciled subject of the Faridkot State, nor did he owe allegiance to that State. Such being the case, the Faridkot State had no jurisdiction on general principles of International law to entertain the suit against B in respect of the claim, which, it should be noted was a mere personal claim as distinguished from a claim relating to land or moveables. The decree of Faridkot was therefore an absolute nullity. A then sued B in a British Indian court on the judgment of the Faridkot court. The court of first instance dismissed the suit, on the ground that the Faridkot court had no jurisdiction to entertain the suit. The decision was upheld by their Lordships of the Privy Council. They held that in a personal action, to which none of these causes of jurisdiction apply, a decree pronounced *in absentem* by a foreign court to the jurisdiction of which the defendant has not in any way submitted himself is by International law an absolute nullity. Their Lordships have also observed that as between different provinces under one sovereignty (*e.g.*, under the Roman Empire) the legislation of the sovereign may distribute and regulate jurisdiction, but no territorial legislation can give jurisdiction which any foreign court ought to recognise against foreigners who owe no allegiance or obedience to the power which so legislates. This judgment has treated Indian State courts as foreign courts.

A very nice point subsequently arose in a case reported in 29 Cal., page 645. A question has been raised in this case whether the principle laid down

in the Privy Council case of Faridkot applies to the case of an Indian who is the subject of the sovereign both of England and of British India or merely to the case of foreigners who owe no allegiance or obedience to the power the courts of which have passed the judgments sued upon. In this case a suit was brought in India in a British court on an *ex parte* judgment in England of the King's Bench Division. The defendants were absent in the Queen's Bench Division. Their Lordships of the Calcutta High Court held that the English court was a foreign court, but they held on the authority of a Parliamentary enactment contained in the Judicature Acts, Order II, Rule I, subsection 1, that the courts of England have jurisdiction against British Indian subjects residing in British India. But if a similar question like this is raised in an Indian State court on the ground that as the Indian States owe allegiance to the sovereign of British India, the personal decree obtained in a court established by that sovereign in British India should be binding on the subjects of Indian States though not residing in the jurisdiction of the court which passed the decree and though they did not submit to the jurisdiction of that court. Such a contention cannot be upheld. Firstly, on the ground that the British Indian legislature and even Parliament have no power to extend their territorial jurisdiction over non-resident subjects of Indian States, as they have in the case of British Indian subjects by the judicature Acts. Sir William Lee Warner has supported this view "to permit the introduction of the judicial system into them (Indian States) would be a certain step to annexation. The British Government entrusted with authority to provide for the general defence has not yet been authorised to promote justice or undertake a general control over the judicial system of the protected States. Parliament by limiting its intrusion on behalf of the British subjects and other persons specially named has recognised the limits of its personal jurisdiction."

There is another very important difference which must be borne in mind in this connection. The sovereign of England is the sovereign of the British India for all purposes. The subjects of British India owe allegiance to the sovereign of England in every respect.

The Indian States have a right to make laws and pass the enactments for the administration of civil justice in their States. The courts of an Indian State owe allegiance to their sovereign, *i.e.*, the Ruler of the State only, and no one else. So even technically the courts of Indian States, who enjoy internal sovereignty in their administrations, cannot be considered as owing allegiance to the British sovereign so far as the administration of municipal laws of these States is concerned, though no doubt the States owe allegiance to the sovereign of British India. This distinction deserves to be clearly understood and appreciated if a question similar to that referred to in 28 Cal. arises in any Indian State. I am fortified in this view by what Sir Henry Maine has authoritatively stated in connection with the Kathiawar States. "Sovereignty is a term which in International law indicates a well ascertained assemblage of separate powers and privileges. The rights which form part of the aggregate are specifically named by the publicists, who distinguish them as the right to make war and peace, the right to administer civil and criminal justice, the right to legislate and so forth. A sovereign who possesses the whole of this aggregate of rights is called an independent sovereign, but there is not, nor has there ever been anything in International law, to prevent some of those rights being lodged with one possessor and some with another. Sovereignty has always been regarded as divisible. It may perhaps be worth observing that according to the more precise language of modern publicists sovereignty is divisible but independence is not."

If it be objected that the Indian State courts are not efficient enough to exercise these powers as foreign courts, such a contention is untenable on three grounds :—

(1) The history of the British Indian legislature clearly shows that the British Government has tried to elevate the courts of the Indian States to the position of foreign courts in Europe and America. At one time it was no doubt thought that the administration of justice in the courts of Indian States did not justify that degree of confidence in their intelligence and integrity which are necessary to raise the implied obligation upon which the action on a foreign judgment rests. It was conceded that there were some courts (of Indian States) whose judgments were entitled to respect. But the English courts are not in a position to draw distinction which would be necessarily invidious (I. L. R. 6 Bom., page 292, and 8 Bom., page 593). It was on this ground that a suit based on a judgment of a court of an Indian State was held not cognizable by the British Indian courts. In the Civil Procedure Code of 1882 a clause was added to section 14 which made it quite clear that a suit could be instituted in British India on the judgment of a court of an Indian State. But it was at the same time provided by the said clause that a British Indian court in which a suit might be brought on the judgment of a court of an Indian State should not be precluded from the inquiry into the merits of the case in which the judgment sued upon was passed. The danger of miscarriage of justice referred to by the Bombay Court was thus effectively provided for. There was no such danger, however, in the case of a judgment of a foreign court in Europe and America, and hence it was that the clause was confined only to the judgments of the courts of the Indian States in India and foreign courts in Asia and Africa. That clause has now been omitted. The result is that a suit will lie now upon a foreign judgment of any court of Asia including the Indian States. And such a suit now stands upon the same footing as a suit brought on the judgment of a foreign court in Europe and America. This evolution of the British Indian legislature unmistakably points to the raising of the status of Indian States under International law. It cannot now be urged that the judgment of the court of an Indian State is unworthy of being respected as a foreign judgment on the ground either of incompetency or want of intelligence and integrity. This change in the legislature is thoroughly in consonance with the progress and development of the Indian States.

(2) Secondly, during the last 30 years, since the judgments in I. L. R. 6 & 8 Bom. were pronounced, education has made rapid strides all over the country including Indian States. People have become familiar with the modes of justice and with the broad and general principles of jurisprudence. The university turns out every year many law graduates. Both the bench and the bar are recruited from the intelligent and educated people. The courts in Indian States are maintaining a high standard of efficiency. The old objection that the tribunals of Indian States do not ordinarily conduct judicial inquiries with intelligence and integrity has lost almost all its force.

(3) Thirdly, the fact that the Government concludes reciprocal arrangements with Indian States is a sufficient guarantee that the courts of such Indian States are thoroughly competent to execute the decrees of British courts. Mr. Justice Beaman in the case reported in B. L. R. pertinently remarks as below "such arrangements imply, because else they would never be made, that in the judgment of the Government of India the court or courts of Native States with which this degree of reciprocity is established can be trusted to have attained the level of regularised civil administration which entitles them



to be admitted to the comity of our courts. In particular cases our courts may derive as much or even more actual advantage from the agreement, but it is certain that it never would be made without assurance that the administration of civil justice in the Native States concerned was sufficiently developed to make it interchangeable in these matters of procedure at any rate with our own." The Government of India is certainly the best informed and the fittest authority to decide which Indian State courts competently discharge their duties and are efficient in their working. The Government of India therefore must be satisfied about the efficiency and competency of Indian State courts before they conclude agreements of reciprocity for the execution of decrees with these States. So far as the State with which reciprocal arrangements have been made are concerned, there would be absolutely no doubt about their efficiency to execute the decrees of British Indian courts.

These are the important points which deserve consideration in disposing of the second part of the question proposed in the agenda No. 5. With these reservations set out above I am entirely in favour of the proposed amendment.

In conclusion, I have to submit that with all the legal assistance available to me I can not pretend to be an expert in these matters. I would, therefore, suggest that this question should be referred to a committee of Princes, who with the assistance of their experts and in consultation with the Hon. Law Member of the Government of India should consider this question and place their recommendations before the meeting of the Chamber of Princes for approval.

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# APPENDIX IX.

## Representation from His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

His Highness has expressed his views in the form of the following letter :—

“I desire to draw your kind attention to the words “ And yet the history of Sitamau would show its feudatory relations with Maharaja Scindia ” appearing in paragraph 4 of the “ Note ” of the Chief Minister to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar on “ Item I of the Agenda ” circulated in the Conference on the 5th instant. It was not possible to reply to the note in the course of the debates, as it did not come before the Conference in the form of a speech from His Highness the Maharaja Holkar. It has, therefore, become necessary to lodge a protest through this letter. I hope you will kindly incorporate it into the proceedings, if there be no objection.”

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## APPENDIX X.

## Opinions received from Ruling Princes who were unable to attend the Conference.

## Views of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore.

*Agendum I.*—The first item for discussion is the Resolution passed by the Conference in January last on the subject of the line of demarcation and composition of the proposed Chamber.

In paragraph 302 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms it is made clear that the proposals in paragraphs 306—311, namely, those relating to the Chamber or Council of Princes and other matters, are intended to apply only to full-powered States. Even then this Government had its own anxieties, which have been explained as follows in paragraph 7 of this Government's letter No. 67-C., dated the 16th December 1918 :—

“ Considering the divergence in the history and political status of the various States, it is a difficult if not an impossible task to secure for the proposed Chamber an equitable representation of all interests with any possibility of finding a common ground where the divergent interests would meet and thus enable the Chamber to voice the joint and unanimous opinion of all the Princes and Chiefs. It would be distinctly improper and unfair to accept in all cases the views of the majority of the members as the representative opinion of the Indian States and thus run the risk of drowning the voice of the Princes of the first rank in the consensus of opinion of a number of Chiefs who may in no way compare with them in territory, prestige or political status.”

At the last Conference His Excellency the Viceroy speaking of such Rulers as were tributaries or who did not possess full powers of administration under their treaties, observed :—

“ it appeared to us that, if such a distinction is made, it must be based upon constitutional considerations, that it is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The definition, as now worded, automatically excludes any States or estates having feudatory relations with a full-powered State, though I would here remark that it would not, of course, be appropriate to regard mere payments, originally of a tributary nature made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations.”

His Excellency also said :—

“ In cases where restrictions still in force were imposed by the treaties or engagements which regulated our earlier relations with particular States or groups of States, it may well be a matter for consideration by Government whether, in some cases, these restrictions might now reasonably be abrogated.”

There can be doubt that these pronouncements must have been highly gratifying to such of the States as are labouring under disabilities by reason

of their existing treaties. No less gratifying to some Chiefs must have been the announcement that it was intended to codify and standardize the existing political practice, as this would confirm them in the positions to which they have been raised through the operation of policies which did not pay due regard to the rights of suzerain States. But the situation is regarded with grave anxieties by the Holkar State. Not that it is envious of the rise of other States, indeed nothing would give it a greater pleasure than to see honours and distinctions gained by brother Princes. When the Marathas conquered parts of India or the Mughals did so before them, they often allowed the old families of Rajas to continue in possession of their estates, but as a mark of subordination required them to pay tribute and to render service with troops. Interference in the affairs of these estates was not a matter of much moment then, as the system of Government was primitive, the means of communications were extremely scanty and it was always within the power of the suzerain to enforce obedience to his commands. Past records of the Poona Government as also of other Maratha States bear ample testimony to the interference exercised by the Maratha States in the affairs of their dependencies, when occasion demanded it. Even if no such testimony had existed, the mere payment of tribute is regarded in India as assuredly it is regarded in other countries, as a mark of subordination, and can be taken in no other light. The British Government itself, when it created the Kashmir State, took care to provide for the payment by the latter of an annual present, though of a small value, as indicative of its subordinate position. The present announcements of His Excellency are calculated to encourage different sets of ideas. The danger is not chimerical. At the last Conference the Raja of Sitamau rose up in the Assembly and in the face of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia said that he was feudatory to none but the British Government. And yet the history of Sitamau would shew its feudatory relations with Maharaja Scindia who as recently as 1860 on the application of the Raja and as a matter of pure grace reduced the tribute payable by the Raja by Rs. 5,000. In the memorandum prepared by the Government of India in consonance with His Excellency's wishes Jaora has been considered as a full-powered State, while Narsingarh and Jhabua are considered as those whose status as full-powered States is in doubt. Yet the treaty of Mandsur, which regulates the relations between the British Government and this State, leaves no room for doubt as to these three chiefships being dependencies of Holkar, although the policy of successive political officers has detached them from the suzerain State.

The other danger is that the State's own individual position is sure to suffer by the process which has been going on for some years past whereby non-treaty States are converted into treaty States, and treaty States are raised in estimation by conferment of increased salutes and of exalted titles such as Maharaja. As stated above, this Government need not look with envy on these distinctions provided the State's relative position among Rulers is not thereby changed.

In times past there was a clear distinction drawn between "feudatories" and "allies" and this was based upon treaties with the various States. For instance, at the Darbar of 1877 His Excellency the Viceroy in addressing the Rulers designated them as "Princes and Chiefs" and also as "allies and feudatories," thus marking a clear distinction of status. Of late years, however, there appears to be a tendency on the part of Political Officers to ignore this distinction, and to use the terms "Chiefs and" "feudatories" to designate all Rulers. His Exalted Highness the Nizam continues still to be designated

as a "faithful ally"; but some other Princes, including the Maharaja Holkar, who are no less entitled to that privilege by virtue of their treaties and past usage, are no longer so styled.

When the great war broke out the Indian States came forward at once to help the British cause in the best way they could : and it is no wonder that they did so. Their personal devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and their regard for the British Government, which brought peace and progress in India, are well known and are rightly acknowledged as invaluable assets for the maintenance of the British *Raj*. When it was announced in the course of the war that the British Government would look from an improved standpoint at the aspirations of the Indian Princes and people, it was hailed with joy ; and with no less pleasure was received the announcement that the British Government was firm in its resolve to maintain the treaty rights and privileges of Indian Rulers and even to enhance them. When His Excellency delivered the passages, quoted above, he probably meant to emphasize the new policy. It would, however, have been well if it had been made clear at the same time that in conferring higher rights and privileges on individual States every precaution would be taken to see that the original positions of others with respect to their own dependencies or brother Princes will in no way be injured. Unless this precaution is taken, consequences which surely are not contemplated, are bound to follow. No apology is perhaps due for this plain speaking. It was the call of solemn duty which prompted the Holkar State to offer all its resources for the prosecution of the war : and now that the war is happily over it is both its duty and privilege to make such suggestions as may better enable the new policy to be carried out and may strengthen still further the ties which connect the Indian States with the British Government.

In the circumstances in which the Indian States find themselves, rights and privileges based on treaties or contemporary customs and usages are matters of the utmost regard to them and any interference with them touches a tender spot in their hearts. It is felt that the times demand that not only should there be given no occasion to arouse the least anxiety on that score, but the status of the Indian States should be raised proportionately. As a faithful ally, and consequently one who is deeply concerned in the welfare of His Majesty the King-Emperor and his Government, His Highness the Maharaja feels that he would fail in his duty were he not to take this occasion earnestly to press on them the view which has been urged above. There are several ways of doing this, but it is hardly necessary to do more than indicate them here, as has been done in this note.

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*Agendum II.*—Item No. 2 deals with the question of the reception and consideration of the report from the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification and standardization of existing political practice.

The letter of the Agent to the Governor-General forwarding the agenda conveys a promise that the report would follow as soon as possible, but it has not yet been received ; and the exact import of the words "existing political practice," the codification of which the Government of India contemplate, has not been communicated to this Government.

His Excellency the Viceroy only cursorily dealt with this question at the last Conference and has tried to allay the anxiety felt by some Princes by stating that "the phrase 'of course only by consent of parties,' which occurs

in paragraph 305 of the Report, means that it will rest entirely with the discretion of individual States whether to apply for the revision or modification of their existing treaties, engagements or *samads*." Yet at the same time he laid emphasis on the theory that "although direct agreement naturally constitutes the most important source of obligations existing between the British Government and the States", "it does not supply the full volume of them, and study of long-established customs and practice is essential to a proper comprehension of the true character of the bond".

It is this view which has caused great anxiety and alarm in the minds of some Princes. It is probably believed by the Government of India that all States have acquiesced in the existing political practice and they consequently desire to codify it. As far as the Holkar State is concerned it has been fully stated in letter No. 67-C., dated the 16th December 1918, how political practice and usage have come into being in the teeth of opposition. It is a matter for regret that there have been instances in which the Political Officers took no notice of the treaty rights, sentiments or feelings of a suzerain State and sympathised with subordinate Chiefs or Jagirdars, which led the latter to assume a tone of insubordination and neglect their feudal duties. One or two instances of this neglect of duties are considered sufficient to prove an established practice so as to override the terms of a treaty. Thus the Nawab of

Jaora, who holds his *Jaidad* on feudal\* service, used to attend on His Highness the Maharaja on Darbar occasions and acknowledged the Maharaja's suzerainty in other ways for a number of years. From 1874 onwards he began to show a different attitude, which became defiant when he found that the representations of the Maharaja Holkar requiring him to discharge his obligations received no support at the hands of the Political Officers. Consequently this Government had to send a special Agent to put the case before the Government of India. But these efforts did not fully succeed, as the Government of India only decided in favour of the Maharaja's right to customary homage or ceremonial observances as distinguished from feudal services from the Nawab.

While a few stray instances are given the weight of an established practice so as to be quoted against a State, a practice which is confessedly of long standing is ignored and brushed aside. An instance in point is the use of the titles 'Prince' and 'Princess' (sometimes prefixed by the title of His or Her Highness) to designate the children of Maharaja Holkar. In spite of the circumstance that in official communications from His Excellency the Viceroy, the Government of India and the Governor-General's Agent at Indore, this usage has been maintained and honoured from the earliest down to the recent times, the propriety of its use is now being questioned.

Not long ago, *kharitas* from His Excellency the Viceroy used to be personally handed over by the British representatives at Indore to Maharaja Holkar at a special Darbar. Now these are sent with a chaprasi in a cover entered in a *dak* book.

When a new Resident was posted at Indore, he invariably brought a *kharita* from the Viceroy. This etiquette has now been replaced by a letter announcing the assumption of charge of the office of the Agent to the Governor-General.

Official Missions and accredited Ministers sent by Maharaja Holkar to the Governor General were received with due pomp and honour in times past. Salutes were fired for the Mission as soon as it entered Saugar in 1832.

A salute of 21 guns (which was the Royal salute) was fired when the above Mission presented the Maharaja's *kharita*. A similar salute was fired when His late Highness Maharaja Tukoji Rao ascended the *Gadi* in 1844. This seems also to have been the practice in Gwalior, for in 1833, when Maharaja Jankoji Rao Scindia ascended the throne a Royal salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William. A similar salute was fired at Gwalior when Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia succeeded Maharaja Jankoji Rao. It is not clear why these precedents were ignored when the revised table of salutes was made out whereby the dynastic salute of 21 was reduced to 19 in the case of these States.

It is needless to multiply instances. The question of rights and privileges affects the dignity and powers of Rulers, and any measure which has a tendency to whittle these down cannot but touch a tender spot in their hearts. The personal devotion of Indian Rulers to His Majesty and their regard for the British Government are valuable assets, and the great war has shown how potent are these factors for the maintenance of the British *Raj*. No well-wisher of that *Raj* would like to do anything which may in any way have a remote tendency to produce the impression that due regard is not being paid to these valued rights and privileges. The declared policy of the British Government now is to preserve sacred these rights and privileges and also to enhance them. The Indian Rulers need, therefore, have no apprehension. In times past even when there were no such emphatic declarations, the Political Officers respected the sentiments and usages of Indian Princes, so much so that, as can be seen from our records, when Sir Robert Hamilton and Sir Richard Meade (Agents to the Governor-General) paid visits to the Maharaja, they used to offer a *Nichawar* of Rs. 51. The Governor General's Agent used also to accompany the Maharaja during *Dassera* processions, which lent both dignity and grandeur to the function: and this practice continued till the time of Sir Lepal Griffin, who thought fit to discontinue it on the assumption that the procession was a religious one. In return visits to the Agent to the Governor General it was customary for him to garland the Maharaja Holkar after offering *Atar* and *Pan*. But this formality of garlanding has now been discontinued by that officer, although the Maharaja on his own part continues still to garland him on his formal visit. The tendency of Political Officers has, of late years, been to whittle down these rights and privileges, and this Government has fully dealt with this grievance in its letters Nos. 65-C., dated the 22nd October 1916, and 67-C., dated the 16th December 1918.

A practice which is unobjectionable in the case of one State and even suitable to it may be unsuitable in the case of another and work hardship on it.

The impropriety of a standard treaty may be seen from the fact that treaties with States were made at different periods and their substance and phraseology are not in all cases the same. Treaties with Mysore, Travancore and Cochin and the Nizam were made at the same period about 1800, but though the treaties of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin are substantially similar, they differ from that of the Nizam because the Nizam's position was different when the treaties were made. A political practice which may be good for Cochin and Travancore will not in all cases suit Mysore, and that which may suit Mysore cannot suit Gwalior, Hyderabad or Indore. Before 1818, the Rajput States acknowledged the supremacy of the Marathas—Scindia and Holkar—and the British Government could have no relations with them on account of the terms of treaties with Scindia and Holkar. But when the British Government acquired the right to enter into treaties with the Rajput

States, the predominant feature was the acknowledgment by the latter of the supremacy of the British Government and their promise to act in subordinate co-operation with it. How then can a practice appropriate and unobjectionable in Udaipur be thought fit for Gwalior? Again a practice which may be suitable and even unobjectionable for *sanad* States cannot appropriately be made applicable to Rajputana States. If the States once accept the existing political practice and the practice is standardized the work of the Government of India in the Political Department will no doubt be simplified and Rulers, or groups of them, will be placed on a common level. Past actions of the Political Officers will be condoned and so also any breaches of treaties. It is conceivable that many of the treaty or *sanad* States may profit; but States like Gwalior, Indore or Hyderabad are sure to suffer by the very process of levelling down.

His Majesty's Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy have kindly promised to look into cases of breaches of treaty rights. This promise has been reiterated in paragraph 305 of the Joint Report. The Government of India wrote to all States on the subject and the latter have replied. Many of them have complained against encroachments on their treaty rights. The Viceroy has kindly referred to this subject in his speech at the last Conference. But no necessity need arise for the promised examination of the question when once the existing political usage, which has, in several instances, come into existence against the wish of a Ruler or in spite of his protest is tagged on to the treaties. As explained in this office letter No. 67 aforesaid any modification and standardization of political practice would be unjust until the question of the breaches of treaty rights have been looked into and decided. The British Government cannot generalize on facts which are disputed. It will be confirming the injustice which has already been done. Let the British Government first rectify the departures which have taken place without the consent of the Princes and Chiefs concerned, and then think of codifying any political practice. This question cannot be considered by a Conference which does not represent the voices of all Princes. It is one for settlement between the British Government and the particular State on the basis of the treaty. If the need for a political practice is felt, one may be adopted for *sanad* States and another for each of the various groups noted in this Government's letter No. 59-C., dated the 12th October 1918. At any rate it is requested that the Government of India will not make any recommendations to His Majesty's Government in this behalf merely on the majority resolution of the Conference, which is likely to result in harm being done to the rights and privileges of individual States, as has been fully shown in this Government's letter No. 10-C., dated the 16th March 1918, on the question of successions in Indian States.

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*Agenda III and IV.*—These matters relate to the internal administration of a State and involve the furnishing of numerous returns. As already stated, this Government thinks that the question should be referred to the States individually for their consideration rather than discussed in the Conference.

While there is no harm in the interchange of statistics, the multiplication of returns is a step which is to be deprecated, as, though the State machinery may be efficient and adequate for its own needs, it cannot undertake without unduly interfering with its legitimate duties the additional burden of supplying the many returns which the officers of the Government of India may require.



The voluntary nature of these returns is, in course of time lost sight of and Secretaries and Assistants to Political Officers are inclined to demand the 'submission' of these returns as a matter of obligation ; and this is apt to have a dissuasive effect in the work of co-operation.

The compilation of statistics for the whole State takes time, and if measures for the prevention of the spread of contagious diseases are to be effective, information of outbreaks should be communicated by *pergana* officers to the executive officers of the adjoining areas. Giving information to the Sanitary Commissioner who, in his turn would have a consolidated statement prepared and circulated, would mean loss of valuable time and the keeping of adjoining administrations in darkness meanwhile. If the *pergana* officer of one State were to give prompt information to the *pergana* officers of the adjoining State, it would be more efficacious. The feeling of one-sided obligation would also disappear and the Assistants or Secretaries to Political Officers would have no occasion to ask for the "submission" of such returns. The same remarks apply to diseases among the cattle. Many States possess veterinary establishments, and they are vitally interested in the preservation of their stock.

The larger municipalities in Indian States prepare statistics of births and deaths, and these are published for general information in the State Gazette. The smaller municipalities will doubtless follow the example of the large ones, but it may take some time before they can come up to their level.

*Agendum V.*—This proposal does not affect this State, as there is no reciprocity with British India in the execution of decrees.

### Views of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

*Agendum III.*—It appears desirable to secure uniformity in the recording of vital statistics for the preparation of the life history of communities. It is mainly a question of organisation to collect the necessary details for collation. The Darbar are prepared to adopt the forms which are now in use in British India and will co-operate as far as local conditions and circumstances permit.

*Agendum IV.*—The present practice is that an outbreak of an infectious and epidemic disease is notified to the Chief Medical Officer in Rajputana by the Superintendent, Dispensaries and Vaccination, Jaipur, but the arrangements are not so comprehensive as suggested in the explanatory memorandum attached to the agenda. For instance, free interchange of information between the State Officer and the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India does not take place. The officer abovementioned reports an outbreak to the Chief Medical Officer in Rajputana and he circulates these reports to all concerned.

Owing to want of knowledge in matters relating to public health on the part of villagers in the districts, it is rather difficult to impress upon them the necessity of reporting the outbreak of an epidemic disease, and until the disease assumes a virulent form and the death rate increases the local officials do not get any information. Sometimes it so happens that when preventive measures are taken there is a great deal of opposition and the visit of a Medical Officer

to the locality arouses distrust and suspicion. With diffusion of knowledge in matters of public health and sanitation it would be possible to get timely information regarding an outbreak and its probable line of advance. The recent influenza epidemic brought home to the minds of all Indian States and Provincial Governments the necessity of concerted action for preventing the spread of an epidemic and its eradication, if possible. The Darbar are prepared to co-operate with the Government of India as far as feasible and would send an annual report showing the history of the epidemic diseases during the year and the measures taken to cope with them and, if desired, a copy of the report would be sent by our Medical Officer direct to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

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*Agendum V.*—Under section 44 of the Code, State courts notified in that behalf may send their decrees for execution to British Indian courts, and in practice there is reciprocity in the matter, for the Darbars of the States whose courts have been so notified have directed that their courts shall execute decrees of British Indian courts. Cases have however, occurred in which the absence of legal sanction to the despatch of decrees of British Indian courts for execution by State courts has caused difficulty and inconvenience.

The most recent case, to which the attention of the Government of India has been called is that of *Pierce Leslie v. Perumal*, reported in I. L. R. 40 Madras 1069. The question for consideration is whether the existing practice should now be legalized by amendment of section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908, and, if so, what should be the powers to be exercised in such cases by State courts.

1. In the explanatory note appended to the *agendum* No. 5, it is stated that "in practice there is reciprocity in the matter, for the Darbar of the States whose courts have been so notified, have directed that their courts shall execute decrees of British Indian courts" and "whether the existing practice should now be legalized by an amendment of section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code, 1908, and, if so, what should be the powers to be exercised in such cases by State courts".

At the outset the Darbar desire to draw attention to the fact that most of the Indian States do not fall under category of Notified States and that the practice of executing the decrees of the British Indian courts does not exist in the Jaipur State, nor, as far as it is known in any other State in Rajputana, nor do the Rajputana States send their decrees for execution to the British Indian courts. The practice prevalent is that a fresh suit is instituted in the State court on the basis of the decree of the British Indian court on payment of the prescribed court fee. Thus it is evident that the question of legalising the practice does not arise in respect of the Rajputana States.

2. The amendment contemplated by the Government of India would adversely affect the Indian States and their courts as shown below. The Darbar propose to deal first with the legal aspect of the question :—

- (i) This State, and many others, have their own rules of procedure regarding the institution of suits and execution of decrees, which on many points materially differ from the rules laid down in the Code of the Civil Procedure in force in British India.
- (ii) The first point which arises for consideration is, what procedure the State court shall follow in executing such a decree, whether the procedure in force in the British Indian courts, or the rules in vogue in the State.

- (iii) If in executing the decree of a British Indian court, the State court follows the rules of the procedure laid down by the British Indian Legislature, it will mean the introduction of the British Indian Law into the State. If, on the other hand, the State court follows the rules in force in the State the decree holder, and in certain instances the court passing the decree, will press the question that the decree which was passed under the British Indian Civil Procedure Code must be executed according to the rules of that Code.
- (iv) If the State under such circumstances decides that the decrees transmitted by the British Indian courts be executed according to the rules of the Code of the Civil Procedure (Act V of 1908), the State will have to observe two separate sets of rules one for the execution of the decrees of the British Indian courts, and the other for the execution of its own decrees. This state of things will undoubtedly lead to confusion and complication.
- (v) In executing a decree sometimes questions arise which will cause friction and difference of opinion between the court passing the decree and the State court. Such questions will often go to the High Court concerned at the instance of the subordinate British Indian courts, and on the motion of the Indian States to the Government of India through the Political Department. The amendment suggested will, therefore, instead of simplifying the procedure, multiply the difficulties.

3. Again, with the execution of the British Indian court decree the State court will have to change all its rules relating to the attachment and sale of the property, setting aside of the sale and distribution of sale-proceeds. Supposing there are other local claimants besides the one who has obtained a decree from a British Indian court, it will not be possible for the State court to satisfy the decree in its entirety. It will have to consider the claims of other decree-holders residing in the State and make a *pro-rata* distribution of the sale-proceeds to which objection might be taken. Further, there are many other rules which have been framed on the basis of long established customs, traditions and the peculiar circumstances of the States; for instance, it is the practice in many of the States to give priority to State demands or dues of any kind from the judgment debtor, and cases will occur where, after the satisfaction of the State dues and that of the local decree-holder, very little will be left for the outside decree-holder. If attempts are made to introduce changes in the State Code, they will be of a sweeping character and will practically deprive the State of its civil jurisdiction.

4. Most of the treaties of alliance and friendship with the Indian States were concluded a century ago, and they stipulate that the British civil and criminal jurisdiction will not be introduced in the Indian States. Recent Privy Council decisions also upheld the view that the Princes have sovereign rights and that their courts should be regarded as foreign courts. As such, the Government of India cannot legislate for the procedure to be followed in Indian States. Now the Darbar beg to draw attention to the last line of the second paragraph of the explanatory note, in which it is stated that the question for consideration is "what should be the powers to be exercised in such cases by State courts". If the Government were to define the powers of the State courts by legislation as suggested above, the States may regard the step as an intrusion which will certainly be repugnant to them. Such States as have

powers to make their own laws will be within their rights not only to refuse to recognise the amendment but to confer any powers they consider necessary on their courts. The Darbar therefore apprehend that the proposed amendment will practically lead to the introduction of British Civil jurisdiction into the States and will constitute a serious infringement of their treaty rights.

5. The amendment will also deprive the Indian States of the revenue derived from the court fee, which under the existing circumstances is levied on suits instituted on the basis of foreign decrees, and in many cases the loss of revenue will be a very heavy one.

6. In conclusion, the Darbar wish to observe that the question is not one of general application to the Indian States, but mainly concerns those that come under the category of the Notified States.













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